20-20-81

17 January 1945

My dear Mr. Ulacto:

I have your letter of November 23. I cannot recommend you to any institution because I do not have the pleasure of knowing you personally but you might write to Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia; Tuskegee Institute, Alabama and make application. I hope you will have success.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. S. E. Ulacto
Posts and Telegraphs
Opobo, Nigeria
West Coast Africa

IRVIN W. UNDERHILL, JR., D. D.
6329 Burbridge St.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

January 29, 1945

20-4-173

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I was delighted to receive your good letter which was delayed on account of my change of address, and to learn of your contemplated conference on Colonial Affairs.

I think your suggestion a capital one. I am pretty certain that there are no Africans from the French Camerouns in America. From that particular mandate we would have to depend upon missionaries who labor there, and that would be limited to those of the Presbyterian Board at 156 Fifth Avenue. Dr. L. K. Anderson, Secretary of that Board is well versed in conditions there, and would be a good person for the Conference. He is a Canadian, and in some respects a liberal. Emory Ross would be able to give you no little advice as to the various Americans in and near New York who have worked in the African Colonies.

I shall be present at your meeting here on Sunday night.

If there is anything I can do to help in organizing this Conference, please feel free to call on me.

With kind regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Irvin W. Underhill, Jr.

UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

9 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Phone PLaza 8-0703

March 9, 1945

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Dear Mr. DuBois:

The people of the world are world-weary. With all their hearts they hope that there can be an end to wars, an end to destruction.

But the outlawing of war is more easily said than done. You know as we do that in order to secure Senate ratification of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the public must be made aware of the proposals and the necessity for their ratification.

Because we know that you will want to play a part in awakening America and securing the passage of Dumbarton Oaks, we are sending the enclosed proof of our pamphlet on the proposals.

This is a pulled-proof dummy. The finished proof will be done in two colors. In addition the cover is being improved.

We think that the pamphlet may be used in various ways:

1. It can be mailed to members with a letter telling them what you are doing to secure the passage of Dumbarton Oaks and calling upon them to write to their Congressmen, editors of their local papers, etc.

2. It can be mailed to prospective members to show that you are actively engaged in fighting for a just and durable peace. In much the same way it can also be used as a fund raising piece.

3. It can be used as a handout at meetings and given to other organizations for their membership. If you wish, you may of course sell the pamphlet.

4. It is a device for getting publicity for your organization.

   a. Ask a few prominent internationalists in your city or on your Board to discuss Dumbarton Oaks and hold a press conference.

b. Release the booklet with accompanying press statement to your local general press, labor papers, church papers, etc.

c. Plan a large open meeting either by yourself or in cooperation with other ogranizations on Dumbarton Oaks. We understand that there is a State Department movie available on World Security which can be borrowed for such meetings.

20-5-19

Dumbarton Oaks is an extremely popular issue. The Churches are campaigning for it. Almost every group, with the exception of the isolationist groups, have declared themselves in favor of the proposals. Many issues are "unpopular causes" -- here is one that will help us gain popular support and space in the papers. At the same time, it is one of the three issues that need our all-out support in 1945.

You can purchase copies in bulk, with your local imprint on the back cover at

$35.00 per 1,000 copies
$ 3.50 per 100 copies (no imprint of your own)

Will you let me know how many pamphlets you can use? Will you also send copy for the back cover at the same time?

Sincerely,

James Loeb, Jr.

James Loeb, Jr.
Executive Director

P.S. We understand that the week of April 16-22 will be "Dumbarton Oaks Week". Perhaps you can plan your campaign to coincide with this date.

23 March 1945

My dear Sir:

I have received your circular letter of March ninth and an advance copy of "From the Garden of Eden to Dumbarton Oaks". I note with great regret that there is practically no mention in the pamphlet of the more than seven hundred million colonial people. They have, as of course you know, no standing before the International Court of Justice. They cannot join the United Nations since they are not "states". Also your picture of all people carefully omits colored people so far as one can see. Under such circumstances you will hardly be surprised if I am not enthusiastic over your your efforts.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. James Loeb, Jr.
Union for Democratic Action
9 East 46th Street
New York 17

20-5

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9 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Phone PLaza 8-0703

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20-5-16

March 26, 1945.

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois, Dept. of Special Research
Color and Democracy Colonies and Peace
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Because I have such a very high regard for you as one of the great democratic leaders of our time, I was particularly alarmed by your letter of March 23 in reference to our pamphlet on Dumbarton Oaks, and I therefore hasten to answer your letter. You make two criticisms of the pamphlet:

1. You say that there is no mention of the seven hundred million colonial people. In this you are correct, and I can only say that the pamphlet aims to present the main outlines of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as simply as possible. There is, of course, no mention in the pamphlet of the multitude of particular problems that are all-pressing and that will all have to be solved before we can be satisfied that we have achieved a truly democratic world organization. The pamphlet takes the position that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals can be accepted as a first step. There is even a section entitled, "Nothing Is Perfect", which makes this very clear.

2. You also say that "your picture of all people carefully omits colored people so far as one can see." In this, I disagree with you completely. In my own view, which may be completely erroneous, it would be far more discriminatory to picture a group of people of whom one was too obviously and clearly black. Interestingly enough, all of the illustrations in the pamphlet were done by Mr. Oliver Harrington, a Negro.

Your letter is particularly discouraging because, to be perfectly frank, it indicates a kind of unwarranted super-sensitivity which can hardly lead to the solution of the problem which all progressive people are seeking to solve. I believe the UDA need make no defense of itself for its record on this problem.

Most respectfully yours,

James Loeb Jr.

James Loeb, Jr.
Executive Director

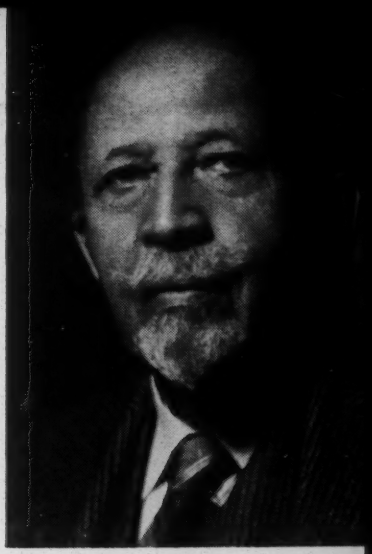
JL:NM

"A two-front fight for democracy—at home and abroad."

[1945?]

HEAR A GREAT NEGRO AMERICAN

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois



Eminent Educator, Former Editor of CRISIS
Vice-Chairman, Council of African Affairs
Atlanta University Professor, 1897-1910, 1933-44
Director of Publications, N.A.A.C.P., 1910-32
Author of "The Souls of Black Folk"
"Color and Democracy," "John Brown"

JI-3-11

FRIDAY, APRIL 6, 8 P.M.

Speaking on

"STATES' RIGHTS AND RACIAL WRONGS"

Born three years after a Civil War which technically freed the Negro, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois has continued the fight through a long life to make racial gains real. Superbly, as periodical contributor, editor and author he has waged a battle of the pen. A native of education-minded Massachusetts, he earned a Bachelor's degree at Fisk University, Tennessee, in 1888 — then at Harvard he won the same degree in 1890, became a Master of Arts in 1891 and a Doctor of Philosophy in 1895. Meanwhile, he had studied at the University of Berlin.

By 1894-96 Dr. Du Bois was in Ohio, teaching Latin and Greek to other members of his race at Wilberforce, the university named for the English slave emancipator. Then after two years in sociology at the University of Pennsylvania he found his place as professor of economcis and history at the co-educational, non-sectarian institution for Negroes, Atlanta University. Here he initiated and for thirteen years directed the notable Atlanta Studies of the Negro Problem. A year after he had helped to found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People he was called from Atlanta to the East to serve, 1910-32, as director of publications and editor of its magazine, *Crisis*. His articles and editorials wielded a tremendous influence on Negro thought and letters. During a second period at Atlanta, 1933-48, he was head of the department of sociology.

In 1919 Dr. Du Bois organized the Pan-African Congress, which met first in Paris during the Versailles Peace Conference. In 1944 he became the first Negro elected a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. In 1945 he served as a special consultant at the founding conference of the United Nations at San Francisco. His fifteen books include *The Suppression of the Slave Trade, Black Reconstruction, Dusk of Dawn, The World and Africa* and *In battle for Peace*. He was Editor-in-Chief, 1933-45, for the *Encyclopedia of the Negro*. By breadth of scholarship and depth of understanding Dr. Du Bois is supremely equipped to give meaning to his current news-related subject, "STATES' RIGHTS AND RACIAL WRONGS."

Admission $1 or by Season Pass

May 4 Forum:

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS . . . PRESIDENT, FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
"THE BILL OF RIGHTS TODAY AND TOMORROW"

UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM

2936 West 8th Street **Block East of Vermont** **DUnkirk 9-1356**

28

[UNITED COOPERATIVE LEAGUE]

20-18-2

5250 Michigan Avenue,
Chicago, 15, Ill.

April 17, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
Care of The N.A.A.C.P.,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Upon receipt of your telegram in reference to the Peace Conference to be held April 29, 1945, at San Francisco, Calif., a special meeting of the Executive Board of the United Cooperative League of America was called and held Monday, April 16, 1945, at 8:00 P.M.

At this meeting it was decided that this organization should encouch in form of a resolution a brief outline of its plans and purposes, which you will find enclosed herewith.

For your information, The United Cooperative League of America, Inc., was the original sponsor of The Afra-American Exposition, also known as The American Negro Exposition, which was held in this city from July 4 to September 2, 1940, and which had for its purpose to depict the progress made by the race within the 75 years of its freedom.

Through the indefatigable efforts of its officers and members an appropriation of $75,000 was obtained from the State of Illinois; other appropriations followed later.

This was a mammoth affair but did not come up to the expectations of the League.

We wish to thank you for your services. We wish you abundant success in your work at the Conference.

Respectfully yours,
Korressa Alston Fox
Korressa Alston Fox,
Secretary Executive Board,
United Cooperative League, Inc.

P. S: Direct all communications to
Korressa Alston Fox,
5250 Michigan Ave., Apt. 3,
Chicago 15, Ill.

Phone Drexel 3342.

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS: The United Cooperative League of America, Inc., has for its purpose plans for the economic and social freedom and progress of American Negroes and to create better racial relations and understanding with other races, and to establish business enterprises and vocational training school, or schools, to prepare our youth along commercial lines and enable them to cope with the future development of the race.

20-18

WHEREAS: The National Association For The Advancement of Colored People has been designated as one of the national organizations with the right to appoint consultants to the American Delegation at the San Francisco Conference to be held April 25, 1945, and,

WHEREAS: In a special call meeting of the Executive Board of The United Cooperative League held Monday, April 16, 1945, it was agreed this organization would work in hearty accord with any and all organizations which foster the cause of the Negro.

THEREFORE, Be it resolved that the said United Cooperative League of America, Inc., be placed on record as supporting any act or acts of the said N.A.A.C.P., which tend toward the betterment of minority group or groups and they do hereby empower the said National Association For The Advancement of Colored People to make representation to proper authorities of the said Conference as they may deem fit and best for the people of our racial group and bearing in mind the purpose of our organization.

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218

20-19-36

United Negro College Fund
Campaign

38 EAST FIFTY-SEVENTH STREET, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Telephone: PLaza 5-9613

No memorandum enclosed

Request to sponsor

February 14, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The United Negro College Fund, described in the attached memorandum, has had the benefit of a distinguished group of sponsors. We now wish to widen this endorsement geographically and my associates feel, with me, that your name and influence would be of real assistance to the colleges in their 1945 campaign of public education and budget-raising.

This letterhead shows the sponsors of last year, most of whom I feel certain will again serve. We would like permission to add your name to such a list.

The sponsoring group, known as the National Campaign Advisory Committee, will hold no meetings. We hope, of course, that many of the members will find it possible to give some active service to the campaign when the time comes; but your acceptance of this invitation to membership on the advisory body in itself carries no obligation to do more than give the undertaking your public approval.

I shall appreciate hearing from you.

Very sincerely,

John D. Rockefeller Jr.

Chairman
National Campaign Advisory Committee

Enclosure

Dr. W. E. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

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[UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND]

26 February 1945

20-19-37

My dear Sir:

In accordance with your letter of February fourteenth, I shall be glad to have my name used as a member of the National Campaign Advisory Committee.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.
38 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, N. Y.

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, INC.

38 EAST FIFTY-SEVENTH STREET, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

PLAZA 5-9613

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WILLIAM J. TRENT, JR., *Executive Secretary*

Request to Sponsor

March 1, 1945

CONFIRMATION

20-19

The small meeting arranged by Messrs. Hoving and Rockefeller will be held in the Rainbow Room, Sixty-fifth Floor, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, on Monday March 5th, at 4 o'clock.

Mr. Rockefeller will speak briefly as will the new National Chairman, Mr. Thomas A. Morgan.

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ORGANIZED NOV. 3RD, 1941 IT CAN BE DONE

THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE UNITED PIONEERS OF 1941, Inc.

An Organization To Mobilize Negroes For Economic Security

Consumers Cooperation

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PHONE DREXEL 1410
CHICAGO, ILL.

CHICAGO, ILL. March 30 1940

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois.

12-39-32

My dear Dr Dubois -

Reading your article in this weeks Chicago Defender I was moved by your forthright statement concerning Colored people and the Cooperative movement and your general summation of world outlook after the peace, And the reactionary forces at work to raise hell again. I have known of your interest in the cooperative movement for a long time and I know you are doing yeoman service when you write such articles as the one appearing in your Column this week. This Organization is working quietly but zealously to contact and instruct groups and individuals the fundamentals of the Consumer Cooperative. We are also teaching "Bartering" as a means to break somewhat the deadly poison in our economic experimentation and advancement. Wherever we are faced with it's deadly poisin

Our booklet - "The Only Way" is herewith enclosed And you are privileged to comment on the Contents if you so desire. But, for God sakes please keep preaching the Consumer Cooperative to my people, And I believe you too.

Yours
Seymour C Jordan

P.S. I am mailing you a special notice concerning this letter and book.

PEJ

[U.S. - DEPT. OF STATE]

7 March 1945

20-4-82

My dear Mr. Villard:

I am enclosing a proposed invitation which we are going to send out for a Colonial Conference and a statement of the kind of reports which we are seeking. I am wondering if your office could put me in touch with any colonial natives resident in the United States whom we could invite? It will be easy to get several from West Africa but not so easy to get in touch with natives from East Africa; Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika; and the Union of South Africa and from Portuguese Africa. I would appreciate any help or advice. I am also writing Mr. Bunche.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Henry Villard
Chief, Division of African Affairs
State Department
Washington, D. C.

[U.S. - DEPT OF STATE]

10 March 1945

Dear Sir:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wishes to ask if on the agenda of the approaching conference in San Francisco the question of colonies and their future status and treatment will be considered? We have in mind not only colonies which formerly have belonged to enemy nations or international territory taken from them after this war but in particular colonies of empires and free states which are not self-governing.

Moreover, the Association would like to ask if there will be present any commissions or spokesmen from the colonial peoples themselves who can directly or indirectly speak for their aspirations and progress?

Finally, the Association would like to ask if any provision will be made for the representation of American Negroes at the San Francisco meeting in order that they may advocate and advise measures for their own social progress and also be given opportunity to speak for other peoples of African descent whom they in a very real sense represent?

800-15

We would be deeply obliged if we could have in the near future an answer to these questions.

I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

[U.S. - DEPT. OF STA

13 March 1945

20-4-51

My dear Sir:

I am enclosing a proposed invitation and statement concerning aColonial Conference which we are calling. I am particularly interested in getting some representative from Thailand. Professor Kennedy of Yale tells me that you may be able to put us in touch with some such persons. I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Kenneth P. Landon
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

[U.S. DEPT OF STATE]

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
SP

20-4-172

My dear Mr. Du Bois:

I am referring your letter of March 13 in reference to a representative from Thailand for a Colonial Conference to be held at New York to the Thai Legation. An official of the Thai Legation expressed interest in the Conference and said that he will write direct. I trust this will be satisfactory to you.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth P. Landon

Kenneth P. Landon
Acting Chief
Division of Southwest Pacific Affairs

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director,
Department of Special Research,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, New York.

FOR DEFENSE
BUY
UNITED
STATES
SAVINGS
BONDS
AND STAMPS

[U.S. - DEPT. OF STATE]

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 25

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
AF

March 17, 1945

20-4-83

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I have your letter of March 7, 1945 in which you request to be placed in touch with any colonial natives resident in the United States whom your organization could invite to a Colonial Conference which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People proposes to organize. You ask particularly to be put in touch with natives from British East Africa, from the Union of South Africa and Portuguese Africa.

This Division does not have on file the addresses in the United States of aliens who come from the various African colonies. I would suggest that you apply to the British, Portuguese and South African Consulates General in New York where such colonial natives would undoubtedly be registered. You might also wish to get in touch with the Phelps-Stokes Fund and any other organizations interested in the education of African students in this country.

Sincerely yours,

Henry S. Villard

Henry S. Villard
Chief, Division of African Affairs

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
Director, Department of Special Research,
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N. Y.

[U.S. - DEPT. OF STATE]

21 March 1945

20-12-11-21-02

My dear Sir:

I have just learned of your headship of the important Division of Dependent Area Affairs. Enclosed you will find a letter which I have already written to the Secretary of State.

I should like to ask you for the following information in so far as you are at liberty to give it:

1. Is this Division of Dependent Area Affairs designed to cover our national interests in all areas dependent upon any and all nations or is it limited to areas dependent directly upon the United States?

2. I am enclosing resolutions recently adopted by the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I would like to know if any action or position concerning the matters mentioned have been adopted or planned by your Division?

3. I have been designated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to represent them at the San Francisco conference. May I ask what, if any facilities, for receiving information or tendering suggestions can be made available for me at San Francisco?

I shall be under obligations for any reply that you feel free to make to the above queries.

I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Benjamin Gerig
Division of Dependent Area Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

(U.S. - DEPT OF STATE)

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 31, 1945.

20-4-84

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I appreciate your kind invitation to attend the Colonial Conference in New York on April 6, but I regret very much that I am unable to accept. Our work in preparation for the San Francisco meeting is so heavy that it will not be possible for those who are concerned with colonial problems to be absent from Washington at this time.

Sincerely yours,

Henry S. Villard

Henry S. Villard
Chief, Division of African Affairs

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
Department of Special Research,
The National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York.

(U.S. DEPT OF STATE)

10 April 1945

20-15-31

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with a paid-up membership of over four hundred thousand and representing indirectly a very considerable proportion of the thirteen million American Negroes wishes to ask of the Department of State cooperation and permission as follows:

1. permission for two delegates to travel to San Francisco so as to be there during the sitting of the world conference of the United Nations.

2. permission for these delegates to listen to such debates and conferences as are semi-public or public.

3. some status for their delegates which will enable them to obtain information and, if possible, to express to some one in authority their reaction concerning propositions and proposals which are being considered by the conference.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People considers these requests reasonable and asks for decision concerning them at the earliest convenient time.

46-6-57

[U.S., Dept of State]

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

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Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

10 April 1945

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

Mr. Leo Pasvolsky
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
Department of State, Washington, D. C.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE WITH A PAID-UP MEMBERSHIP OF OVER FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND AND REPRESENTING INDIRECTLY A VERY CONSIDERABLE PROPORTION OF THE THIRTEEN MILLION AMERICAN NEGROES WISHES TO ASK OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE COOPERATION AND PERMISSION AS FOLLOWS: ONE, PERMISSION FOR TWO DELEGATES TO TRAVEL TO SAN FRANCISCO SO AS TO BE PRESENT DURING THE SITTING OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS. ONE OF THESE DELEGATES, DR. DU BOIS, HAS BEEN NAMED AS A MEMBER OF THE CORE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS TO SERVE AS THE REPRESENTATIVE IN SAN FRANCISCO OF TWELVE NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. TWO, PERMISSION FOR THESE DELEGATES TO LISTEN TO SUCH DEBATES AND CONFERENCES AS ARE SEMI-PUBLIC OR PUBLIC. THREE, SOME STATUS FOR THEIR DELEGATES WHICH WILL ENABLE THEM TO OBTAIN INFORMATION AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO EXPRESS TO SOMEONE IN AUTHORITY THEIR REACTION CONCERNING PROPOSITIONS AND PROPOSALS WHICH ARE BEING CONSIDERED BY THE CONFERENCE. stop THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE CONSIDERS THESE REQUESTS REASONABLE AND ASKS FOR DECISION CONCERNING THEM AT THE EARLIEST CONVENIENT TIME.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Original returned to our office that we may have it for our files. However, if you prefer that I send the original letters, don't hesitate to tell me.

[U.S. - DEPT. OF STATE]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to DA

April 21, 1945

20-14-47

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I wish to thank you for your letter of March 21 enclosing a copy of the letter which you had written to the Secretary of State, and the resolutions recently adopted by the Association.

In response to your specific inquiries I am happy to give you the following information:

1. The Division of Dependent Area Affairs has responsibility for the formulation and coordination of policy and action with respect to the activities of the projected international organization affecting dependent areas generally, and maintains liaison with international agencies and organizations and with other Government Departments and agencies on these matters.

2. This Division, in collaboration with other interested divisions and officers in the Department, does, of course, undertake the formulation of recommended policies and positions with respect to international arrangements affecting dependent areas.

3. As you know, the United Nations Conference is exclusively a conference of governmental delegations and there can be no opportunity for official participation in the deliberations of the Conference itself by unofficial representatives. The Department, however, in recognition of the keen interest manifested by national organizations in the proposed international organization, has invited a limited number of these organizations, constituting a fair cross section of citizen groups, to designate representatives to serve as consultants to the American Delegation at the Conference. In pursuance of this policy the Department has invited the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to appoint one representative to be available for consultation with the American Delegation, and I am happy to learn that you and Mr. Walter White are to come to San Francisco in this capacity.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Gerig
Chief, Division of
Dependent Area Affairs

[U.S. - DEPT. OF STATE]

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Copy sent Walsh.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
DA

April 21, 1945

21-6-36

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I wish to thank you for your letter of March 21, enclosing a copy of the letter which you had written to the Secretary of State, and the resolutions recently adopted by the Association.

In response to your specific inquiries I am happy to give you the following information:

1. The Division of Dependent Area Affairs has responsibility for the formulation and coordination of policy and action with respect to the activities of the projected international organization affecting dependent areas generally, and maintains liaison with international agencies and organizations and with other Government Departments and agencies on these matters.

2. This Division, in collaboration with other interested divisions and officers in the Department, does, of course, undertake the formulation of recommended policies and positions with respect to international arrangements affecting dependent areas.

3. As you know, the United Nations Conference is exclusively a conference of governmental delegations and

there

W. E. B. Du Bois, Ph. D.,
Director, Department of
Special Research,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N.Y.

FOR VICTORY
BUY
UNITED
STATES
SAVINGS
BONDS
AND
STAMPS

21-6-37

there can be no opportunity for official participation in the deliberations of the Conference itself by unofficial representatives. The Department, however, in recognition of the keen interest manifested by national organizations in the proposed international organization, has invited a limited number of these organizations, constituting a fair cross section of citizen groups, to designate representatives to serve as consultants to the American Delegation at the Conference. In pursuance of this policy the Department has invited the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to appoint one representative to be available for consultation with the American Delegation, and I am happy to learn that you and Mr. Walter White are to come to San Francisco in this capacity.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Gerig

Benjamin Gerig
Chief, Division of
Dependent Area Affairs

[U.S. - DEPT. OF STATE]

21 June 1945

201-M

My dear Mr. Bunche:

I have just sent a letter, a copy of which I enclose, to Mr. Gerig. I would be glad to have your reaction and any help you can give us.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

[U.S. - DEPT. OF STATE]

21-6-58

21 June 1945

My dear Mr. Gerig:

You know that there is to be held in Paris in September a meeting of the ILO and also of the new World Trades Union organisation. Negro members of this latter organization when it met in London asked me to call a Pan African Congress in Paris at the time of the September meeting. I took this up with the directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York and they expressed general agreement and have appointed a committee to consider ways and means.

Also while in San Francisco I brought the proposal to the attention of M. Pleven and asked him to place the question of the proposed meeting before the French Colonial Ministry. He did this and I have received the following telegram from M. de la Roche of the French Information Service which says:

> AM VERY HAPPY INFORM YOU HAVE RECEIVED CABLE FROM PARIS OF WHICH I GIVE YOU TRANSLATION QUOTE MINISTRY OF COLONIES GIVES ITS ENTIRE AGREEMENT TO DR. DU BOIS PROPOSAL UNQUOTE SHALL SEE YOU AS SOON AS I RETURN NEW YORK.

What I propose is a meeting not so much for agitation and propaganda as for information so that the peoples of African descent can make an intelligent and united representation for eventual freedom and self-government. I contemplate only a small number of delegates: two from the NAACP and perhaps two each from five or six other organizations - not more than a dozen from the United States and perhaps less than that.

I am writing to ask what steps we should take to get visas for travel to France late in September. I should be very glad to have your advice and cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Benjamin Gerig, Chief
Division of Dependent Area Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

[U.S. - DEPT. OF STATE]

20-8-29

Sept. I2, I945

Miss Ruth Shipley,

Head Passport Division,

Dear Madame:

I wish to attend the Pan-African Congress to be held in London, October I5 to 2I, I945. Four previous congresses of this sort have held in London, Brussells, Paris, Lisbon and New York, in I9I9, I92I, I923 and I927. The National Association for the Advancement of Coloered People organized these previous congresses through my agency. This congress grew out of a request from the African delegates to the trades union congress which met in London last winter and is meeting again in Paris this fall. These delegates have asked our cooperation, and the NAACP has appointed me to represent them.

I have a passport deposited with you. I do not know whether or not it has expired; if not may I have it for this trip; if it has expired, may I hereby apply for renewal.

Very respectfully yours,

[U.S. - DEPT. OF STATE]
[DEAN ACHESON]

21-6-94

September 12, 1945

The Under-Secretary of State,

Sir:

There is to be held in London, October 15 to 21, 1945, a Pan-African. This will be the fifth congress held since the first which organized in 1919, at the time of the Congress of Versailles. Three other congresses have been held since in London, Paris, Lisbon and New York, in 1921, 1923, and 1927. These were allcalled by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which I am an official and one of the incorporators. Among those speaking and cooperating at these congresses have been Paul Otlet, "Father of the League of Nations", the late Lord Olivier, Harold Laski, H.G.Wells, President King of Liberia, and from fifty to one hundred and fifty delegates from Africa, Europe, the West Indies and the United States.

The present movement originated among the African delegates to the trades union congress held in London last winter. My cooperation was asked because of my connection with previous congresses and because I was associate consultant at San Francisco, and particular interested in colonies.

The NAACP at the last meeting of the directors, has asked me to attend the London meeting. This will involve travel by air or water, and I am writing to ask you or the appropriate official how I may obtain permission or facilities for this trip. I would be glad to come to Washington for consultation, or to furnish any further data which you may wish. My biography is in Who's Who in America.

I am, Sir, very respectfully yours,

20-8-44 [U.S. - DEPT. OF STATE]

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
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W E BURGHARDT

DIRECTOR NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE=

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20-8-47 [U.S. DEPT. OF STATE]

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WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
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EDWARD B DUBOIS=

:409 EDGECOMB AVE:

64-16

=PASSPORT AGENT, 630 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED TO ISSUE PASSPORT TO YOU UPON EXECUTION OF APPLICATION=

=R B SHIPLEY CHIEF PTT DIV.

.630 PTT DIV.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[U.S., Dept of State]

Reproduced by Pan American World Airways

Budget Bureau No. 47-R042.1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

APPLICATION FOR PRIORITY FOR NON-MILITARY AIR TRAVEL ON FOREIGN ROUTES OF ATC, NATS, OR COMMERCIAL PLANES OR FOR SURFACE TRANSPORTATION ON U. S. CONTROLLED VESSELS

The completion of all items of this application is essential to consideration of the case. Supporting letters or other documentary evidence showing how travel will contribute to the national interest should be attached. Applications from business men for passenger transportation may be filed with the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in Washington, or its 26 field offices. All other applications should be filed with the Department of State. Return two (2) signed copies of this form in case air transportation is requested, and one (1) copy if surface transportation is desired; in case of Lend-lease air passengers, three (3) copies will be required.

10/8/35

Date October 3, 1945

Name of Passenger W.E.B.DuBois Sex Male

Nationality American Date of birth February 23, 1868

Address 409 Edgecombe Ave., ~~x89xFifthxAvex~~, New York Phone Ed.4-9837

Firm or Organization requesting priority ~~National Association for the Advancement of~~ Colored People

Address 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.

For travel from New York to to London, England

Via

(Specify stopover only if it is essential to mission and include statement of reasons in justification below.)

Date on which passenger will be ready to depart: Oct. 8

Date on which arrival is essential Oct. 15.

Has passenger been unable to obtain space on U. S. commercial air line to meet above date?

Passport Number (Renewal applied for Sept 24 - not yet received) Date Expiration Date

If traveler is a foreign national, has exit permit or waiver been obtained? Date

Military Permit Number Date of Issue

List of countries for which applicant has currently valid visas

Diseases against which applicant has currently effective inoculations

Check below how passenger's travel will be in the national interest. Will such transportation contribute:

____Directly or indirectly to the war effort; or

____to relief or rehabilitation activities in areas affected by the war; or

_X_ to the resumption of economic or other activities disrupted by the war that are necessary for the prompt reestablishment of peacetime conditions; and is it of such importance as to justify travel by air?

Give supporting reasons The Pan-African Congress which I wish to attend is an attempt to help in the settlement of colonial problems

Reasons for urgency ~~The Congress meets October 15.~~

AGREEMENT

(N.B. This agreement is applicable only for transportation on ATC or NATS)

It is understood and agreed with the United States Government that, as a condition of any transportation furnished, the applicant will, in addition to any cash charges collected prior to transportation furnished, pay in cash thereafter any taxes that may thereafter be determined to be due and will also comply, or cause compliance on the part of their agents and consignees, with all civil and military laws and regulations applicable to any transportation furnished by the Air Transport Command or Naval Air Transport Service. It is further understood and agreed, as a condition of any transportation furnished, that claims against the United States Government for damage to, or loss or destruction of property, and for personal injuries or death, may be made in accordance with applicable Army or Navy regulations, and that, in any event, the liability of the United States Government or liability of any person, firm or corporation participating by virtue of a contract with the United States Government, in the operation or maintenance of any aircraft on which passage is furnished, is limited to not more than $1,000.00.
If priority for air travel cannot be obtained, it is agreed that surface transportation will be accepted.

SIGNATURE FOR ABOVE APPLICATION AND AGREEMENT

W E B Du Bois.	Director of Special Research, N.A.A.C.P. 69 Fifth Ave., New York
Signature of Passenger or official applying on his behalf.	Title or occupation and address
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	~~69 Fifth Ave., N.Y.~~
Name of Organization or Person who will defray costs (if different from above)	Address

APPLICATION FOR NON-MILITARY LEND-LEASE AID

The charges for this transportation are requested under (non-military credit) (cash reimbursable) Lend-Lease. (Cross out the words not applicable).

Name of Lend-Lease Government	Signature of authorized official of Lend-Lease Government

Sec. 335 (a) of the U. S. Criminal Code, 18 U.S.C. Sec. 80, makes it a criminal offense to make a wilfully false statement or misrepresentation to any Department or Agency of the United States as to any matter within its jurisdiction.

ENDORSEMENT (not to be filled in by applicant)

If air travel is sponsored by a U. S. government agency, this endorsement should be filled in by the government agency concerned.

_____ has analyzed this application and certifies that the above statements are true, according to the best of his knowledge and belief, and recommends that an air priority be accorded this passenger.

COMMENTS: _____

Government Department or Branch	Signature
Date	Title

FORM 31-64

20-3-46

Henry S. Villard

Oct. 3, 1945

Dear Mr. Villard:

I regret that the project of a Pan-African Congress has not been brought to your attentinn before. I was under the impression that Mr. Bunche had consulted you long ago. He is a member of the Pan-African committee of the N.A.A.C.P. and I have had two interviews with him beside correspondence. He was supposed to begin clearing the matter with the State Department. Possibly I am wrong in assuming that he is in your bureau.

I assume that you have seen my letters to the President and the Secretary. I am enclosing extracts from a letter from the secretary of the convening committee in London, Mr. George Padmore, 22 Cranleigh House, Cranleigh St., London, N.W.,I.

Very sincerely yours,

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DO NOT TYPE

[U.S. - DEPT. OF STATE]

21-6-116

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 11, 1945

In reply refer to
AF

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 3, 1945, explaining about the Pan-African Congress which unfortunately had not been brought to my attention until your recent visit to Washington. As you may be aware, I have been away from Washington for a number of months in connection with the problems of Tangier and only returned September 20th. Dr. Bunche left for Europe the day before that to attend the International Labor Conference in Paris. Dr. Bunche's position in the Department is that of Associate Chief of the Division of Dependent Area Affairs. Under ordinary circumstances, however, Dr. Bunche and I would have had the opportunity to discuss such a matter as the Pan-African Congress.

The Division has been informed by the Priorities Section of the Division of Central Services that your priorities application was approved on October 8th and I sincerely hope that all arrangements for your early departure are now in hand.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Henry S. Villard

Henry S. Villard
Chief, Division of African Affairs

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, New York.

Oct 22—
Hotel

[GS - DEPT. OF STATE]

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Pan African Congress

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
DA

October 12, 1945

20-8-55

My dear Mr. DuBois:

I am writing to acknowledge receipt of your memoranda of September 25, 1945 and October 3, 1945 addressed to Mr. Ralph J. Bunche. I have forwarded these two memoranda to Mr. Bunche in London, where he is serving on the staff of Mr. Stettinius in connection with the work of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations. According to his present plans Mr. Bunche will return to the Department some time in November.

Sincerely yours,

James Frederick Green
Acting Chief
Division of Dependent Area Affairs

FOR VICTORY
BUY
UNITED
STATES
SAVINGS
BONDS
AND
STAMPS

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, New York.

(U.S. DEPT. OF STATE)

DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

United Nations

London W. 1.,
November 6, 1945.

21-6-120

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I refer again to your letter of the second of November. A telegram from the Department of State has now reached me urging that you be permitted to attend open Conference sessions as an "unofficial and informal observer." Unfortunately, this places us in a rather difficult position, for the rules of procedure of the Conference do not provide for attendance by observers in any capacity other than as representatives of United Nations or other international organizations.

All plenary sessions of the Conference, however, are open to the public and the Conference Secretariat would, I am sure, be glad to provide you with tickets for the remaining sessions. If I can be of any assistance in this respect, will you please inform me?

Faithfully yours,

Archibald MacLeish

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
Belfield House,
Greenhill Park,
New Barnett,
London.

21-6-119

Mde UNESCO

[U.S. DEPT OF STATE]

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

United Nations

AMERICAN EMBASSY

London W. 1
November 4, 1945

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your welcomed letter of the 2nd of November. Thus far, no cable has reached the American Delegation. I shall ask the Embassy to inform me promptly if one is received. Meantime, I should be only too happy if you would let me know of any plenery sessions of the Conference which you would like to attend.

Faithfully yours,

Archibald MacLeish

Archibald MacLeish

[U.S. - Fed. Security Agency]

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADDRESS REPLY:
CARE OF U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

April 18, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Consultant to the American Delegation
The National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

20-21-77

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Your telegram of April 13 was received in my office during my absence while in attendance at a conference of Negro teacher trainers in Nashville, Tennessee, from which I only returned today.

So far as I know no resolutions have been passed by the New Farmers of America or by the Negro teacher trainers in agriculture for the Southern States that are in any way related to the work of the San Francisco conference. If any suggestions or information come to my attention which the New Farmers of America would like to have presented at this conference, I shall be glad to forward the same to you immediately.

Very sincerely yours,

W. T. Spanton

W. T. Spanton
Chief, Agricultural Education Service

[U.S. - House of Representatives]

21-6-05

22 January 1945

My dear Sir:

I understand you have been asking various persons concerning their ideas of un-American activities. May I suggest the following:

1. the widespread conspiracy especially in the South to keep persons from registering as voters.

2. the widespread effort and organization to keep registered voters in the South from casting their ballot.

3. the present activities of the Ku Klux Klan and other organizations.

4. the effort through secret societies and social organizations to coordinate efforts to make laws and ordinances curtailing and limiting the freedom and citizenship of Negroes.

5. widespread efforts to increase and advertise anti-semitism.

6. similar efforts to prevent the organization and unionization of labor in the South and to induce such labor unions as exist to exclude Negroes.

7. the systematic suppression of news concerning Negroes in the South and especially favorable news.

8. the opposition to Negro education particularly in the public elementary and high schools.

I think the above matters call for earnest and careful investigation and I am sure Mr. Rankin, a member of your Committee, can furnish a great deal of information on practically all these points.

I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Karl E. Mundt
Congressman from South Dakota
Washington, D. C.

[U.S. - HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES]

7 February 1945

My dear Mr. Powell:

20-17-8

I have been trying for a week to get a copy of the final official tabulation of the November election returns. I have written the Superintendent of Documents and He send me the enclosed reply. Can you help me? I very much want it and quickly for my forthcoming book.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Honorable A. Clayton Powell, Jr.
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

[U.S. - HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES]

20-8-34

September 14, 1945

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell
House of Representatives Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Powell:

I have been asked by the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to attend the meeting of the Pan African Congress called by a group of colored people in Great Britain. It is to meet October 15th to 21st in London.

I anticipate difficulty in getting travel accomodations to London and especially on return and in getting the consent of the State and War Departments; the State Department especially must be willing. I have written the Under-Secretary of State and also the President. I shall be glad if you could help in any way and would appreciate any advice.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.
22D DISTRICT NEW YORK

[U.S. - HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES]

COMMITTEES:
INVALID PENSIONS
LABOR
INDIAN AFFAIRS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

September 19, 1945

20-8-39

PAN AFRICAN CONFERENCE
LONDON--October 15 to 21

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director,
Department of Special Research-NAACP,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, New York

My dear Mr. DuBois:

This acknowledges the receipt of your letter of September 14th, relative to the Pan African Congress to be held October 15-21 in London and to which you are being sent as NAACP delegate.

A conference of this type should prove both interesting and of inestimable value to international good will and I will of course be happy to do anything I can to assist you in arranging for transportation over and back. I talked the matter over with Mrs. Shipley in the Passport Division of the State Department and find that your passport has expired. To expedite issuance of a new one I suggest that you (1) go to the Passport Office at 630 Fifth Avenue, and file application for a new passport, indicate that your former one is on file with Mrs. Shipley in Washington, D.C. (2) Indicate the nature of the conference and attach to your application, if available, any endorsement by the Government of Great Britain of such conference (3) State that because of the international-good-will aspect of the Conference you hope space can be assigned to you for the trip over and back (4) Also state that you are taking up with the Office of Col. Russell Young, Transportation Section, Department of State, the priority question.

I am enclosing forms for use in application for priority which must be filed with the Department of State. As soon as the passport is cleared and the forms herewith filed, please get in touch with me again and I will exert all possible pressure to complete the transactions.

Very sincerely yours,

Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

pbn

[U.S. - HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES]

Do NOT TYPE

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.
22D DISTRICT NEW YORK

COMMITTEES:
INVALID PENSIONS
LABOR
INDIAN AFFAIRS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

21-6-115

October 8, 1945

Mr. W.E. B. DuBois, Director,
Department of Special Research, NAACP,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, New York

My dear Mr. DuBois:

This acknowledges the receipt of your telegram advising that you are now in possession of passport and British visas, but still lack priorities from State Department.

The State Department today approved priority for your trip over, and it has referred to the Navy Department your request for air transportation. Since you did not indicate a preference as to route the Navy Department will procure for you the transportation desired on the airline that can accommodate you at the earliest date. The Navy Department will contact you at an early date advising that they are holding priority for you and also letting you know what date to report. I think this should take care of transportation to London.

As to the return trip, the State Department here has no control over arrangements for coming back. However, we are today contacting Mr. Neal Borrum, Chief, Priority Section, The American Embassy, London, England, asking that that office render you all possible assistance in getting early transportation back to the United States. Copy of this communication will be forwarded you under separate cover.

If there is anything further which this office can do to assist you, kindly let us know.

Very sincerely yours,

Phoebe N. Nelson

Phoebe N. Nelson
For the Congressman

pbn

Mr. W. E. Burghardt Dubois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

20-8-54

October 10, 1945

Mr. Neal Borrum, Chief,
Priority Section,
The American Embassy,
London, England

My dear Mr. Borrum:

This letter is directed to you in the interest of Mr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois of the Department of Special Research, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with headquarters at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, New York.

Mr. DuBois has been asked by his Board of Directors to attend the meeting of the Pan African Congress to be held in London October 15th to 21st. The Department of State in Washington, D.C., has granted air priority for the trip to London. I am informed that it is the function of your office to arrange for priorities for persons returning from London to the United States.

In view of all of the above, I am requesting that every possible consideration be extended to Mr. DuBois in order that air or sea priority be granted him to return to the United States leaving London during the week of October 21st.

Your help in this matter is, I assure you, gratefully appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

(signed)

pbn

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.
22nd, New York

COPY for Mr. DuBois--
Due to failure of this office to place the correct amount of postage on letter to Mr. Borrum (copy of which was furnished you October 11) the letter was returned to this office. Therefore, in accordance with your letter of October 10th I have changed letter to Mr. Borrum to read--"in order that air or sea priority be granted him" inasmuch as you wish to return either by plane or by boat. This may help to get you out a little earlier.

P N Nelson
FOR THE CONGRESSMAN

[U.S. - HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES]

20-8-53

October 10, 1945

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:

Thank you very much for your good offices. I have received the priorities for the journey over but I shall be under deep obligations if you could push the matter of my return. I should like to get back the week of October 21st either by plane or by boat.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

[US - OFFICE OF EDUCATION]

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON (25)

March 17, 1945

20-20-37

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Replying to your recent letter, I regret that we have no exact information concerning the program of accreditation conducted by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. I would suggest that you write to Dr. J. Henry Highsmith, State Department of Education, Raleigh, North Carolina, who is, I believe the chairman of the accrediting committee. Also President L. S. Cozart, Barber-Scotia College, Concord, North Carolina, should be able to give you some help along the line of your interest.

Very cordially yours,

Ambrose Caliver
Senior Specialist in the
Education of Negroes

[U.S. - PRESIDENT]

46-9-12

September 12, 1945

The President of the United States,

Sir:

I am writing to ask if it would be possible for me to talk with you a few minutes next week concerning the Pan-African Congress which is to meet in London, October 15 to 21, 1945. The First Pan-African Congress met in Paris in February, 1919, at my suggestion, and with the consent of Prime Minister Clemenceau. Subsequent congresses met in Paris, Brussels, London and New York, in 1921, 1923, and 1927, with me in each case acting as secretary. Among those speaking and co-operating have been Paul Otlet, "Father of the League of Nations, the late Lord Olivier, Harold Laski, H.G.Wells, President King of Liberia and a total of fifty to one hundred and fifty delegates at the various meetings, from Africa, Europe, the West Indies and the United States.

The present movement toward a Fifth Pan-African Congress arose among the African delegates to the trade union conference held in London last winter. They appealed for co-operation to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which had initiated and sponsored the previous congresses. It was finally decided by the London committee to call a Congress directly after the Paris meeting of the international trade union organization. The French minister of colonies invited the group to meet in Paris, but London seemed more suitable. The NAACP, of which I am an official and one of the original incorporators, have voted to send me as a delegate to this Congress.

I know how busy you are at this time, but I venture to ask a few minutes to discuss this matter with you.

I am, Sir, respectfully yours,

[U.S. - PRESIDENT]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

21-6-98

September 19, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director,
Department of Special Research,
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People,
60 Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The President is very much interested in the problems which will be discussed at the forthcoming Pan-African Congress, but his schedule as you can well imagine, is very full right now. I would suggest that you take the matter up with the Honorable Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State, who will be glad to see you next week.

I am forwarding your letter to him and suggest that you call him for an appointment. Then, if the President's schedule lightens, we will try to arrange an interview later.

Sincerely yours,

M J Connelly

MATTHEW J. CONNELLY
Secretary
to the President

[U.S. Senate, Comm. on F. Rel.]

United Nations Charter

XXI

XXI

July 2, 1945

Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

Senator Tom Connally
Senate Chambers
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I am writing to ask the privilege of appearing for 15 minutes before the committee which will hold hearings on the United Nations Charter. I am aware that this is asking a great deal, that the hearings will, of necessity be short and selected, but I think that someone should speak concerning certain reservations with regard to colonies. I have long been a student of the colonial question. I was Consultant to the American Delegation at San Francisco, and as you are probably aware, sent the members various memoranda. On May 25th I published a book on the subject.

I want to ask that the Senate in ratifying the Charter shall make reservations so that all of the mandated territory taken over after the First World War shall ultimately be put under trusteeship and that no such territory shall be integrated into the colonial system of any imperial power without consent of the Board of Trusteeship on which the colonial people themselves shall be represented.

I wish also to strengthen the declaration concerning all colonial peoples who do not today have effective voice in their own government so as to provide them some form of representation in the organization of the United Nations.

I can include this statement in a short written memorandum but it will, of course, be much more effective if I could make this statement in person before your committee. You will find my biogfaphy in Who's Who in America.

I am, Sir,

Very respectfully yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD-en

10-9-44

46-6-162

[U.S., Senate Comm.] Senate

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

(54)

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

SYMBOLS
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NLT = Cable Night Letter
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N403 41 GOVT 1 EXTRA=WUX WASHINGTON DC 7 320P

W E B DUBOIS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE=DELIVER CARE WHITE OR WILKINS
409 EDGECOMB AVE:

=IN ACCORDANCE WITH YOUR REQUEST YOU ARE TENTATIVELY LISTED TO TESTIFY BEFORE COMMITTEE AT HEARING BEGINNING WEDNESDAY MORNING JULY 11 CAUCUS ROOM SENATE OFFICE BUILDING. TO SHORTEN HEARINGS COMMITTEE SUGGESTS YOU HAVE AVAILABLE WRITTEN STATEMENT FOR INCLUSION IN PRINTED RECORD=
ROBERT V SHIRLEY CLERK COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.

11 .

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[U.S.; Senate Comm. on F.A.]

WIRE

July 9, 1945

ROBERT V. SHIRLEY, CLERK
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

WILL BE IN WASHINGTON WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY ELEVENTH, TO TESTIFY BEFORE YOUR COMMITTEE.

W.E.B. DUBOIS

46-6-163

(U.S. SENATE, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, JULY 11, 1945)

1

Testimony of W. E. B. DuBois

I believe that the proposed charter of the United Nations is a step and a far step toward peace and justice; and just because it is so fair an effort, it is imperative that in ratifying this international treaty, the Senate of the United States should insist on certain reservations or projected amendments which it will at the earliest opportunity propose.

These amendments or reservations have to do with colonies. We who were born and educated in the 19th century, have not only seen the colonial system keep parts of the world in continuous turmoil for 150 years, but in the 20th century, we have twice seen the very foundations of civilization imperilled by bitter rivalry and greed arising from the ownership and exploitation of human beings under colonial imperialism. We American citizens still believe in 1945 as we did in 1876, that taxation without representation is tyrrany; and many if not most of us have advanced beyond this, and include within the democratic system, not only white peoples of English descent, but Latins and Slavs, and the yellow, brown and black peoples of America, Asia and Africa.

This proposed Charter should therefore make clear and unequivocal the straightforward stand of the civilized world for race equality, and the universal application of the democratic way of life, not simply as philanthropy and justice, but to save human civilization from suicide. What was true of the United States in the past is true of world civilization today - we cannot exist half slave and half free.

It is true that the proposed charter touches this subject. But because of the national interests, the economic rivalries, and the selfish demands of peoples represented at San Francisco, the even more pressing cries of the 750,000,000 unrepresented were not expressed and even forgotten. Especially the United States Delegation aligned itself repeatedly with the great Colonial Powers rather than with China and Russia whose future does not depend upon colonial aggression.

46-6-141

Only two of the 42 consulting agencies were willing to say a single word in defense of colonies. The result is vague and contradictory wording throughout the document which both supports and denies the right of the democratic way of life to all men. It is to insist on clarification on this point, either in the form of reservations or of eventual amendment that I speak today.

~~By this time the Charter you would write is in print.~~ Human rights are mentioned four times in the charter: First in the Preamble: "To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights" --

Then in Chapter I, PURPOSES: "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion;"

In setting up Economic and Social Council provided for in Chapter IX, there is set down: "Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, languaga, or religion";

And finally in Chapter XI a special Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories, declares: "Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government, recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of those territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories..."

At first reading all this would seem sufficient to guarantee a new policy with regard to colonies. But unfortunately these statements are partially or wholly contradicted in other passages. First in Chapter I, Purposes, it is clearly declared: "Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the

46-6-165

present charter." This means that these colonial powers are to be sole judges of ideals and purposes in dealing with peoples of the colonies.

In addition to that, in the specific articles which have to do with the Trustee Council, requirements are laid down to make it possible for some of the former German colonies mandated to colonial powers to be integrated wholly into the colonial system of those powers, or at least not to be put under the Trustee Council.

The Trustee Council also is carefully balanced so that regardless of world opinion the power of imperial colonial powers will always be as great as the power of nations without colonies, and no provision is made for inclusion within the council of representatives of native colonial peoples; or even of giving them the right of oral petition, or of making any investigation into colonial conditions except under the eye of the governing colonial power. These provisions have to do with probably less than 25 million people of the 750 million colonial people but they are significant because they represent the widest grant of international power over colonies and are evidently designed to reduce this power to a minimum and to give as little recognition as possible to the wishes of the colonial people themselves.

Under these circumstances, it is fair to ask that the United States Senate in ratifying this charter should make clear a new evaluation of the whole colonial system as practiced in the 19th and 20th century, and should declare that:

"The main groups of mankind, commonly called races, are essentially equal in capability of progress and deserve equality of treatment, opportunity and respect. In the eyes of both science and religion, all men are brothers, with rights of freedom of belief and expression, freedom of domicile and communication; justice before the courts and equal civil, economic, political and social rights.

"The first duty of civilization is to see to it that no human being is deprived of these rights because of poverty, disease or ignorance.

46-6-166

The colonial system of government, however deeply rooted in history and custom, is today undemocratic, socially dangerous and a main cause of wars. The United Nations, recognizing democracy as the only just way of life for all peoples, make its first statute of international law that at the earliest practical moment no nation or group shall be deprived of effective voice in its own government.

An international colonial commission, in addition to the Trustee Council, shall be established, on which colonial peoples shall have representation with power to investigate the facts concerning colonies and areas not under mandate, and shall implement this declaration under the authority of the Security Council."

45-6-167

[U.S. - SENATE]

September 14, 1945

20-B-33

Senator Robert Wagner
United States Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Wagner:

I am an official and one of the incorporators of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This Association since the first World War has promoted four Pan African Congresses in Europe and the United States in the effort of making the African peoples vocal and cooperative in their effort for emancipation. During the San Francisco Conference, I was one of the consultants representing this Association.

A committee appointed by the African members of the Trade Union Congress held in England last winter has called the fifth Pan African Congress to meet in London, October 15th to 21st. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wishes me to attend as a delegate with a view to strengthening the movement and calling a larger and more representative Congress in 1946 or 1947.

I am writing to ask your advice and good offices in getting me permission from the State and War Departments to travel to London and return for this Congress. I have written the State Department and also called the matter to the attention of the President. Anything which you can do to assist me would be appreciated by myself and this Association.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

[U.S. - WAR DEPT.]

29-2-36

September 15, 1945

Mr. Robert Patterson, Under-Secretary
War Department
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:

I am an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and was Assistant Consultant at the San Francisco Conference.

The Board of Directors of this organization at its last meeting asked me to attend the Pan African Congress which meets in London, October 15th to 21st. This Association has in the past sponsored four similar meetings in London, Paris, Versailles and Lisbon. I write to ask what steps it will be necessary for me to take in order to get the cooperation of the War Department in making this journey to London and return. I have written the Under-Secretary of State and the President.

I shall be glad to receive any advice and help which you can give me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

(U.S. - WAR DEPT.)

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

21 September 1945

201-9-12

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association For the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

This is in answer to your letter of September 15, 1945, with reference to your desire to attend the Pan African Congress in London, meeting on October 15, 1945.

Application for travel of the nature you desire should be made to the State Department. You mentioned in your letter that you had already written to the Under Secretary of State so it appears to me that you have followed the right procedure.

If the State Department considers that the cooperation of the War Department is necessary to make the travel possible the State Department will make a formal application to us.

Sincerely yours,

Robert P. Patterson

ROBERT P. PATTERSON
Under Secretary of War

July 9, 1945

20-5-17

Gentlemen:

I am exploring the possibility of holding a Pan-African Congress in Paris late in September at about the same time that the International Labor Organization and the new World Trades Movement meet. I have the consent of the French Government.

May I ask what prospect you can hold out of transportation to France and return between September 23rd and October 6th? What would be the approximate cost of round trip passage?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

United States Lines
General Offices
1 Broadway
New York, New York

[University of Utah]

814 2nd Avenue
Salt Lake City, Utah
April 11, 1945

20-21-56

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

We would like to know if some kind of arrangements might be made while you are in San Francisco to have you come to Salt Lake and give a lecture at the University of Utah.

Thanking you for an early reply, I remain.

Yours very truly,

M. H. Fleming

mm

[University of Utah]

17 April 1945

20-21-57

My dear Mr. Fleming:

I can lecture at Salt Lake City on my way from the San Francisco Conference which will be some time in May. My charge would be one hundred dollars. Let me hear from you at this office, please.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. M. H. Fleming
814 Second Avenue
Salt Lake City, Utah

[University of Utah]

814 2nd Avenue
Salt Lake City, Utah
April 21, 1945

Lectures

20-21-46

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Sir:

Can you give a date for your lecture here in May? We want to have your lecture on the Master Mind Series of the University and Dr. Horsfall, who is expecting to be out of town for a few days would like to tie up the date at Kingsbury Hall for your appearance before he leaves town.

Please send me about four pictures and some material for the papers. Thank you for this consideration as we are very anxious to have you come tp us.

Sincerely yours,

M. H. Fleming

P.S. For the benefit of Dr. Horsfall, may I hear from you at once.

[University of Utah]

20-21-418

April 28, 1945

Dr. Horsfall
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah

My dear Sir:

I have had a letter, copy of which I enclose, from Mr. M. H. Fleming who is a lecture agent. I am writing him but also you direct in order that I may be sure that my services are desired.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

THE EXTENSION DIVISION
I. OWEN HORSFALL, DIRECTOR

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
SALT LAKE CITY

April 30, 1945

Lectures

20-21-49

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
Hotel Sir Francis Drake
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We have been interested in your race in Salt Lake City. Two years ago I had Allan Locke speak on our lecture course. The course is now ended but if you are coming through Salt Lake before the University closes we have a class of 150 members studying Anthropology and races that would be interested in a lecture. Also, we would have a public lecture.

Mr. Fleming is not connected with us in any way. Several times in the past I have helped him sponsor some number. If you came here it would be through direct arrangements with us.

We should like to know what date you could come and what the cost would be.

Yours sincerely,

I. O. Horsfall, Director

IOH/KJD

[University of Utah]

20-21-50

May 7, 1945

Professor I. O. Horsfall
Director
The Extension Division
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah

My dear Professor Horsfall:

I had hoped to be able to stop and lecture in Salt Lake City on my way from the Conference, but it looks now as though the Conference may last too long for that. I could, however, make a trip to Salt Lake City and return to San Francisco so as to speak to your class and lecture, Friday, May 25th.

My charge would be $100.00 and railway expenses from San Francisco and return.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

THE EXTENSION DIVISION
I. OWEN HORSFALL, DIRECTOR

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
SALT LAKE CITY

May 17, 1945

20-21-29

Pictures

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Hotel Sir Francis Drake
San Francisco 1, California

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter came while I was in Chicago . On my return I found that May 25th is the last day of school in this quarter. All routine class work will be over, therefore it would be impossible to meet with the classes. In such a case I suggest that you do not come this years

Perhaps some other time we can make arrangements.

Yours sincerely,

I. O. Horsfall

I. O. Horsfall, Director

IOH/KJD

[Utica Negro History Group]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
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WU N5 NL PD=UTICA NY JAN 24

W E DUBOIS=NATL OFS OF THE NATL ASSOC FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE:

=COULD YOU ADDRESS UTICAN NEGRO HISTORY GROUP DURING FEBRUARY ENROUTE TO BUFFALO WIRE COLLECT GIVING DETAILS=

:NATHAN L BURNETT
515 BROAD ST.515.907A JAN25.

JAN 25 1945

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Utica Negro History Group]

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

25 January 1945

Mr. Nathan L. Burnett
515 Broad Street
Utica, New York

20-10-36

COULD SPEAK MONDAY, JANUARY TWENTY-NINTH OR TUESDAY JANUARY

THIRTIETH stop CHARGE FIFTY DOLLARS.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Collect

[Utica Negro History Group]

25 January 1945

My dear Sir:

I wired you today saying that I could speak Monday or Tuesday, January twenty-ninth or thirtieth, and that my charge would be fifty dollars. In addition to this I should expect lodging and board. If these dates do not suit, it might be possible for me to speak for you February thirteenth under the same conditions. It will be necessary for you to decide on this matter very quickly as my plans of travel have to be made far ahead.

20-10-37

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Nathan L. Burnett
515 Broad Street
Utica, New York

[Utica News History Group]

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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1945 JAN 26 PM 11 29

PZTTNB277

WUUK174N NL PD=WUUK UTICA NY 26=

W E B DUBOIS=NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF COLORED PEOPLE=69 FIFTH AVE=(NEWYORK 3 NY)=

REGRET THAT WE ARE UNABLE TO ARRANGE FOR EITHER OF YOUR
FREE DATES AT THIS TIME=
NATHAN L BURNETT COSMOPOLITAN COMMUNITY CENTER, 515
BROAD ST UTICA 2 NY.

20-10-28

515 BROAD ST UTICA 2 NY.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[U.N. - Liberia]

20-18-02

W. E. B. Du Bois, Consultant
American Delegation, U.N.C.I.O.
Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco 1, California

The Chairman of the
Liberian Delegation to the U.N.C.I.O.
Hotel Mark Hopkins
San Francisco, California

My dear Sir:

I am representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a Consultant to the American Delegation. I should like very much to pay my respects to your Delegation and call upon you at your convenience.

May I have the pleasure of hearing from you?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

[U.N. - illegible]

20-21-40

W. E. B. Du Bois, Consultant
American Delegation, U.N.C.I.O.
Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco 1, California
April 29, 1945

The Chairman of the
Haitian Delegation to the U.N.C.I.O.
Hotel St. Francis
San Francisco, California

My dear Sir:

I am representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a Consultant to the American Delegation. I should like very much to pay my respects to your Delegation and call upon you at your convenience.

May I have the pleasure of hearing from you?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

[U.N. - Liberia]

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

LIBERIAN DELEGATION
Hotel "MARK HOPKINS"
San Francisco, California,
May 1, 1945.

20-16-9

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
Consultant, American Delegation, U. N. C. I. O.
Sir Francis Drake Hotel,
San Francisco 1, California.

San Francisco Conference

Dear Sir:

The Chairman of the Liberian Delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization will be pleased to have you in audience on May 2, 1945 at 9 o'clock a.m.

This is in reply to your letter.

Very sincerely yours,

Nathan Barnes
SECRETARY

[UN-Haiti]

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WESTERN UNION (31)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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FAR37 INTL=SANFRANCISCO CALIF VIA WUCABLES 20 2 1209P

W E B DUBOIS=

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE HOTEL SAN FRANCISCO=

THE CHAIRMAN OF HAITIAN DELEGATION WILL BE VERY PLEASED TO RECEIVED YOU TOMORROW THURSDAY MAY THE THIRD 5:30 P.M.=

GERARD LESCOT.

20-21-98

5:30

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

UNITED STATES DELEGATION HEADQUARTERS

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

SAN FRANCISCO, 1945 Conference

BEARER W. E. B. Du Bois

REPRESENTING Nat'l Assoc. Advancement Colored People

is a consultant—associate consultant—to the United States Delegation.

W. E. B. Du Bois
Signature of Bearer

J. Z. S. D. Ray
Public Liaison Officer

(From Amendments Proposed by the Governments of the United States, United Kingdom, Soviet Union and China) 5-4-45

/Note: Amendments are indicated by underscoring added passages and striking out deleted passages./

CHAPTER I. PURPOSES

1. To maintain international peace and security; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and with due regard for principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international cooperation in the solution of international economic, social, cultural and other humanitarian problems and promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex; and

20-10

CHAPTER II. PRINCIPLES

(New paragraph to be added following paragraph 6, to take the place of paragraph 7, of Chapter VIII, Section A, which would be deleted:

Nothing contained in this Charter shall authorize the Organization to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under this Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of Chapter VIII, Section B.

CHAPTER V. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Section B. Functions and Powers

6. The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in political, economic, and social and cultural fields to assist in the realization of human rights and basic freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex and also for the encouragement of the development of international law and ~~of adjusting situations likely to impair the~~ general welfare.

May 4, 1945

AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, UNITED KINGDOM, SOVIET UNION AND CHINA

The Delegations of the four Governments which participated in the Dumbarton Oaks conversations, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China, have consulted together concerning amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which each of them desired to submit. The proposed amendments on which the four find themselves in agreement are submitted to the Conference as joint proposals. Such further amendments as each of these Governments may wish to propose will be presented separately.

42-9A-21

May 4, 1945

The Honorable Edward R. Stettinius
Chairman, American Delegation, UNCIO
Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Chairman:

You have repeatedly asked all citizens for frank comments and suggestions on the Dumbarton League proposals. Here are the comments which I offer in the spirit of friendliness as a plain citizen who has no axe to grind, except the Axis, and who has devoted most of his life to the problem of world peace.

Ten days have passed since the delegates of 46 nations convened in San Francisco, for the purpose of building an international organization to maintain peace and security.

20-16

I cannot conceal my apprehension of the widening gulf between the purposes of this great meeting, accompanied by the prayers and hopes of humanity, and the meager results of these ten days, accompanied by an all-pervading spirit of mutual fears, suspicions, and behind-the-scenes maneuvers of the power politicians and ideological propogandists.

I am particularly apprehensive of the passive and the appeasing stand of our own American Delegation, which you head, and which, although representing the mightiest and most peaceful nation in history, could find nothing better, so far, than empty generalities and picayune amendments of which the only result will be to evade the real issues of the San Francisco Conference which spell the difference between lasting peace and a Third World War. Are the American Diplomats and politicians losing the great peace at this very moment when the American nation and its allies are winning the great war? The events of the last ten days with its flood of platitudes, deliberately staged "incidents" for ideological propaganda, and equally deliberate evasion of every fundamental issue which might restrict the play of power politics, point in this tragic direction.

But it is not too late, dear Mr. Chairman, to seize boldly the leadership that is yours, and to guide the San Francisco Conference away from the type of an international organization which would be nothing but a screen for power politics and an idealistic bone grudgingly thrown to yearning humanity.

As a mere beginning on the road to the Right Peace, it is indispensable that the American Delegation insist on the following specific changes in the Dumbarton League proposals:

The right to veto the effective action of the Security Council by any of the five permanent member-states, when such state is accused of, or found guilty of aggression, must be abandoned. Such a veto by any nation, when guilty of the international crime of aggression, is the height of cynicism, and a pollution of justice that would be inadmissable, even among the savage

tribes. Instead of a Security Council, which will be nothing but a perpetually hung jury of ambassadorial puppets, we must establish a Security Council, and a higher court, with fair representation to all nations, voting by simple majority within the scope of two strictly defined delegated powers: (a) Prevention of aggression through the worldwide limitation and control of heavy armaments. (b) Protection of the territories of member-states against armed aggression; prohibition of armed aggression against non-members by member-states.

If the veto right is not eliminated, then, at least, the American Delegation must insist that the World Security Council be deprived of its power to veto any regional arrangements made by friendly states among themselves, for their own collective security. As the Dumbarton Plan stands now, Russia may have the right to veto a Pan-American system of effective regional security against aggression, which veto would be in flagrant violation of our traditional Monroe Doctrine and the true aspirations of the Chapultepec Conference.

20-16

So vital is this question of veto, Mr. Chairman, that, in my opinion, it would be far more preferable for those major and lesser powers who so agree to go ahead and establish a truly effective system of collective security, regardless of whether other states, large or small, choose to join or not. The states which will not join need have no fear from such a system of international organization, since its very purpose will be collective defense and nothing else. We must do all we can to maintain lasting unity among major powers, but the price of such a unity must not be an international organization so emasculated that it could only breathe disunity, while at the same time preventing the four-fifths of peaceable nations of the world from organizing in their own way a truly effective and lasting peace. Neither appeasement, nor moral defeatism will solve the problem of our, and world, security. History has dealt to the United States a grand slam. We must not play it for a part score. At this San Francisco Conference the American Nation, with a plan which is just to the world, can do what no other nation has done before - it can declare peace upon the world and win it. I am sure I express the conviction of the overwhelming majority of Americans, and of most other nations, when I say that this is the time for the American Delegation, and for you, dear sir, to throw upon the table of history an American Plan, on the basis of "take-it-or-leave-it". And those nations who choose to leave it need not fear anything from us. For we seek neither territorial nor ideological conquests. We seek only that this shall not happen again.

Most sincerely yours,

ELY CULBERTSON

S.F. conference

UNITED STATES DELEGATION

FOR THE PRESS

May 5, 1945
No. 10

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.,
CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION
May 5, 1945, 9:30 A.M.

The four sponsoring governments agreed last night to present as their joint proposals most of their amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

I believe the very wide extent of agreement reached on these amendments by the sponsoring governments so quickly and so early in the Conference is an achievement of great importance for the successful outcome of our labors.

It is also significant that the substance of these amendments and of three additional amendments being proposed by the United States results in large part from the very full world wide discussion of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which has been carried on since last October.

Many suggestions made by individual citizens or civic groups in the United States are reflected in these amendments. The assistance and advice of the Consultants to the United States Delegation have been invaluable.

Seldom has there been a greater demonstration of respect for democratic rights or a fuller proof of the high value of democratic procedures.

Two important amplifications of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals made in the amendments agreed upon last night concern the promotion of individual human rights and fundamental freedoms, and further strengthening of the machinery for keeping the peace.

To the original purposes of the World Organization as stated in Chapter One have now been added: first, as the basis of the development of friendly relations among nations; the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; second, the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all people without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex. Thus the members of the organization are pledged to international cooperation for the benefit of individuals everywhere.

The United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China were in full accord upon the strong statements regarding equal rights for all nations large and small and the individual human rights which it is now proposed to include as fundamental purposes of the World Organization.

The responsibility for the work of assisting in the realization of individual human rights and basic freedoms is placed primarily upon the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. Several amendments to this effect have been agreed upon in the chapters concerned with the functions and powers of the Assembly and Economic and Social Council. Establishment by the Economic and Social Council of a commission for the promotion of human rights is now specifically provided for. In addition the Economic and Social Council would set up economic, social and cultural commissions.

President Roosevelt listed freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear as the four fundamental freedoms for which this war is being fought. We know that these freedoms cannot be achieved overnight and that it will require long years of effort and struggle to realize them fully. But the length and difficulty of the road should make us all the more eager to set our feet upon it firmly and hopefully.

I look forward confidently to the time when the Economic and Social Council will become one of the great institutions towards which all peoples will turn for hope and effective action. I believe that here at San Francisco we are laying a firm foundation for the economic and social collaboration of nations, and that history may well prove that of all the things we have done here this was the most important.

A substantial addition to the functions of the Security Council is an amendment to Chapter Eight providing that the Council can recommend not only procedures for peaceful settlement, but also the actual terms of settlement whenever the parties to the dispute request such action.

Moreover, under a further amendment, the Council may, pending final settlement, call upon the parties to a dispute to comply with provisional measures necessary to prevent aggravation of the dispute.

An important amendment, which is an addition to the Principles stated in Chapter Two, specifies that the organization shall not interfere in the domestic affairs of any nation, with the significant qualification

that a claim of domestic jurisdiction cannot prevent enforcement action by the Security Council in dealing with threats to the peace or in dealing with acts of aggression.

Another amendment sets up, for the first time, the procedure by which the Charter of the World Organization will come into force. It provides that the Charter will take effect when it has been ratified by the five nations having permanent seats on the Security Council and a simple majority of the other members of the Organization. The same rules would apply in putting into effect later amendments to the Charter.

The four sponsoring governments have agreed upon an amendment which provides that the General Assembly, with the concurrence of the Security Council, may call a general conference to recommend amendments to the Charter at any time in the future.

Another amendment is concerned with fair representation for the so-called middle-sized nations and the small nations on the Security Council. This is done by setting up the principle that the non-permanent members of the Council should be elected by the Assembly with due regard first to their contribution to the maintenance of peace and security and also to equitable geographical distribution.

In addition to the amendments jointly proposed by the four sponsoring governments, the United States delegation has also submitted other amendments. Further consultations on these amendments will be held.

One of these amendments would clarify the power of the Assembly to recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations, including situations resulting from a violation of the purposes and principles of the proposed Charter of the World Organization.

A second United States amendment clarifies the authority of the Security Council in regard to regional arrangements directed against the present Axis powers. It re-emphasizes the proposal that no enforcement action would be taken under regional arrangements without the authority of the Security Council, except when such action was directed against states now at war with the United Nations. This provision is consistent with Chapter XII of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which states that "no provision of the Charter should preclude action

taken or authorized in relation to enemy states as a result of the present war by the Governments having responsibility for such action."

We are proposing a wholly new chapter which deals with the vital subject of international trusteeship for certain territories. Pursuant to the Crimea Agreement, consultations with the other four governments which would have permanent seats on the Security Council are under way on these proposals.

The Organization would establish a system of international trusteeship applying to three classes of territories which may be placed under the system by means of trusteeship arrangements:--territories now under mandate; territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of this war; and territories voluntarily placed under the system by the administering states.

Specific provision is made for designating strategic areas in a trusteeship arrangement applying to any particular territory. The Security Council has jurisdiction to exercise the functions of the organization with regard to these strategic areas, while the General Assembly, assisted by a Trusteeship Council exercises the functions with regard to other trust areas.

The system here proposed holds great promise for the development and progress of the peoples of dependent areas. It must be emphasized, however, that we are here dealing only with the machinery for trusteeship. No consideration will be given at this Conference to specific territories which are to be placed under the system. That will be left for future arrangements.

S.F. Conference

The United Nations Conference on International Organization

Doc. 42 (ENGLISH)
P/10 (a)
May 6, 1945

PLENARY

ADDENDUM TO VERBATIM MINUTES OF THE FIFTH PLENARY SESSION

April 30, 1945

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE

The following report, introduced by the Chairman of the Delegation of Cuba, Rapporteur for the Steering Committee, was approved at the Fifth Plenary Session on Monday, April 30, 1945:

I. PRESIDENTS OF THE CONFERENCE

There shall be four Presidents who will preside in rotation at the Plenary Sessions. These four may meet from time to time, with Mr. Stettinius presiding over these meetings and Mr. Stettinius to be Chairman of the Executive and Steering Committees, the three others delegating full powers to Mr. Stettinius for conducting the business of the Conference.

II. GENERAL COMMITTEES

The following general committees shall be created:

1. The Steering Committee, which shall be composed of the Chairmen of all the Delegations. Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. shall be Chairman of the Committee, which shall choose its Rapporteur. It shall consider any major policy or procedure question submitted to it during the Conference by the Co-Presidents or by the Chairman of any Delegation.

2. The Executive Committee, which shall be composed of the Chairmen of the Delegations of the Sponsoring Governments, namely, China, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America, and the Chairmen of the Delegations of ten additional Governments, namely, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, France,

Iran, Mexico, Netherlands, Yugoslavia. The Chairman of the Steering Committee shall also serve as Chairman of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall make recommendations to the Steering Committee for its consideration and shall otherwise assist the Steering Committee as the latter may authorize. When considering matters affecting the work of Commissions, the Executive Committee shall normally invite the appropriate Presidents of Commissions to sit with it.

3. The Coordination Committee, which shall be composed of fourteen members, one representing each member of the Executive Committee. The Coordination Committee shall assist the Executive Committee in the performance of the latter's functions.

4. The Credentials Committee, which shall be composed of six members appointed by the Chairmen of the following Delegations: Ecuador, Luxembourg, Nicaragua, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yugoslavia. The member representing Luxembourg shall be Chairman. The Credentials Committee shall verify the delegates' credentials and shall report to the Conference in Plenary Session.

20-21

III. COMMISSIONS AND TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

1. The Conference shall be divided into four Commissions. Each Commission shall have a President and a Rapporteur who shall be nominated by the Steering Committee and approved by the Conference in Plenary Session. An Assistant Secretary General of the Conference, to be chosen in a similar manner, shall act in the capacity of Secretary General of each Commission. Each Commission shall develop general principles to guide its Technical Committees and Subcommittees; shall consider the recommendations of its Technical Committees and the relationships of such recommendations to those made by Technical Committees of other Commissions; and shall recommend to the Conference in Plenary Session proposed texts for adoption as parts of the Charter.

2. Each Commission shall have Technical Committees which shall formulate recommendations on the various parts of the Agenda assigned to it. The Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the Technical Committees shall be nominated by the Steering Committee and be approved by the Conference in Plenary Session. The Technical Committees may establish such drafting and other subcommittees as they find desirable. Each Technical Committee shall provide the opportunity for discussion and technical consideration necessary

to develop draft provisions for submission to the Commission to which it reports.

3. All Delegations shall be entitled to be represented on each Commission and on each of their Technical Committees, and to participate in their deliberations.

4. The four Commissions, their Technical Committees, and the scope of their activities, shall be as described below. The Commissions shall be free to make their own rules, including changes which might be desirable in the number and the work of the Technical Committees, and there shall be no restriction on the scope of their discussions. The Steering Committee may from time to time assign duties to the Commissions in addition to those mentioned.

COMMISSION I - General Provisions

Functions: To consider and recommend Conference action upon draft proposals submitted to it by its Technical Committees and upon other matters relating to its field.

Technical Committee 1 - Preamble, Purposes and Principles

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission I draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapters I and II of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 2 - Membership, Amendment and Secretariat

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission I draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapters III, IV, X and XI of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

COMMISSION II - General Assembly

Functions: To consider and recommend Conference action upon draft proposals submitted to it by its Technical Committees and upon other matters relating to its field.

Technical Committee 1 - Structure and Procedures

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission II draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations

relating to matters dealt with in Chapter V of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals on structure and procedures (Sections A, C, D and the pertinent paragraphs of Section B), and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 2 - Political and Security Functions

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission II draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapter V of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals on political and security functions (especially Section B), and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 3 - Economic and Social Cooperation

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission II draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in the pertinent paragraphs of Chapter V and in Chapter IX of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

20-21

Technical Committee 4 - Trusteeship System

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission II, and to Commission III as necessary, draft provisions on principles and mechanism of a system of international trusteeship for such dependent territories as may by subsequent agreement be placed thereunder.

COMMISSION III - Security Council

Functions: To consider and recommend Conference action upon draft proposals submitted to it by its Technical Committees and upon other matters relating to its field.

Technical Committee 1 - Structure and Procedures

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission III draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapter VI of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals on structure and procedures (Sections A, C, D and the pertinent paragraphs of Section B), and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

[U.N.:- United States]

May 7, 1945

21-6-39

Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.
Chairman, American Delegation, UNCIO
Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco, California

THE UNDERSIGNED CONSULTANTS RESPECTIVELY PLACE BEFORE THE AMERICAN DELEGATION THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON THE TRUSTEESHIP PROPOSAL MADE BY IT. WE ARE PLEASED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE A PROPOSAL ON THIS MOST BASIC PROBLEM IN WHICH IS INVOLVED THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE. WE RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULTY OF RECONCILING SECURITY NEEDS WITH HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS BUT WE URGE THAT THE AMERICAN DELEGATION SERIOUSLY CONSIDER AND VIGOROUSLY SUPPORT THE CHANGES SET FORTH HEREWITH TO MAKE ITS TRUSTEESHIP PROPOSAL EVEN MORE EFFECTIVE. SEVERAL OTHER CONSULTANTS HAVE INDICATED THEIR DESIRE TO JOIN IN SUBMISSION OF THESE SUGGESTIONS. THEIR NAMES WILL BE TRANSMITTED TO YOU AS SOON AS THEY HAVE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO READ THE FULL TEXT.

(OVER)

21-6-40

It has been agreed by four of the Great Powers that one of the purposes of the international organization is "promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex" but the agreement also provides that in case discrimination does occur the organization has no right to intervene within the "domestic jurisdiction" of the state concerned. This means that the international organization cannot interfere in colonial affairs, and it may also make impossible any attempt to safeguard the rights of any groups in any nation; for instance, it could not combat the race and religious persecution of another Hitler.

This declaration in Chapter I, Paragraph 3, is encouraging as far as it places the international organization on the side of justice and nondiscrimination but it is especially dangerous in leaving out the mass of people living in colonies, against whom discrimination is customary and unjustifiable. We believe that a declaration should lay down the principle and implement it so as to provide for the transition of all colonial peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as they desire. The eventual disappearance of the colonial system is the best insurance of peace. This democratic principle, the international organization has not recognized.

With regard to trusteeship, the American proposal is permissive only and ought to be mandatory.

The American proposal is that only such territory or parts of territories where strategic considerations are of paramount importance should be designated as strategic; other parts and populations should be under a trusteeship system. The British proposal on the other hand would not recognize the feasibility of separating strategic areas from other trustee areas, and would permit the operation of strategic controls in the interest of security in any territory or part thereof. This, as it seems to us, is a possible encroachment of military considerations upon considerations of humanity.

With regard to mandates distributed after the first World War, and to territories taken by the United Nations after this war, there is proposed a trusteeship administered by the nations who held the mandates and by other interested nations, but there is no provision for Native representation. This failure to include Natives in the governing council does not carry out the stated objectives of the proposal to train the Natives for "progressive development toward self-government." Neither is there provision for Native representation in territories voluntarily put under the trusteeship.

It is unthinkable that the mandated colonies distributed after the first World War should be returned to the position of colonies owned by other countries or that the terms upon which they were mandated should not be subject to revision.

All this refers to a colonial population of not more than 25 millions. This leaves at least 725 millions of colonial inhabitants concerning whom nothing is said except that some of these territories may voluntarily be placed under the trusteeship by the countries controling them.

WALTER WHITE, CONSULTANT
W.E.B. DUBOIS, ASSOCIATE CONSULTANT
MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE, ASSOCIATE CONSULTANT
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF
COLORED PEOPLE

[U.N., San Fran. Conf.]

May 8, 1945

To the Press:

The following telegram was sent yesterday to the Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Chairman, American Delegation, UNCIO, regarding the American proposal on colonial trusteeship by 3 Consultants to the American Delegation representing the NAACP:

The undersigned consultants respectively place before the American Delegation the following comments on the trusteeship proposal made by it. We are pleased that the United States has made a proposal on this most basic problem in which is involved the whole question of peace. We recognize the difficulty of reconciling security needs with humanitarian considerations but we urge that the American Delegation seriously consider and vigorously support the changes set forth herewith to make its trusteeship proposal even more effective. Several other consultants have indicated their desire to join in submission of these suggestions. Their names will be transmitted to you as soon as they have had opportunity to read the full text.

Walter White, Consultant
W.E.B. Dubois, Associate Consultant
Mary McLeod Bethune, Associate Consultant
to National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People

46-6-136

[U.N.- San. Fran. Conf]

439 EAST 51ST STREET
NEW YORK
ELDORADO 5-2222
CABLE ADDRESS: CALDPARK NEW YORK

May 8, 1945

TROUBLE ANYWHERE IS TROUBLE EVERYWHERE

WHO IS THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN OF THE HOUR?

We, the people, are now confronted with the same perplexities which we, the people, had to contend with when we formed our National Constitution. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and their associates, were equal to the ordeal in their time, so as to call down the praise of all succeeding generations. Shall we be equally equal to the task in our time? They needed courage to meet the situation as it was then. We need courage to meet the situation as it is now.

The first need is an International Cooperative Organization that will not fall apart the first time the wind blows as the League of Nations did. We would not have peace for ten minutes in New York without a police force, which acts with the speed of the Fire Department, to bring the culprit before the judge. Neither will we have peace among nations without similar quick control over unscrupulous miscreants who do not mind engulfing the world in desolation for their evil purposes.

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Provision needs to be made that failure on the part of any member to abide by the terms of the new constitution of nations automatically forfeits that nation's rights to the benefits thereunder and especially all rights to any economic help from the United States.

Also, that claims of sovereignty shall not be recognized as a cloak of immunity for the practice of injustice anywhere against minorities or others, as Spain claimed in Cuba and the Philippines.

The only safe government for nations or the world is "government by the consent of the governed" and a truly secret ballot.

Faithfully,

Robert J. Caldwell

P.S. A good way to understand modern Russia is to read "Russia is no Riddle", by Edmund Stevens- Greenberg, Publisher, N.Y.- for many years Christian Science Monitor correspondent in Russia and recommended by the Book of the Month Club.

San Francisco Conference

The United Nations Conference on International Organization

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GENERAL

TO: Secretaries General of Delegations, United Nations Conference on International Organization

From: Secretariat

Subject: Revised List of Delegation Assignments to Commissions and Committees

There is submitted herewith the first revision of the Provisional List of Delegation Assignments to Commissions and Committees (Doc. 96, May 5, 1945). In this revision these assignments are listed by country in alphabetical order as well as by Commissions and Committees. Final revisions or additions to this list should be brought to the attention of the Secretariat at once.

Assignments by Country

Australia

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
W. D. Forsyth
R. J. Nash
George McLeay
H. A. M. Campbell
Mrs. J. G. M. Street
W. Macmahon Ball

These members may attend meetings of any of the Committees under Commission I.

Committee 1
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
R. J. Nash, Alternate
W. Macmahon Ball, Alternate

Committee 2
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
George McLeay, Alternate
W. Macmahon Ball, Alternate

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
J. W. Burton
Sir Frederic Eggleston
R. T. Pollard
J. F. Walsh
O. D. A. Oberg
J. B. Brigden
Roland Wilson
L. F. Crisp

These members may attend meetings of any of the Committees under Commission II.

Committee 1
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
Sir Frederic Eggleston, Alternate
J. B. Brigden, Alternate

Committee 2
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
R. T. Pollard, Alternate
Paul Hasluck, Alternate

Committee 3
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
J. W. Burton, Alternate
Roland Wilson, Alternate

Committee 4
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
Sir Frederic Eggleston, Alternate
W. D. Forsyth, Alternate

COMMISSION III
Security Council

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
A. S. Watt
John McEwen
Lt. Gen. Sir John Lavarack
Air Marshal R. Williams
Commander S. H. K. Spurgeon
E. V. Raymont
P. E. Coleman

These members may attend meetings of any of the Committees under Commission III.

Committee 1
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
A. S. Watt, Alternate
Commander S. H. K. Spurgeon, Alternate

Committee 2
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
John McEwen, Alternate
K. H. Bailey, Alternate

Committee 3
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
Lt. Gen. Sir John Lavarack, Alternate
P. E. Coleman, Alternate
Paul Hasluck, Alternate

Committee 4
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
A. S. Watt, Alternate
Air Marshal R. Williams, Alternate
P. E. Coleman, Alternate

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
K. H. Bailey
Sir Frederic Eggleston

These members may attend meetings of any of the Committees under Commission IV.

Committee 1
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
K. H. Bailey, Alternate
Sir Frederic Eggleston, Alternate

Committee 2
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
K. H. Bailey, Alternate
Sir Frederic Eggleston, Alternate

The official advisers to the Australian Delegation shall be able to attend the sessions of any Commission or Committee as required.

Belgium

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Henri Rolin, President
Dr. Marteaux
M. Loridan, Alternate

Committee 1

Baron van der Elst
M. Rolin, Alternate

Committee 2

M. Rolin
M. Lebeau, Alternate

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

M. De Schryver
M. de Laveleye, Alternate

Committee 1

M. de Laveleye
Baron Silvercruys, Alternate

Committee 2

M. Rolin
M. Dehousse, Alternate

Committee 3

M. Dehousse
M. Lebeau, Alternate

Committee 4

M. De Schryver
M. Loridan, Alternate

COMMISSION III
Security Council

M. Spaak
M. van Langenhove, Alternate
Alternate:

During the absence of Mr. Spaak, the seat of the Belgian Government on Commission III will be occupied provisionally by Mr. van Langenhove. Mr. Rolin has been designated to replace Mr. van Langenhove, if necessary.

Committee I

Baron Silvercruys
M. de Laveleye, Alternate

Committee 2

M. De Visscher
M. Loridan, Alternate

Committee 3

M. van Langenhove
M. Rolin, Alternate

Committee 4

M. van Langenhove
M. Loridan, Alternate

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

M. De Visscher
M. Nisot, Alternate

Committee 1

M. De Visscher
M. Nisot, Alternate

Committee 2

M. Dehousse
M. Nisot, Alternate

Bolivia

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Victor Andrade
Eduardo Arze-Quiroga

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Victor Andrade
Eduardo Arze Quiroga

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Carlos Salamanca
Luis Iturralde

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Luis Iturralde
Carlos Salamanca
Mario Araoz-Levy, Adviser
Walter Montenegro, Adviser
Joaquin Aguirre, Adviser

Brazil

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Carlos Martins
Antonio Camillo de Oliveira
Dr. Bertha Lutz
Marcio de Mello Franco Alves, Adviser
Vicente Galliez, Adviser
Henrique de Souza Gomes, Adviser

Committee 1

Carlos Martins
Antonio Camillo de Oliveira

Committee 2

Carlos Martins
Dr. Bertha Lutz

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Pedro Leao Velloso
Carlos Martins
Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Antonio Camillo de Oliveira
Jose de Alencar Netto, Adviser
Geraldo de Paula Souza, Adviser
Vicente Galliez, Adviser
Octavio Brito, Adviser
Marcio de Mello Franco Alves, Adviser
Henrique de Souza Gomes, Adviser

Committee 1

Carlos Martins
Octavio Brito, Adviser

Committee 2

Major Brigadier Armando Trompowsky
Rear Admiral Sylvio de Noronha
Major General Estevao Leitao de Carvalho

Committee 3

Dr. Bertha Lutz
Carlos Martins

Committee 4

Carlos Martins
Antonio Camillo de Oliveira

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Pedro Leo Velloso
Carlos Martins
Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Major General Estevao Leitao de Carvalho
Major General Armando Figueira Trompowsky de Almeida
Admiral Sylvio de Noronha
Jos de Alencar Netto, Adviser
Octavio Brito, Adviser
Commander Joao Pereira Machado, Adviser
Major Alfredo Souto Malan, Adviser
Henrique de Souza Gomes, Adviser

Committee 1

Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Admiral Sylvio de Noronha

Committee 2

Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Major Brigadier Armando Trompowsky

Committee 3

Admiral Sylvio de Noronha
Major General Estevao Leitao de Carvalho
Major Brigadier Armando Trompowsky

Committee 4

Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Octavio Brito, Adviser

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Antonio Camillo de Oliveira
Octavio Brito, Adviser
Henrique de Souza Gomes, Adviser

Committee 1

Antonio Camillo de Oliveira
Octavao Brito, Adviser

Committee 2

Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Octavao Brito, Adviser

Canada

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Senator King and Mrs. Casselman assisted by N. A. Robertson

Committee 1

Senator King
Mrs. Casselman or
N. A. Robertson
assisted by Mr. Ritchie

Committee 2

Mr. St. Laurent or
N. A. Robertson
assisted by
Mr. Rasminsky and
Mr. Reid

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Mr. Mackenzie King and
Mr. Graydon, assisted by
Mr. Pearson and Mr. Wilgress

Committee 1

Mr. Coldwell or
Mr. Desy, assisted by
Mr. Raminsky and Mr. Reid

Committee 2

Mr. Graydon or
Mr. Chipman, assisted by
Mr. Reid

Canada—Cont.

Committee 3
Mr. Graydon
Mr. Coldwell, or
Mr. Pearson, assisted by
Mr. Rasminsky

Committee 4
Senator Moraud or
Mr. Wilgress, assisted by
Mr. Renaud and
Miss MacCallum

COMMISSION III
Security Council
Mackenzie King and
Mr. Coldwell, assisted by
Mr. Wrong and
General Pope

Committee 1
Mr. St. Laurent or
Mr. Pearson, assisted by
Mr. Ritchie

Committee 2
Mrs. Casselman
Mr. Wilgress, assisted by
Mr. Reid

Committee 3
Mackenzie King
Mr. Wrong, assisted by
General Pope
Mr. Ritchie

Committee 4
Mr. Graydon or
Mr. Desy, assisted by
General Pope

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization
Mr. St. Laurent and
Senator Moraud, assisted by
Mr. Desy and
Mr. Chipman

Committee 1
Mr. St. Laurent or
Mr. Chipman, assisted by
Mr. Chaput

Committee 2
Senator Moraud or
Mr. Desy, assisted by
Mr. Wrong
Mr. Renaud
R. G. Robertson
Mr. Chaput, according to subjects

Chile

COMMISSION I
General Provisions
Committees 1 and 2
Gabriel Gonzalez
Eduardo Cruz-Coke
German Vergara
Enrique Bernstein, Secretary
Juan Guzman, Secretary

COMMISSION II
General Assembly
Committee 1
Felix Nieto del Rio
German Cergara, Alternate

Committees 2 and 4
Jose Maza
Julio Escudero
Mario Rodriguez, Secretary

Committee 3
Guillermo del Pedregal
Amilcar Chiorrini
Enrique Alcalde
Luis Davila, Adviser
Fernando Illanes, Secretary

COMMISSION III
Security Council
Committees 1, 2, 3 and 4
Carlos Contreras Labarca
Felix Nieto del Rio
Gabriel Gonzalez
Enrique Alcalde
German Vergara
Fausto Soto, Secretary

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization
Committees 1 and 2
Miguel Cruchaga
Oscar Gajardo
Julio Escudero
Alfonso Campos, Secretary

China

STEERING COMMITTEE
T. V. Soong
V. K. Wellington Koo, Alternate
Victor Chi-tsai Hoo, Alternate

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
T. V. Soong
V. K. Wellington Koo, Alternate
Victor Chi-tsai Hoo, Alternate

COMMISSION I
General Provisions
Wang Chung-hui
Hsu Mo, Alternate

Committee 1
Wang Chung-hui
Hsu Mo, Alternate
Dison Hsueh-feng Poe, Alternate
Chu Hsin-ming, Alternate

Committee 2
Li Hwang
Victor Chi-tsai Hoo, Alternate
Lee Wei-kuo, Alternate
Kan Lee, Alternate

COMMISSION II
General Assembly
V. K. Wellington Koo
Victor Chi-tsai Hoo, Alternate

Committee 1
Tung Pi-wu
Kuo Ping-chia, Alternate
Cheng Chen-yu, Alternate

Committee 2
Chun-mai Carson Chang
Wang Hua-cheng, Alternate
Kuo Ping-chia, Alternate

Committee 3
Miss Wu Yi-fang
Hu Lin
Victor Chi-tsai Hoo, Alternate
Pei Tsu-yee, Alternate
Chang Fu-yun, Alternate
Kan Lee, Alternate
Chu Hsin-ming, Alternate
Liu Hsuan-tsui, Alternate

Committee 4
V. K. Wellington Koo
Liu Chieh, Alternate
Shao Yu-lin, Alternate

COMMISSION III
Security Council
V. K. Wellington Koo
Hu Shih

Committee 1
V. K. Wellington Koo
Hu Shih
Chang Chung-fu, Alternate
Kuo Ping-chia, Alternate

Committee 2
Hu Shih
Hsu Mo, Alternate
Wang Chia-chen, Alternate
Yuen-li Liang, Alternate

Committee 3
V. K. Wellington Koo
Admiral Chen Sao-kuan, Alternate
Liu Chieh, Alternate
Victor Chi-tsai Hoo, Alternate
Lieutenant General Tu Chien-shih, Alternate
Major-General P. T. Mow, Alternate
Yuen-li Liang, Alternate

Committee 4
V. K. Wellington Koo
S. R. Chow, Alternate
Yang Yun-chu, Alternate
Shuhsi Hsu, Alternate

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization
Wang Chung-hui
Wei Tao-ming

Committee 1
Wei Tao-ming
Hsu Mo, Alternate
Wang Hua-cheng, Alternate

Committee 2
Wang Chung-hui
John C. H. Wu, Alternate
Dison Hsueh-feng Poe, Alternate
Chang Fu-yun, Alternate
Yuen-li Liang, Alternate

Colombia

COMMISSION I
General Provisions
Committee 1
Jesus Maria Yepes
Silvio Villegas
Abel Botero

Colombia—Cont.

Committee 2
Silvio Villegas
Jesus Maria Yepes
Eduardo Zuleta-Angel
Abel Botero

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Committee 1
Alberto Gonzalez-Fernandez
Jesus Maria Yepes
Luis Eduardo Nieto-Arteta

Committee 2
Eduardo Zuleta-Angel
Jesus Maria Yepes
Abel Botero

Committee 3
Miguel Lopez-Pumarejo
Luis Eduardo Nieto-Arteta

Committee 4
Miguel Lopez-Pumarejo
Alberto Gonzales-Fernandez
Luis Eduardo Nieto-Arteta

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Committee 1
Alberto Gonzalez-Fernandez
Jesus Maria Yepes
Luis Eduardo Nieto-Arteta

Committee 2
Eduardo Zuleta-Angel
Silvio Villegas
Abel Botero

Committee 3
Roberto Urdaneta-Arbelaez
Alberto Gonzalez-Fernandez
Abel Botero

Committee 4
Alberto Lleras-Camargo
Miguel Lopez-Pumarejo
Alberto Gonzalez-Fernandez
Jesus Maria Yepes

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Committee 1
Roberto Urdaneta-Arbelaez
Eduardo Zuleta-Angel
Luis Eduardo Nieto-Arteta

Committee 2
Eduardo Zuleta-Angel
Roberto Urdaneta-Arbelaez
Luis Eduardo Nieto-Arteta

Costa Rica

The following are to represent Costa Rica on any or all Commissions and Committees:
Julio Acosta
Luis Anderson
Alvaro Bonilla
Francisco de P. Gutierrez
Rafael Oreamuno
Luis D. Tinoco
Julio Pena
Fabio Fournier

Cuba

COMMISSIONS I, II, III and IV

Guillermo Belt Ramirez
Ramiro Guerra y Sanchez
Ernesto Dihigo Lopez Trigo
Sir Francisco Aguirre
Guy Perez Cisneros

Czechoslovakia

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Jan Masaryk, Delegate
V. S. Hurban, Alternate
Ivan Kerno, Alternate

Committee 1
Ivan Kerno, Delegate
Jan Papanek, Alternate

Committee 2
Antonin Obrdlik, Delegate
Ernest Sturc, Alternate

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Jan Masaryk, Delegate
V. S. Hurban, Alternate
Josef Hanc, Alternate

Committee 1
Ernest Sturc, Delegate
Jan Papanek, Alternate

Committee 2
Jan Papanik, Delegate
Antonin Obrdlik, Alternate

Committee 3
Josef Hanc, Delegate
Ernest Sturc, Alternate

Committee 4
Vaclav Benes, Delegate
Mikulas Mara, Alternate

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Jan Masaryk, Delegate
V. S. Hurban, Alternate
Jan Papanek, Alternate

Committee 1
Josef Hanc, Delegate
Jan Papanek, Alternate

Committee 2
Jan Papanek, Delegate
Ivan Kerno, Alternate
Ernest Sturc, Alternate

Committee 3
Vladimir Vochoc, Delegate
Vaclav Benes, Alternate
Ivan Kerno, Alternate

Committee 4
Ivan Kerno, Delegate
Josef Hanc, Alternate

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Jan Masaryk, Delegate
V. S. Hurban, Alternate
Vladimir Vochoc, Alternate

Committee 1
Vaclav Benes, Delegate
Ivan Kerno, Alternate
Vladimir Vochoc, Alternate

Committee 2
Vladimir Vochoc, Delegate
Vaclav Benes, Alternate
Ivan Kerno, Alternate

Dominican Republic

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Ambassador Emilio Garcia Godoy

Committee 1
The above representative will serve on this Committee.

Committee 2
The above representative will serve on this Committee.

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Tulio Franco y Franco
Minerva Bernardino
Porfirio Herrera-Baez, Adviser

Committee 1
The above representatives will serve on this Committee.

Committee 2
The above representatives will serve on this Committee.
Tulio Franco y Franco, Rapporteur

Committee 3
The above representatives will serve on this Committee.

Committee 4
The above representatives will serve on this Committee.

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Manuel A. Pena Batlle
Brigadier General Antonio Leyba Pou
J. M. Sanz, Adviser

Committee 1
The above representatives will serve on this Committee.

Committee 2
The above representatives will serve on this committee.

Committee 3
The above representatives will serve on this Committee.

Committee 4
The above representatives will serve on this Committee.

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Gilberto Sanchez Lustrino

Committee 1
The above representative will serve on this Committee.

Committee 2
The above representative will serve on this Committee.

Ecuador

Dr. Camilo Ponce Enriquez, President of the Delegation, is empowered by his Delegation to vote and take part in any or all of the Commission or Committee meetings.

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Galo Plaza
Eduardo Laso, Alternate
Gonzalo Escudero, Alternate
Neftali Ponce, Alternate
Carlos Tobar, Alternate

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Eduardo Laso
Galo Plaza, Alternate
Gonzalo Escudero, Alternate
Neftali Ponce, Alternate
Carlos Tobar, Alternate

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Gonzalo Escudero
Eduardo Laso, Alternate
Galo Plaza, Alternate
Neftali Ponce, Alternate
Carlos Tobar, Alternate

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Neftali Ponce
Eduardo Laso, Alternate
Galo Plaza, Alternate
Gonzalo Escudero, Alternate
Carlos Tobar, Alternate

20-21

Egypt

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Mahmoud Pasha Hassan
Mamdouh Bey Riaz

Committee 1

Mahmoud Pasha Hassan
Mamdouh Bey Riaz
Hilmy Bahgat Badawi

Committee 2

Mahmoud Pasha Hassan
Mamdouh Bey Riaz
Hassan Mazhar

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

A. Pasha Badawi
Ibrahim Bey Abdel Hadi

Committee 1

A. Pasha Badawi
Taha El Sayed Nasr
Hanna Saba

Committee 2

Ibrahim Bey Abdel Hadi
Mamdouh Bey Riaz
Adly Bey Andraous

Committee 3

Ibrahim Bey Abdel Hadi
Anis Bey Azer
Mohamed Awad
Aly El Gueredly

Committee 4

A. Pasha Badawi
Ibrahim Bey Abdel Hadi
Taha El Sayed Nasr
Mohamed Awad

COMMISSION III
Security Council

A. Pasha Badawi
Ibrahim Bey Abdel Hadi

Committee 1

A. Pasha Badawi
Mamdouh Bey Riaz
Taha El Sayed Nasr
Hanna Saba

Committee 2

Ibrahim Bey Abdel Hadi
Adly Bey Andraous

Committee 3

A. Pasha Badawi
Mamdouh Bey Riaz
Lieutenant Colonel Abdel Hamid Ghaleb
Lieutenant Colonel Abdel Halim Khalifa
Lieutenant Commander Ezzedine Atif

Committee 4

A. Pasha Badawi
Helmi Bahgat Badawi
Hanna Saba

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Mahmoud Hassan Pasha
Helmi Bahgate Badawi

Committee 1

Mahmoud Hassan Pasha
Helmi Bahgat Badawi
Hanna Saba

Committee 2

Mahmoud Hassan Pasha
Helmi Bahgat Badawi
Hanna Saba

El Salvador

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 1

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 2

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Carlos Leiva
Hector David Castro, Alternate
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate

Committee 1

Carlos Leiva
Hector David Castro, Alternate
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate

Committee 2

Carlos Leiva
Hector David Castro, Alternate
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate

Committee 3

Carlos Leiva
Hector David Castro, Alternate
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate

Committee 4

Carlos Leiva
Hector David Castro, Alternate
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 1

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 2

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 3

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 4

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

J. Antonio Quiros
Hector David Castro, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 1

J. Antonio Quiros
Hector David Castro, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 2

J. Antonio Quiros
Hector David Castro, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Ethiopia

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Ato Aklilou Abte Wold
Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam, Alternate
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate
Ato Emanuel Abraham, Alternate

Committee 1

Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate

Committee 2

Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen
Ato Emanuel Abraham, Alternate

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Ato Aklilou Abte Wold
Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam, Alternate
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alt.
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate
Ato Emanuel Abraham, Alternate

Committee 1

Ato Emanuel Abraham
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate

Committee 2

Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate

Committee 3

Ato Menasse Lemma
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate

Committee 4

Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Ato Aklilou Abte Wold
Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam, Alternate
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate
Ato Emanuel Abraham, Alternate
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate

Committee 1

Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate

Committee 2

Ato Aklilon Abte Wold
Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam, Alternate
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate

Committee 3

Ato Aklilon Abte Wold
Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam, Alternate
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate

Committee 4

Ato Aklilon Abte Wold
Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam, Alternate
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Ato Emanuel Abraham, Assistant Secretary General

Committee 1

Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam
Ato Emanuel Abraham, Alternate

Committee 2

Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam
Ato Emanuel Abraham, Alternate

France

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

M. Bonnet

Committee 1

M. Bidault
M. Paul-Boncour

Committee 2

M. Bonnet

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

M. Pleven
M. Bonnet

Committee 1

M. Bonnet

Committee 2

M. Paul-Boncour

Committee 3

M. Pleven
M. Billoux
M. Bonnet

Committee 4

M. Pleven
M. Naggiar, Alternate
General Juin
Admiral d'Argenlieu

COMMISSION III
Security Council

M. Bidault

Committee 1

M. Bidault
M. Paul-Boncour

Committee 2

M. Basdevant

Committee 3

M. Pleven
M. Paul-Boncour, Rapporteur
General Juin
Admiral d'Argenlieu

Committee 4

M. Bidault
M. Paul-Boncour
M. Bonnet
General Juin
Admiral d'Argenlieu
M. Naggiar
M. Basdevant

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

M. Basdevant

Committee 1

M. Basdevant

Committee 2

M. Basdevant

Greece

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

J. Sofianopoulos
Th. Aghnides, Alternate
C. Goulimis, Alternate

Committee 1

Th. Aghnides
J. Spiropoulos, Alternate

Committee 2

Th. Aghnides
C. Goulimis, Alternate

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

J. Politis
C. Diamantopoulos, Alternate

Committee 1

J. Politis
C. Diamantopoulos, Alternate

Committee 2

C. Diamantopoulos
J. Politis, Alternate

Committee 3

C. Diamantopoulos
A. Loverdos, Alternate

Committee 4

C. Goulimis
J. Spiropoulos, Alternate

COMMISSION III
Security Council

J. Sofianopoulos
Th. Aghnides, Alternate

Committee 1

J. Sofianopoulos
Th. Aghnides, Alternate
J. Politis, Alternate
Alexis S. Liatis, Alternate

Committee 2

Th. Aghnides
J. Politis, Alternate
Alexis S. Liatis, Alternate

Committee 3

J. Politis
Th. Aghnides, Alternate
Colonel S. Georgoulis, Alternate
Wing Commander C. Platsis, Alternate
Alexis S. Liatis, Alternate

Committee 4

C. Goulimis
J. Spiropoulos, Alternate
Colonel S. Georgoulis, Alternate
Wing Commander C. Platsis, Alternate

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

J. Spiropoulos
N. Gazis, Alternate

Committee 1

J. Spiropoulos
C. Goulimis, Alternate

Committee 2

C. Goulimis
N. Gazis, Alternate

Guatemala

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Guillermo Toriello
Eugenio Silva Pena
Manuel Noriega Morales
Gabriel Biguria, Adviser
Francisco Villagran, Adviser
Jose Luis Mendoza, Adviser

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

The above representatives will serve on this Commission.

Committee 3

Manuel Noriega Morales, Rapporteur

COMMISSION III
Security Council

The above representatives will serve on this Commission.

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

The above representatives will serve on this Commission.

20-21

Haiti

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Gerard E. Lescot
Antoine Bervin
Clovis Kernisan
Louis Moravia

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Andre Liautaud
Alfred Nemours
Pierre Chauvet
Major A. Levelt
Joseph Nadal

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Vely Thebaud
Alfred Nemours
Major Antione Levelt

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Vely Thebaud
Clovis Kernizan

Honduras

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

(Either one of the following)
Julian R. Caceres
Marcos Carias Reyes
Virgilio R. Galvez
Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 1

Julian R. Caceres

Committee 2

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

(Either one of the following)
Julian R. Caceres
Marcos Carias Reyes
Virgilio R. Galvez
Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 1

Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 2

Julian R. Caceres

Committee 3

Marcos Carias Reyes
Virgilio R. Galvez

Committee 4

Jorge Fidel Duron

COMMISSION III
Security Council

(Either one of the following)
Julian R. Caceres, Assistant Secretary General
Marcos Carias Reyes
Virgilio R. Galvez
Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 1

Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 2

Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 3

Virgilio R. Galvez

Committee 4

Julian R. Caceres

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

(Either one of the following)
Julian R. Caceres
Marcos Carias Reyes
Virgilio R. Galvez
Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 1

Marcos Carias Reyes

Committee 2

Virgilio R. Galvez

India

One or more of the following persons will represent the Indian Delegation on the various Commissions and Committees:

Delegates

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar
Sir Firoz Khan Noon
Sir V. T. Krishnamachari

Advisers

K. P. S. Menon
Major General Cawthorn
J. Bartley
P. J. Thomas

Iran

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Mostafa Adle
Nasrollah Entezam
Lotfali Suratgar
Ahmad Ardeshir

Committee 1

Mostafa Adle
Nasrollah Entezam
Ali Akbar Daftary

Committee 2

Djalal Abdoh
Hossein Navab

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Bagher Kazemi
Sadigh Rezazadeh Schafagh

Committee 1

Bagher Kazemi
Sadigh Rezazadeh Schafagh
Ghasem Ghassemzadeh

Committee 2

Nasrollah Entezam
Ali Akbar Siassi
Major General Ali Riazi
Colonel Ali Moarefi
Fazlollah Nabil

Committee 3

Allah Yar Saleh
Abdoul Hosein Etebar
Sadigh Rezazadeh Schafagh

Committee 4

Ghasemme Ghani
Allah Yar Saleh
Mohammad Shayesteh

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Nasrollah Entezam
Ali Akbar Siassi
Major General Ali Riazi
Abdoul Hosein Etebar

Committee 1

Allah Yar Saleh
Mohammad Shayesteh
Abdoul Hosein Etebar

Iran—Cont.

Committee 2
Nasrollah Entezam
Ali Akbar Siassi
Major General Ali Riazi
Colonel Ali Moarefi
Djalal Abdoh
Fazlollah Nabil

Committee 3
Major General Ali Riazi
Colonel Ali Moarefi
Hossein Navab

Committee 4
Ali Akbar Siassi
Major General Ali Riazi
Colonel Ali Moarefi
Djalal Abdoh

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Mostafa Adle
Djalal Abdoh
Lotfali Suratgar
Ahmad Ardeshir

Committee 1
Mostafa Adle
Djalal Abdoh
Ghasem Ghassemzadeh

Committee 2
Djalal Abdoh
Ali Akbar Daftary
Hossein Navab

Iraq

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

M. F. Jamali

Committee 1
N. Al-Farsi assisted by H. Jawad

Committee 2
N. Al-Farsi assisted by M. Khadduri and M. B. Awni

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

A. Jawdat assisted by D. Al-Haidari

Committee 1
A. Jawdat assisted by A. M. Abbas

Committee 2
A. Jawdat assisted by D. Al-Haidari

Committee 3
A. Jawdat assisted by H. I. Lloyd, A. J. Chalabi, H. Jawad and S. M. Haidar

Committee 4
A. Jawdat and M. F. Jamali assisted by D. Al-Haidari and M. Khadduri

COMMISSION III
Security Council

A. Al-Omari and M. F. Jamali assisted by A. M. Haidar

Committee 1
A. Al-Omari and N. Al-Farsi assisted by A. M. Abbas and S. M. Haidar

Committee 2
A. Al-Omari or M. F. Jamali assisted by H. Jawad

Committee 3
A. Jawdat assisted by D. Al-Haidari

Committee 4
A. Jawdat and M. F. Jamali assisted by A. J. Chelabi and M. Khadduri

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

N. Al-Farsi

Committee 1
N. Al-Farsi, Rapporteur assisted by H. I. Lloyd, A. M. Abbas and B. Awni

Committee 2
N. Al-Farsi assisted by H. I. Lloyd and B. Awni

Lebanon

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Wadih Naim
Charles Malik, Assistant Secretary General

Committee 1
Charles Malik

Committee 2
Soubhi Mahmasani

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Wadih Naim
Abdallah Yafi, Alternate

Committee 1
Wadih Naim

Committee 2
Abdallah Yafi

Committee 3
Charles Malik
Yusuf Salem

Committee 4
Charles Malik
Soubhi Mahmasani

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Wadih Naim
Yusuf Salem, Alternate

Committee 1
Yusuf Salem

Committee 2
Abdallah Yafi

Committee 3
Wadih Naim

Committee 4
Yusuf Salem

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Wadih Naim
Abdallah Yafi, Alternate

Committee 1
Soubhi Mahmasani

Committee 2
Soubhi Mahmasani

Liberia

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Committee 1
Senator Gibson

Committee 2
Colonel Grant

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Committee 1
Colonel Grant

Committee 2
G. L. Dennis

Committee 3
R. A. Henries

Committee 4
C. L. Simpson

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Committee 1
Senator Gibson

Committee 2
Colonel Grant

Committee 3
C. L. Simpson

Committee 4
G. L. Dennis

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Committee 1
C. L. Simpson

Committee 2
R. A. Henries

Luxembourg

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Joseph Bech
Hugues Le Gallais, Alternate
Alphonse Ols, Alternate

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

The above representatives will serve on this Commission.

COMMISSION III
Security Council

The above representatives will serve on this Commission.

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

The above representatives will serve on this Commission.

Mexico

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Lic. Ezequiel Padilla
Manuel Tello

Committee 1

Dr. Luis Quintanilla
Lic. Jose Castillo Torre

Committee 2

Lic. Federico V. Medrano
Jose Gorostiza

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Lic. Ezequiel Padilla
Lic. Primo Villa Michel
Manuel Tello

Committee 1

Lic. Andres Serra Rojas

Committee 2

Lic. Luis Padilla Nervo

Committee 3

Lic. Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros
Lic. Luciano Wiechers
Juan Manuel Elizondo
Sra. Amalia C. de Castillo Ledon
Sra. Adela Formoso de Obregon Santacilia

Committee 4

Rafael de la Colina

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Lic. Ezequiel Padilla
Dr. Francisco Castillo Najera
Lic. Primo Villa Michel

Committee 1

Lic. Alfonso Garcia Robles

Committee 2

Lic. Manuel Moreno Sanchez

Committee 3

Lic. Esteban Garcia de Alba
Gral. Cristobal Guzman Cardenas
Gral. Luis Alamillo Flores
Tte. Cor. Luis Vinals Carsi
Mayor Waldo Romo Castro
Cap. y Lic. Tarsicio Marquez Padilla

Committee 4

Lic. Emilio Araujo

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Lic. Ezequiel Padilla
Lic. Francisco Castillo Najera

Committee 1

Lic. Roberto Cordova

Committee 2

Lic. Alberto Trueba Urbina

The Netherlands

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. van Kleffens

COORDINATION COMMITTEE

Mr. Pelt

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Dr. Kielstra or
Father Beaufort
Mr. Pelt

Committee 1

Dr. Kielstra or
Mr. Pelt

Committee 2

Mr. Pelt

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Dr. Loudon
Dr. van Mook or
Father Beaufort
Jhr. van Vredenburch
Mr. Sprockel
Raden Moesa

Committee 1

Dr. Loudon

Committee 2

Jhr. van Vredenburch

Committee 3

Dr. van Mook or
Father Beaufort

Committee 4

Dr. Loudon or
Dr. van Mook
Mr. Sprockel
Raden Moesa
Mr. Boerhanoedin

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Dr. van Mook
Dr. Kielstra
Vice Admiral Helfrich or
Major General van Tricht
Dr. van Royen and
Jhr. van Vredenburch

Committee 1

Dr. Kielstra or
Dr. van Royen

Committee 2

Dr. van Royen

Committee 3

Admiral Helfrich
Major General van Tricht or
Dr. van Royen

Committee 4

Dr. van Mook
Dr. Kielstra or
Jhr. van Vredenburch

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Mr. Star Busmann or
Mr. Slingenberg

Committee 1

Mr. Star Busmann or
Mr. Slingenberg

Committee 2

Mr. Star Busmann or
Mr. Slingenberg

In addition to the above assignments the following are empowered to participate in the work and discussions of the Committees and Commissions and to vote for the Delegation:

Dr. van Mook
Dr. Kielstra
Mr. van der Plas
Mr. Star Busmann
Dr. van Royen
Jhr. van Vredenburch
Mr. Pelt
Mr. Slingenberg

New Zealand

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

P. Fraser
C. A. Berendsen

Committee 1

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Committee 2

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

P. Fraser
C. A. Berendsen

Committee 2

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Committee 2

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Committee 3

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Committee 4

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

COMMISSION III
Security Council

P. Fraser
C. A. Berendsen

Committee 1

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

New Zealand—Cont.

Committee 2
P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
C. C. Aikman, Alternate

Committee 3
P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Committee 4
P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

P. Fraser
Sir Michael Myers

Committee 1
Sir Michael Myers
C. C. Aikman, Alternate

Committee 2
Sir Michael Myers
C. C. Aikman, Alternate

Nicaragua

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Mariano Arguello Vargas
Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa
Colonel Luis Manuel de Bayle
Marcelo Jover

Committee 1
Members of Commission I, and
Alonso S. Perales
Julio C. Quintana
Major Carlos G. Zelaya

Committee 2
Members of Commission I, and
Colonel Irving A. Lindberg

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Mariano Arguello Vargas
Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa
Colonel Luis Manuel de Bayle
Marcelo Jover

Committee 1
Members of Commission II, and
Colonel A. Lindberg
Alonso S. Perales
Julio C. Quintana

Committee 2
Members of Commission II, and
Alonso S. Perales
Colonel Guillermo Rivas Cuadra
Colonel Irving A. Lindberg
Lieutenant Francisco Aguirre Baca
Julio C. Quintana
Major Carlos G. Zelaya

Committee 3
Members of Commission II, and
Alonso S. Perales

Committee 4
Members of Commission II, and
Colonel Guillermo Rivas Cuadra
Lieutenant Francisco Aguirre Baca
Colonel Irving A. Lindberg

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Mariano Arguello Vargas
Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa
Colonel Luis Manuel de Bayle
Marcelo Jover

Committee 1
Members of Commission III, and
Colonel Guillermo Rivas Cuadra
Colonel Irving A. Lindberg
Lieutenant Francisco Aguirre Baca

Committee 2
Members of Commission III, and
Alonso S. Perales
Manuel S. Canyes

Committee 3
Members of Commission III, and
Colonel Guillermo Rivas Cuadra
Colonel Irving A. Lindberg
Lieutenant Francisco Aguirre Baca
Alonso S. Perales
Manuel S. Canyes

Committee 4
Members of Commission III and
Manuel S. Canyes
Alonso S. Perales

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Mariano Arguello Vargas
Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa
Colonel Luis Manuel de Bayle
Marcelo Jover

Committee 1
Members of Commission IV, and
Alonso S. Perales
Manuel S. Canyes
Julio C. Quintana
Adan Arguello

Committee 2
Members of Commission IV, and
Alonso S. Perales
Manuel S. Canyes
Julio C. Quintana

Norway

STEERING COMMITTEE
Trygve Lie, Chairman

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Minister Lie

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

President Hambro
Ambassador Morgenstierne
Professor Worm-Muller
Dr. Ording

Committee 1

Committee 2

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Professor Worm-Muller
Dr. E. Hambro
Dr. Raestad
Dr. Evang

Committee 1

Committee 2
Dr. Raestad
Major-General Steffens

Committee 3
Dr. Evang
Mrs. Skard
Consul Christensen
Mr. Haugen
Technical Adviser for Consul Christensen—Norman Boehn
Technical Adviser for Mr. Haugen—Haakon Lie

Committee 4
Professor Worm-Muller
Mr. Jorstad

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Minister Lie
Ambassador Morgenstierne
President Hambro
Dr. Raestad
Professor Worm-Muller
Dr. Ording
Mr. Thommessen
Major-General Steffens
Mr. Joergensen

Committee 1
Ambassador Morgenstierne
Dr. Raestad

Committee 2
Ambassador Morgenstierne
Dr. Raestad
Dr. Ording
Dr. E. Hambro

Committee 3
Ambassador Morgenstierne
Dr. Raestad
Major-General Steffens
Mr. Thommessen

Committee 4
Ambassador Morgenstierne
Dr. Raestad
Dr. Ording
Major-General Steffens

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Dr. Raestad
Mr. Thommessen
Mr. Jorstad
Mr. Stabell
Dr. E. Hambro

Committee 1

Committee 2

Secretariat

Panama

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Ricardo J. Alfaro
Octavio Mendez Pereira
Juan R. Morales
Mario de Diego, Alternate

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Roberto Jimenez
Octavio Mendez Pereira
Juan R. Morales
Abdiel J. Arias

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Roberto Jimenez
Ricardo J. Alfaro
Octavio Mendez Pereira
Mario de Diego, Alternate

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Ricardo J. Alfaro
Juan R. Morales

Paraguay

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Celso R. Velazquez
General Juan B. Ayala
Cesar R. Acosta

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Celso R. Velazquez
General Juan B. Ayala
Cesar R. Acosta

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Celso R. Velazquez, Rapporteur
General Juan B. Ayala
Cesar R. Acosta

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Celso R. Velazquez
General Juan B. Ayala
Cesar R. Acosta

Peru

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Victor Andres Belaunde
Manuel B. Llosa

Committee 1

Victor Andres Belaunde

Committee 2

Manuel B. Llosa

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Luis Fernan Cisneros
Juvenal Monge

Committee 1

Luis Fernan Cisneros

Committee 2

Juvenal Monge
Luis Alvarado

Committee 3

Juvenal Monge
Emilio A. Godoy

Committee 4

Manuel B. Llosa

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Arturo Garcia
Victor Andres Belaunde

Committee 1

Arturo Garcia
Juvenal Monge

Committee 2

Luis Fernan Cisneros
Victor Andres Belaunde

Committee 3

Victor Andres Belaunde
Emilio A. Godoy

Committee 4

Arturo Garcia
Manuel B. Llosa

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Arturo Garcia

Committee 1

Manuel C. Gallagher
Luis Alvarado

Committee 2

Luis Alvarado

Philippine Commonwealth

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Maximo M. Kalaw
Narciso Ramos

Committee 1

Maximo M. Kalaw
Narciso Ramos

Committee 2

Manuel A. Adeva

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Pedro Lopez
Urbano A. Zafra

Committee 1

Pedro Lopez
Urbano A. Zafra

Committee 2

Jose F. Imperial

Committee 3

Leonides S. Virata

Committee 4

Solomon V. Arnaldo

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Carlos P. Garcia
Alejandro Melchor

Committee 1

Carlos P. Garcia
Alejandro Melchor

Committee 2

Ricardo C. Galang

Committee 3

Jesus Villamor

Committee 4

Leonides S. Virata

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Francisco A. Delgado
Vincente G. Sinco

Committee 1

Francisco A. Delgado
Vincente G. Sinco

Committee 2

Erasmo R. Cruz

Saudi Arabia

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Committees 1, 2 and 4

Shaikh Asad El Faqih
Shaikh Hafiz Wahba, Assistant

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Committees 1, 2, 3 and 4

Shaikh Abdul Rahman al-Bassam
Shaikh Hafiz Wahba, Assistant

Syria

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Faris al-Khouri
Naim al-Antaki, Alternate

Committee 1

Farid Zeineddine

Committee 2

Noureddeen Kahale

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Faris al-Khouri
Naim al-Antaki, Alternate

Committee 1

Noureddeen Kahale

Committee 2

Naim al-Antaki

Committee 3

Farid Zeineddine

Committee 4

Nazem al-Koudsi

Syria—Cont.

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Faris al-Khouri
Nazem al-Koudsi, Alternate

Committee 1

Noureddeen Kahale

Committee 2

Naim al-Antaki

Committee 3

Noureddeen Kahale

Committee 4

Nazem al-Koudsi

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Faris al-Khouri
Naim al-Antaki, Alternate

Committee 1

Naim al-Antaki

Committee 2

Farid Zeineddine

Turkey

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Huseyin Ragip Baydur
Hazim Atif Kuyucak, Alternate

Committee 1

Cemil Bilsel

Committee 2

Cemil Bilsel
Sinasi Devrin

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Huseyin Ragip Baydur
Sinasi Devrin, Alternate
Hazim Atif Kuyucak

Committee 1

Sinasi Devrin

Committee 2

Nihat Erim
Sureyya Anderiman
Sukru Esmer
Lt. Col. Huseyin Ataman
Lt. Col. Tekin Ariburum

Committee 3

Hazim Atif Kuyucak
Sureyya Anderiman

Committee 4

Sinasi Hisar

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Feridun Cemal Erkin
Sukru Esmer

Committee 1

Feridun Cemal Erkin
Nihat Erim, Alternate

Committee 2

Sukru Esmer
Sureyya Anderiman

Committee 3

Zeki Polar
Lt. Col. Huseyin Ataman
Lt. Col. Tekin Ariburun
Sadi Kavur

Committee 4

Zeki Polar
Nihat Erim
Sinasi Hisar
Lt. Col. Huseyin Ataman
Lt. Col. Tekin Ariburun
Sadi Kavur

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Cemil Bilsel
Sinasi Devrin

Committee 1

Cemil Bilsel

Committee 2

Sinasi Devrin

Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Prof. Dr. Alexander Palladin

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Prof. Dr. Nikolai Petrovsky
Prof. Dr. Vladimir Bondarchuk

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Mr. Ivan Senin

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Prof. Dr. Petr Pogvebayak

Union of South Africa

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

H. T. Andrews

Committee 1

H. T. Andrews
J. R. Jordaan, Alternate
H. W. A. Cooper, Alternate

Committee 2

R. Jones
H. T. Andrews, Alternate

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

D. D. Forsyth

Committee 1

H. T. Andrews
R. Jones, Alternate

Committee 2

D. D. Forsyth
H. T. Andrews, Alternate
H. W. A. Cooper, Alternate

Committee 3

L. E. Orkin
D. L. Smit, Alternate

Committee 4

D. L. Smit
J. R. Jordaan, Alternate

COMMISSION III
Security Council

L. Egeland

Committee 1

L. Egeland
J. R. Jordaan, Alternate

Committee 2

J. R. Jordaan
B. Fourie, Alternate

Committee 3

D. D. Forsyth
L. Egeland, Alternate

Committee 4

L. Egeland
R. Jones, Alternate

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

J. R. Jordaan

Committee 1

J. R. Jordaan
D. L. Smit, Alternate

Committee 2

D. L. Smit

The above distribution of work must be construed as implying that the Leader of the Delegation of the Union of South Africa, the Right Honourable Field Marshal J. C. Smuts, will be at liberty to speak at any meeting of any Commission or Committee, should he wish to do so.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

COMMISSION I
General Provisions
Committees 1 and 2

S. K. Zarapkin
A. I. Lavrentiev
S. B. Krylov
A. G. Khomyanin, Secr. Interpreter

COMMISSION II
General Assembly
Committees 1, 2, 3 and 4

K. V. Novikov
V. V. Kuznetsov
S. A. Golunsky
A. A. Arutiunian
A. A. Rostchin
S. M. Kudriavtsev, Secr.-Interpreter

COMMISSION III
Security Council
Committees 1, 2, 3 and 4

A. A. Sobolev
A. I. Lavrentiev
K. K. Radionov
G. P. Arkadiev (Rapporteur for Committee 2)
S. S. Mikhailov

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization
Committees 1 and 2

S. A. Golunsky
C. B. Krylov

United Kingdom

STEERING COMMITTEE

Mr. Eden and/or Mr. Attlee
assisted by Sir Alexander Cadogan, Mr. Butler and Mr. Jebb

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. Eden and/or Mr. Attlee
assisted by Sir Alexander Cadogan and Mr. Jebb

COORDINATION COMMITTEE

Sir Alexander Cadogan
Mr. Jebb

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Mr. Mabane

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Lord Halifax
assisted by Professor Webster and Mr. Gore-Booth
Committee 1

Miss Wilkinson
assisted by Mr. Jebb, Prof. Webster and Mr. Gore-Booth
Committee 2

Mr. Mabane
assisted by Prof. Webster, Mr. Gore-Booth and Mr. Owen

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Mr. Attlee
assisted by Prof. Webster, Mr. Gage and Mr. Fleming
Committee 1

Miss Horsbrugh
assisted by Prof. Webster, Mr. Fleming and Mr. Gage
Committee 2

Mr. Foot
assisted by Prof. Webster, Mr. Fleming and Mr. Gage
Committee 3

Miss Horsbrugh, Miss Wilkinson, Mr. Tomlinson or Mr. Mabane, according to subject, assisted by Mr. Owen, Mr. Pitblado, Mr. Myrddin Evans and Mr. Fleming
Committee 4

Lord Cranborne and Mr. Tomlinson assisted by Mr. Poynton (C. O.), Mr. Owen, General Jacob and Mr. Gee

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Mr. Eden or Lord Cranborne
assisted by Mr. Jebb, Professor Webster and Colonel Capel Dunn
Committee 1

Sir Alexander Cadogan
assisted by Mr. Jebb, Professor Webster and Colonel Capel Dunn
Committee 2

Sir William Malkin
assisted by Mr. Jebb, Professor Webster and Colonel Capel Dunn
Committee 3

Mr. Foot and Sir Alexander Cadogan
assisted by Mr. Jebb, Professor Webster, General Jacob, Mr. Fleming and Colonel Capel Dunn
Committee 4

Sir Alexander Cadogan
assisted by Mr. Jebb, Professor Webster, General Jacob and Colonel Capel Dunn

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Sir William Malkin
Committee 1

Sir William Malkin
assisted by Mr. Fitzmaurice
Committee 2

Sir William Malkin
assisted by Mr. Fitzmaurice

United States of America

COMMISSION I
General Provisions
Delegates

Sol Bloom
Charles A. Eaton
Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve
Advisers

Hamilton Fish Armstrong
John Foster Dulles
Harley A. Notter
Technical Experts

Durward V. Sandifer
John D. Tomlinson
Robert W. Hartley
Miss Dorothy Fosdick
Carlton Savage

COMMISSION II
General Assembly
Delegates

Arthur H. Vandenberg
Sol Bloom
Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve
Advisers

Leo Pasvolsky
Isaiah Bowman
John Foster Dulles
Leroy D. Stinebower
Harry White
Charles Brannan
Frank A. Waring
Daniel W. Tracy
Oscar Cox
Abe Fortas
Charles W. Taussig
Vice Admiral Russell Willson
Lieut. General Stanley D. Embick
Technical Experts

Benjamin Gerig
Mrs. Esther Brunauer
Andrew W. Cordier
Walter Kotschnig
Bryn J. Hovde
Otis E. Mulliken
John Parke Young
Ralph Bunche
Colonel C. H. Bonesteel

COMMISSION III
Security Council
Delegates

Cordell Hull
Tom Connally
Arthur H. Vandenberg
Comdr. Harold E. Stassen, USNR
Advisers

Leo Pasvolsky
Green H. Hackworth
Hamilton Fish Armstrong
Isaiah Bowman
Avra M. Warren
John D. Hickerson
John J. McCloy
Lieut. General Stanley D. Embick
Major General Muir S. Fairchild
Major General R. L. Walsh
Brigadier General Kenner Hertford
Artemus Gates
Admiral Arthur J. Hepburn
Vice Admiral Russell Willson
Rear Admiral Harold C. Train
Technical Experts

Joseph E. Johnson
Edward H. Buehrig
Donald C. Blaisdell
Lieut. Col. W. A. McRae
Durward V. Sandifer
Clyde Eagleton
Warren Roberts
J. Wesley Adams, Jr.
Lieut. Bernard Brodie, USNR
Colonel P. M. Hamilton
Commodore T. P. Jeter, USN
William Sanders
Harry N. Howard
Colonel C. H. Bonesteel
Colonel Shaler Ladd, USMC

United States of America—Cont.

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Delegates

Tom Connally
Comdr. Harold E. Stassen, USNR

Advisers

Green H. Hackworth
Charles Fahy

Technical Experts

Durward V. Sandifer
Miss Marcia Maylott
Miss Marjorie M. Whiteman
Philip C. Jessup
Henry Reiff

Uruguay

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Committee 1

Hector Paysse Reyes
Dra. Isabel P. de Vidal
Alfredo Carbonell Debali

Committee 2

Hector Paysse Reyes
Dra. Isabel P. de Vidal
Alfredo Carbonell Debali

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Committee 1

Roberto MacEachen
Capitan de Navio Hector Luisi

Committee 2

Cyro Giambruno
Capitan de Navio Hector Luisi
Coronel Cipriano Olivera

Committee 3

Cesar Charlone
Juan F. Guichon
Dra. Isabel P. de Vidal

Committee 4

Cyro Giambruno
Juan F. Guichon

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Committee 1

Roberto MacEachen
Capitan de Navio Hector Luisi

Committee 2

Ingeniero Jose Serrato
D. Jacobo Varela, Alternate
Jose A. Mora Otero
Alfredo Carbonell Debali

Committee 3

Capitan de Navio Hector Luisi
Cyro Giambruno
Coronel Cipriano Olivera

Committee 4

Jacobo Varela
Coronel Cipriano Olivera

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Committee 1

Hector Paysse Reyes
Cesar Charlone
Jose A. Mora Otero

Committee 2

Cesar Charlone
Hector Paysse Reyes
Jose A. Mora Otero

Venezuela

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Rafael Ernesto Lopez
Gustavo Herrera

Committee 1

Mrs. Lucila L. de Perez-Diaz
J. A. Calcano-Calcano
Adolfo Nass

Committee 2

Santiago Perez-Perez
Adolfo Nass
Alfredo Machado-Gomez

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Alfredo Machado-Hernandez
Rafael Ernesto Lopez

Committee 1

Juan Oropeza

Committee 2

German Vegas

Committee 3

Pedro Zuloaga
Francisco Alfonzo-Ravard
Mrs. Isabel Sanchez de Urdaneta

Committee 4

J. A. Calcano-Calcano
Carlos Rodriguez-Jimenez

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Caracciolo Parra-Perez
Gustavo Herrera
Alfredo Machado-Hernandez

Committees 1, 2, 3 and 4

Manuel Perez-Guerrero
L. E. Gomez-Ruiz
J. A. de la Rosa
Adolfo Nass

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Caracciolo Parra-Perez
Gustavo Herrera
Alfredo Machado-Hernandez

Committee 1

L. E. Gomez-Ruiz
German Vegas
Santiago Perez-Perez
Manuel Perez-Guerrero

Committee 2

L. E. Gomez-Ruiz
German Vegas
Santiago Perez-Perez
Manuel Perez-Guerrero

Yugoslavia

COMMISSION I
General Provisions

Ivan Subasic
Stanoje Simic, Alternate
Ante Pavelic, Adviser

Committee 1

Ivan Subasic
Stanoje Simic, Alternate
Ante Pavelic, Alternate
Dragovan Sepic, Adviser

Committee 2

Stanoje Simic
Ante Pavelic, Alternate
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Adviser

COMMISSION II
General Assembly

Stanoje Simic
Stane Krasovec, Alternate
Ante Pavelic, Alternate
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Adviser

Committee 1

Stanoje Simic
Ante Pavelic, Alternate
Joseph Mohorovicic, Adviser

Committee 2

Stanoje Simic
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate
Joseph Mohorovicic, Adviser

Committee 3

Stanoje Simic
Stane Krasovec, Alternate
Ante Pavelic, Adviser

Committee 4

Stanoje Simic
Theodore Gjurjevic, Alternate

COMMISSION III
Security Council

Sreten Zujovic
Stojan Gavrilovic, Alternate
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Adviser
Milorad Cerovic, Adviser

Committee 1

Stojan Gavrilovic
Milorad Cerovic, Alternate

Committee 2

Stojan Gavrilovic
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate

Committee 3

Sreten Zujovic
Stojan Gavrilovic, Alternate
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate
Milorad Cerovic, Alternate
Joseph Mohorovicic, Adviser

Committee 4

Ivan Subasic
Stojan Gavrilovic, Alternate
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate
Milorad Cerovic, Alternate
Joseph Mohorovicic, Adviser

COMMISSION IV
Judicial Organization

Vladimir Dedier
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate
Milorad Cerovic, Adviser

Committee 1

Vladimir Dedier
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate
Milorad Cerovic, Adviser

Committee 2

Vladimir Dedier
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate
Milorad Cerovic, Adviser

NOTES

NOTES

Assignments by Commission

COMMISSION I—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Australia

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
W. D. Forsyth
R. J. Nash
George McLeay
H. A. M. Campbell
Mrs. J. G. M. Street
W. Macmahon Ball

These members may attend meetings of any of the Committees under Commission I.

Committee 1

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
R. J. Nash, Alternate
W. Macmahon Ball, Alternate

Committee 2

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
George McLeay, Alternate
W. Macmahon Ball, Alternate

The official advisers to the Australian Delegation shall be able to attend the sessions of any Commission or Committee as required.

Belgium

Henri Rolin, President
Dr. Marteaux
M. Loridan, Alternate

Committee 1

Baron van der Elst
M. Rolin, Alternate

Committee 2

M. Rolin
M. Lebeau, Alternate

Bolivia

Victor Andrade
Eduardo Arze-Quiroga

Brazil

Carlos Martins
Antonio Camillo de Oliveira
Dr. Bertha Lutz
Marcio de Mello Franco Alves, Adviser
Vicente Galliez, Adviser
Henrique de Souza Gomes, Adviser

Committee 1

Carlos Martins
Antonio Camillo de Oliveira

Committee 2

Carlos Martins
Dr. Bertha Lutz

Canada

Senator King and Mrs. Casselman assisted by N. A. Robertson

Committee 1

Senator King
Mrs. Casselman or
N. A. Robertson
assisted by Mr. Ritchie

Committee 2

Mr. St. Laurent or
N. A. Robertson
assisted by
Mr. Rasminsky and
Mr. Reid

Chile

Committees 1 and 2

Gabriel Gonzalez
Eduardo Cruz-Coke
German Vergara
Enrique Bernstein, Secretary
Juan Guzman, Secretary

China

Wang Chung-hui
Hsu Mo, Alternate

Committee 1

Wang Chung-hui
Hsu Mo, Alternate
Dison Hsueh-feng Poe, Alternate
Chu Hsin-ming, Alternate

Committee 2

Li Hwang
Victor Chi-tsai Hoo, Alternate
Lee Wei-kuo, Alternate
Kan Lee, Alternate

Colombia

Committee 1

Jesus Maria Yepes
Silvio Villegas
Abel Botero

Committee 2

Silvio Villegas
Jesus Maria Yepes
Eduardo Zuleta-Angel
Abel Botero

Costa Rica

The following are to represent Costa Rica on any or all Commissions and Committees:

Julio Acosta
Luis Anderson
Alvaro Bonilla
Francisco de P. Gutierrez
Rafael Oreamuno
Luis D. Tinoco
Julio Pena
Fabio Fournier

Cuba

Guillermo Belt Ramirez
Ramiro Guerra y Sanchez
Ernesto Dihigo Lopez Trigo
Sr. Francisco Aguirre
Guy Perez Cisneros

Czechoslovakia

Jan Masaryk, Delegate
V. S. Hurban, Alternate
Ivan Kerno, Alternate

Committee 1

Ivan Kerno, Delegate
Jan Papanek, Alternate

Committee 2

Antonin Obrdlik, Delegate
Ernest Sturc, Alternate

Dominican Republic

Ambassador Emilio Garcia Godoy

Committee 1

The above representative will serve on this Committee.

Committee 2

The above representative will serve on this Committee.

Ecuador

Dr. Camilo Ponce Enriquez, President of the Delegation, is empowered by his Delegation to vote and take part in any or all of the Commission or Committee meetings.

Galo Plaza
Eduardo Laso, Alternate
Gonzalo Escudero, Alternate
Neftali Ponce, Alternate
Carlos Tobar, Alternate

Egypt

Mahmoud Pasha Hassan
Mamdouh Bey Riaz

Committee 1

Mahmoud Pasha Hassan
Mamdouh Bey Riaz
Hilmy Bahgat Badawi

Committee 2

Mahmoud Pasha Hassan
Mamdouh Bey Riaz
Hassan Mazhar

El Salvador

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 1

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 2

Mahmoud Pasha Hassan
Mamdouh Bey Riaz
Hassan Mazhar

Ethiopia

Ato Aklilou Abte Wold
Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam, Alternate
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate
Ato Emanuel Abraham, Alternate

Committee 1

Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate

Committee 2

Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen
Ato Emanuel Abraham, Alternate

France

M. Bonnet

Committee 1

M. Bidault
M. Paul-Boncour

Committee 2

M. Bonnet

Greece

J. Sofianopoulos
Th. Aghnides, Alternate
C. Goulimis, Alternate

Committee 1

Th. Aghnides
J. Spiropoulos, Alternate

Committee 2

Th. Aghnides
C. Goulimis, Alternate

Guatemala

Guillermo Toriello
Eugenio Silva Pena
Manuel Noriega Morales
Gabriel Biguria, Adviser
Francisco Villagran, Adviser
Jose Luis Mendoza, Adviser

Haiti

Gerard E. Lescot
Antoine Bervin
Clovis Kernisan
Louis Moravia

Honduras

(Either one of the following)
Julian R. Caceres
Marcos Carias Reyes
Virgilio R. Galvez
Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 1

Julian R. Caceres

Committee 2

India

One or more of the following persons will represent the Indian Delegation on the various Commissions and Committees:

Delegates

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar
Sir Firoz Khan Noon
Sir V. T. Krishnamachari

Advisers

K. P. S. Menon
Major General Cawthorn
J. Bartley
P. J. Thomas

Iran

Mostafa Adle
Nasrollah Entezam
Lotfali Suratgar
Ahmad Ardeshir

Committee 1

Mostafa Adle
Nasrollah Entezam
Ali Akbar Daftary

Committee 2

Djalal Abdoh
Hossein Navab

Iraq

M. F. Jamali

Committee 1

N. Al-Farsi assisted by H. Jawad

Committee 2

N. Al-Farsi assisted by M. Khadduri and M. B. Awni

Lebanon

Wadih Naim
Charles Malik, Assistant Secretary General

Committee 1

Charles Malik

Committee 2

Soubhi Mahmasani

Liberia

Committee 1

Senator Gibson

Committee 2

Colonel Grant

Luxembourg

Joseph Bech
Hugues Le Gallais, Alternate
Alphonse Ols, Alternate

Mexico

Lic. Ezequiel Padilla
Manuel Tello

Committee 1

Dr. Luis Quintanilla
Lic. Jose Castillo Torre

Committee 2

Lic. Federico V. Medrano
Jose Gorostiza

The Netherlands

Dr. Kielstra or
Father Beaufort
Mr. Pelt

Committee 1

Dr. Kielstra or
Mr. Pelt

Committee 2

Mr. Pelt

In addition to the above assignments the following are empowered to participate in the work and discussions of the Committees and Commissions and to vote for the Delegation:
Dr. van Mook
Dr. Kielstra
Mr. van der Plas
Mr. Star Busmann
Dr. van Royen
Jhr. van Vredenburch
Mr. Pelt
Mr. Slingenberg

New Zealand

P. Fraser
C. A. Berendsen

Committee 1

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Committee 2

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Nicaragua

Mariano Arguello Vargas
Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa
Colonel Luis Manuel de Bayle
Marcelo Jover

Committee 1

Members of Commission I, and
Alonso S. Perales
Julio C. Quintana
Major Carlos G. Zelaya

Committee 2

Members of Commission I, and
Colonel Irving A. Lindberg

Norway

President Hambro
Ambassador Morgenstierne
Professor Worm-Muller
Dr. Ording

Committee 1

Committee 2

Panama

Ricardo J. Alfaro
Octavio Mendez Pereira
Juan R. Morales
Mario de Diego, Alternate

Paraguay

Celso R. Velazquez
General Juan B. Ayala
Cesar R. Acosta

Peru

Victor Andres Belaunde
Manuel B. Llosa

Committee 1

Victor Andres Belaunde

Committee 2

Manuel B. Llosa

Philippine Commonwealth

Maximo M. Kalaw
Narciso Ramos

Committee 1

Maximo M. Kalaw
Narciso Ramos

Committee 2

Manuel A. Adeva

Syria

Faris al-Khouri
Naim al-Antaki, Alternate

Committee 1

Farid Zeineddine

Committee 2

Noureddeen Kahale

Turkey

Huseyin Ragip Baydur
Hazim Atif Kuyucak, Alternate

Committee 1

Cemil Bilsel

Committee 2

Cemil Bilsel
Sinasi Devrin

Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Prof. Dr. Alexander Palladin

Union of South Africa

H. T. Andrews

Committee 1

H. T. Andrews
J. R. Jordaan, Alternate
H. W. A. Cooper, Alternate

Committee 2

R. Jones
H. T. Andrews, Alternate

The above distribution of work must be construed as implying that the Leader of the Delegation of the Union of South Africa, the Right Honorable Field Marshal J. C. Smuts, will be at liberty to speak at any meeting of any Commission or Committee, should he wish to do so.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Committees 1 and 2

S. K. Zarapkin
A. I. Lavrentiev
S. B. Krylov
A. G. Khomyanin, Secr. Interpreter

United Kingdom

Lord Halifax
assisted by Professor Webster and Mr. Gore-Booth

Committee 1

Miss Wilkinson
assisted by Mr. Jebb, Prof. Webster and Mr. Gore-Booth

Committee 2

Mr. Mabane
assisted by Prof. Webster, Mr. Gore-Booth and Mr. Owen

United States of America

Delegates

Sol Bloom
Charles A. Eaton
Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve

Advisers

Hamilton Fish Armstrong
John Foster Dulles
Harley A. Notter

Technical Experts

Durward V. Sandifer
John D. Tomlinson
Robert W. Hartley
Miss Dorothy Fosdick
Carlton Savage

Uruguay

Committee 1

Hector Paysse Reyes
Dra. Isabel P. de Vidal
Alfredo Carbonell Debali

Committee 2

Hector Paysse Reyes
Dra. Isabel P. de Vidal
Alfredo Carbonell Debali

Venezuela

Rafael Ernesto Lopez
Gustavo Herrera

Committee 1

Mrs. Lucila L. de Perez-Diaz
J. A. Calcano-Calcano
Adolfo Nass

Committee 2

Santiago Perez-Perez
Adolfo Nass
Alfredo Machado-Gomez

Yugoslavia

Ivan Subasic
Stanoje Simic, Alternate
Ante Pavelic, Adviser

Committee 1

Ivan Subasic
Stanoje Simic, Alternate
Ante Pavelic, Alternate
Dragovan Sepic, Adviser

Committee 2

Stanoje Simic
Ante Pavelic, Alternate
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Adviser

COMMISSION II—GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Australia

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
J. W. Burton
Sir Frederic Eggleston
R. T. Pollard
J. F. Walsh
O. D. A. Oberg
J. B. Brigden
Roland Wilson
L. F. Crisp

These members may attend meetings of any of the Committees under Commission II.

Committee 1
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
Sir Frederic Eggleston, Alternate
J. B. Brigden, Alternate

Committee 2
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
R. T. Pollard, Alternate
Paul Hasluck, Alternate

Committee 3
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
J. W. Burton, Alternate
Roland Wilson, Alternate

Committee 4
F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
Sir Frederic Eggleston, Alternate
W. D. Forsyth, Alternate

The official advisers to the Australian Delegation shall be able to attend the sessions of any Commission or Committee as required.

Belgium

M. De Schryver
M. de Laveleye, Alternate

Committee 1
M. de Laveleye
Baron Silvercruys, Alternate

Committee 2
M. Rolin
M. Dehousse, Alternate

Committee 3
M. Dehousse
M. Lebeau, Alternate

Committee 4
M. De Schryver
M. Loridan, Alternate

Bolivia

Victor Andrade
Eduardo Arze Quiroga

Brazil

Pedro Leao Velloso
Carlos Martins
Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Antonio Camillo de Oliveira
Jose de Alencar Netto, Adviser
Geraldo de Paula Souza, Adviser
Vicente Galliez, Adviser
Octavio Brito, Adviser
Marcio de Mello Franco Alves, Adviser
Henrique de Souza Gomes, Adviser

Committee 1
Carlos Martins
Octavio Brito, Adviser

Committee 2
Major Brigadier Armando Trompowsky
Rear Admiral Sylvio de Noronha
Major General Estevao Leitao de Carvalho

Committee 3
Dr. Bertha Lutz
Carlos Martins

Committee 4
Carlos Martins
Antonio Camillo de Oliveira

Canada

Mr. Mackenzie King and
Mr. Graydon, assisted by
Mr. Pearson and Mr. Wilgress

Committee 1
Mr. Coldwell or
Mr. Desy, assisted by
Mr. Raminsky and Mr. Reid

Committee 2
Mr. Graydon or
Mr. Chipman, assisted by
Mr. Reid

Committee 3
Mr. Graydon
Mr. Coldwell, or
Mr. Pearson, assisted by
Mr. Rasminsky

Committee 4
Senator Moraud or
Mr. Wilgress, assisted by
Mr. Renaud and
Miss MacCallum

Chile

Committee 1
Felix Nieto del Rio
German Cergara, Alternate

Committees 2 and 4
Jose Maza
Julio Escudero
Mario Rodriguez, Secretary

Committee 3
Guillermo del Pedregal
Amilcar Chiorrini
Enrique Alcalde
Luis Davila, Adviser
Fernando Illanes, Secretary

China

V. K. Wellington Koo
Victor Chi-tsai Hoo, Alternate

Committee 1
Tung Pi-wu
Kuo Ping-chia, Alternate
Cheng Chen-yu, Alternate

Committee 2
Chun-mai Carson Chang
Wang Hua-cheng, Alternate
Kuo Ping-chia, Alternate

Committee 3
Miss Wu Yi-fang
Hu Lin
Victor Chi-tsai Hoo, Alternate
Pei Tsu-yee, Alternate
Chang Fu-yun, Alternate
Kan Lee, Alternate
Chu Hsin-ming, Alternate
Liu Hsuan-tsui, Alternate

Committee 4
V. K. Wellington Koo
Liu Chieh, Alternate
Shao Yu-lin, Alternate

Colombia

Committee 1
Alberto Gonzalez-Fernandez
Jesus Maria Yepes
Luis Eduardo Nieto-Arteta

Committee 2
Eduardo Zuleta-Angel
Jesus Maria Yepes
Abel Botero

Committee 3
Miguel Lopez-Pumarejo
Luis Eduardo Nieto-Arteta

Committee 4
Miguel Lopez-Pumarejo
Alberto Gonzales-Fernandez
Luis Eduardo Nieto-Arteta

Costa Rica

The following are to represent Costa Rica on any or all Commissions and Committees:

Julio Acosta
Luis Anderson
Alvaro Bonilla
Francisco de P. Gutierrez
Rafael Oreamuno
Luis D. Tinoco
Julio Pena
Fabio Fournier

Cuba

Guillermo Belt Ramirez
Ramiro Guerra y Sanchez
Ernesto Dihigo Lopez Trigo
Sr. Francisco Aguirre
Guy Perez Cisneros

Czechoslovakia

Jan Masaryk, Delegate
V. S. Hurban, Alternate
Josef Hanc, Alternate

Committee 1

Ernest Sturc, Delegate
Jan Papanek, Alternate

Committee 2

Jan Papanik, Delegate
Antonin Obrdlik, Alternate

Committee 3

Josef Hanc, Delegate
Ernest Sturc, Alternate

Committee 4

Vaclav Benes, Delegate
Mikulas Mara, Alternate

Dominican Republic

Tulio Franco y Franco
Minerva Bernardino
Porfirio Herrera-Baez, Adviser

Committee 1

The above representatives will serve on this Committee.

Committee 2

The above representatives will serve on this Committee.

Tulio Franco y Franco, Rapporteur

Committee 3

The above representatives will serve on this Committee.

Committee 4

The above representatives will serve on this Committee.

Ecuador

Dr. Camilo Ponce Enriquez, President of the Delegation, is empowered by his Delegation to vote and take part in any or all of the Commission or Committee meetings.
Eduardo Laso
Galo Plaza, Alternate
Gonzalo Escudero, Alternate
Neftali Ponce, Alternate
Carlos Tobar, Alternate

Egypt

A. Pasha Badawi
Ibrahim Bey Abdel Hadi

Committee 1

A. Pasha Badawi
Taha El Sayed Nasr
Hanna Saba

Committee 2

Ibrahim Bey Abdel Hadi
Mamdouh Bey Riaz
Adly Bey Andraous

Committee 3

Ibrahim Bey Abdel Hadi
Anis Bey Azer
Mohamed Awad
Aly El Gueredly

Committee 4

A. Pasha Badawi
Ibrahim Bey Abdel Hadi
Taha El Sayed Nasr
Mohamed Awad

El Salvador

Carlos Leiva
Hector David Castro, Alternate
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate

Committee 1

Carlos Leiva
Hector David Castro, Alternate
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate

Committee 2

Carlos Leiva
Hector David Castro, Alternate
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate

Committee 3

Carlos Leiva
Hector David Castro, Alternate
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate

Committee 4

Carlos Leiva
Hector David Castro, Alternate
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate

Ethiopia

Ato Aklilou Abte Wold
Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam, Alternate
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alt.
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate
Ato Emanuel Abraham, Alternate

Committee 1

Ato Emanuel Abraham
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate

Committee 2

Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate

Committee 3

Ato Menasse Lemma
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate

Committee 4

Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate

France

M. Pleven
M. Bonnet

Committee 1

M. Bonnet

Committee 2

M. Paul-Boncour

Committee 3

M. Pleven
M. Billoux
M. Bonnet

Committee 4

M. Pleven
M. Naggiar, Alternate
General Juin
Admiral d'Argenlieu

Greece

J. Politis
C. Diamantopoulos, Alternate

Committee 1

J. Politis
C. Diamantopoulos, Alternate

Committee 2

C. Diamantopoulos
J. Politis, Alternate

Greece—Cont.

Committee 3

C. Diamantopoulos
A. Loverdos, Alternate

Committee 4

C. Goulimis
J. Spiropoulos, Alternate

Guatemala

Guillermo Toriello
Eugenio Silva Pena
Manuel Noriega Morales
Gabriel Biguria, Adviser
Francisco Villagran, Adviser
Jose Luis Mendoza, Adviser

Committee 3

Manuel Noriega Morales, Rapporteur

Haiti

Andre Liautaud
Alfred Nemours
Pierre Chauvet
Major A. Levelt
Joseph Nadal

Honduras

(Either one of the following)
Julian R. Caceres
Marcos Carias Reyes
Virgilio R. Galvez
Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 1

Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 2

Julian R. Caceres

Committee 3

Marcos Carias Reyes
Virgilio R. Galvez

Committee 4

Jorge Fidel Duron

India

One or more of the following persons will represent the Indian Delegation on the various Commissions and Committees:

Delegates

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar
Sir Firoz Khan Noon
Sir V. T. Krishnamachari

Advisers

K. P. S. Menon
Major General Cawthorn
J. Bartley
P. J. Thomas

Iran

Bagher Kazemi
Sadigh Rezazadeh Schafagh

Committee 1

Bagher Kazemi
Sadigh Rezazadeh Schafagh
Ghasem Ghassemzadeh

Iran—Cont.

Committee 2

Nasrollah Entezam
Ali Akbar Siassi
Major General Ali Riazi
Colonel Ali Moarefi
Fazlollah Nabil

Committee 3

Allah Yar Saleh
Abdoul Hosein Etebar
Sadigh Rezazadeh Schafagh

Committee 4

Ghasemme Ghani
Allah Yar Saleh
Mohammad Shayesteh

Iraq

A. Jawdat assisted by D. Al-Haidari

Committee 1

A. Jawdat assisted by A. M. Abbas

Committee 2

A. Jawdat assisted by D. Al-Haidari

Committee 3

A. Jawdat assisted by H. I. Lloyd, A. J. Chalabi, H. Jawad and S. M. Haidar

Committee 4

A. Jawdat and M. F. Jamali assisted by D. Al-Haidari and M. Khadduri

Lebanon

Wadih Naim
Abdallah Yafi, Alternate

Committee 1

Wadih Naim

Committee 2

Abdallah Yafi

Committee 3

Charles Malik
Yusuf Salem

Committee 4

Charles Malik
Soubhi Mahmasani

Liberia

Committee 1

Colonel Grant

Committee 2

G. L. Dennis

Committee 3

R. A. Henries

Committee 4

C. L. Simpson

Luxembourg

Joseph Bech
Hugues Le Gallais, Alternate
Alphonse Ols, Alternate

Mexico

Lic. Ezequiel Padilla
Lic. Primo Villa Michel
Manuel Tello

Committee 1

Lic. Andres Serra Rojas

Mexico—Cont.

Committee 2

Lic. Luis Padilla Nervo

Committee 3

Lic. Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros
Lic. Luciano Wiechers
Juan Manuel Elizondo
Sra. Amalia C. de Castillo Ledon
Sra. Adela Formoso de Obregon Santacilia

Committee 4

Rafael de la Colina

The Netherlands

Dr. Loudon
Dr. van Mook or
Father Beaufort
Jhr. van Vredenburch
Mr. Sprockel
Raden Moesa

Committee 1

Dr. Loudon

Committee 2

Jhr. van Vredenburch

Committee 3

Dr. van Mook or
Father Beaufort

Committee 4

Dr. Loudon or
Dr. van Mook
Mr. Sprockel
Raden Moesa
Mr. Boerhanoedin

In addition to the above assignments the following are empowered to participate in the work and discussions of the Committees and Commissions and to vote for the Delegation:

Dr. van Mook
Dr. Kielstra
Mr. van der Plas
Mr. Star Busmann
Dr. van Royen
Jhr. van Vredenburch
Mr. Pelt
Mr. Slingenberg

New Zealand

P. Fraser
C. A. Berendsen

Committee 2

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Committee 2

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Committee 3

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Committee 4

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Nicaragua

Mariano Arguello Vargas
Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa
Colonel Luis Manuel de Bayle
Marcelo Jover

Committee 1

Members of Commission II, and
Colonel A. Lindberg
Alonso S. Perales
Julio C. Quintana

Committee 2

Members of Commission II, and
Alonso S. Perales
Colonel Guillermo Rivas Cuadra
Colonel Irving A. Lindberg
Lieutenant Francisco Aguirre Baca
Julio C. Quintana
Major Carlos G. Zelaya

Committee 3

Members of Commission II, and
Alonso S. Perales

Committee 4

Members of Commission II, and
Colonel Guillermo Rivas Cuadra
Lieutenant Francisco Aguirre Baca
Colonel Irving A. Lindberg

Norway

Professor Worm-Muller
Dr. E. Hambro
Dr. Raestad
Dr. Evang

Committee 1

Committee 2

Dr. Raestad
Major-General Steffens

Committee 3

Dr. Evang
Mrs. Skard
Consul Christensen
Mr. Haugen
Technical Adviser for Consul Christensen—Norman Boehn
Technical Adviser for Mr. Haugen—Haakon Lie

Committee 4

Professor Worm-Muller
Mr. Jorstad

Panama

Roberto Jimenez
Octavio Mendez Pereira
Juan R. Morales
Abdiel J. Arias

Paraguay

Celso R. Velazquez
General Juan B. Ayala
Cesar R. Acosta

Peru

Luis Fernan Cisneros
Juvenal Monge
Committee 1
Luis Fernan Cisneros
Committee 2
Juvenal Monge
Luis Alvarado
Committee 3
Juvenal Monge
Emilio A. Godoy
Committee 4
Manuel B. Llosa

Philippine Commonwealth

Pedro Lopez
Urbano A. Zafra
Committee 1
Pedro Lopez
Urbano A. Zafra
Committee 2
Jose F. Imperial
Committee 3
Leonides S. Virata
Committee 4
Solomon V. Arnaldo

Saudi Arabia

Committees 1, 2 and 4
Shaikh Asad El Faqih
Shaikh Hafiz Wahba, Assistant

Syria

Faris al-Khouri
Naim al-Antaki, Alternate
Committee 1
Noureddeen Kahale
Committee 2
Naim al-Antaki
Committee 3
Farid Zeineddine
Committee 4
Nazem al-Koudsi

Turkey

Huseyin Ragip Baydur
Sinasi Devrin, Alternate
Hazim Atif Kuyucak
Committee 1
Sinasi Devrin
Committee 2
Nihat Erim
Sureyya Anderiman
Sukru Esmer
Lt. Col. Huseyin Ataman
Lt. Col. Tekin Ariburum
Committee 3
Hazim Atif Kuyucak
Sureyya Anderiman
Committee 4
Sinasi Hisar

Ukrainian S.S.R.

Prof. Dr. Nikolai Petrovsky
Prof. Dr. Vladimir Bondarchuk

Union of South Africa

D. D. Forsyth
Committee 1
H. T. Andrews
R. Jones, Alternate
Committee 2
D. D. Forsyth
H. T. Andrews, Alternate
H. W. A. Cooper, Alternate
Committee 3
L. E. Orkin
D. L. Smit, Alternate
Committee 4
D. L. Smit
J. R. Jordaan, Alternate

The above distribution of work must be construed as implying that the Leader of the Delegation of the Union of South Africa, the Right Honorable Field Marshal J. C. Smuts, will be at liberty to speak at any meeting of any Commission or Committee, should he wish to do so.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Committees 1, 2, 3 and 4
K. V. Novikov
V. V. Kuznetsov
S. A. Golunsky
A. A. Arutiunian
A. A. Rostchin
S. M. Kudriavtsev, Secr.-Interpreter

United Kingdom

Mr. Attlee
assisted by Prof. Webster, Mr. Gage and Mr. Fleming
Committee 1
Miss Horsbrugh
assisted by Prof. Webster, Mr. Fleming and Mr. Gage
Committee 2
Mr. Foot
assisted by Prof. Webster, Mr. Fleming and Mr. Gage
Committee 3
Miss Horsbrugh, Miss Wilkinson, Mr. Tomlinson or Mr. Mabane, according to subject, assisted by Mr. Owen, Mr. Pitblado, Mr. Myrddin Evans and Mr. Fleming
Committee 4
Lord Cranborne and Mr. Tomlinson assisted by Mr. Poynton (C. O.), Mr. Owen, General Jacob and Mr. Gee

United States of America

Delegates
Arthur H. Vandenberg
Sol Bloom
Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve
Advisers
Leo Pasvolsky
Isaiah Bowman

United States of America—Cont.

John Foster Dulles
Leroy D. Stinebower
Harry White
Charles Brannan
Frank A. Waring
Daniel W. Tracy
Oscar Cox
Abe Fortas
Charles W. Taussig
Vice Admiral Russell Willson
Lieut. General Stanley D. Embick
Technical Experts
Benjamin Gerig
Mrs. Esther Brunauer
Andrew W. Cordier
Walter Kotschnig
Bryn J. Hovde
Otis E. Mulliken
John Parke Young
Ralph Bunche
Colonel C. H. Bonesteel

Uruguay

Committee 1
Roberto MacEachen
Capitan de Navio Hector Luisi
Committee 2
Cyro Giambruno
Capitan de Navio Hector Luisi
Coronel Cipriano Olivera
Committee 3
Cesar Charlone
Juan F. Guichon
Dra. Isabel P. de Vidal
Committee 4
Cyro Giambruno
Juan F. Guichon

Venezuela

Alfredo Machado-Hernandez
Rafael Ernesto Lopez
Committee 1
Juan Oropeza
Committee 2
German Vegas
Committee 3
Pedro Zuloaga
Francisco Alfonzo-Ravard
Mrs. Isabel Sanchez de Urdaneta
Committee 4
J. A. Calcano-Calcano
Carlos Rodriguez-Jimenez

Yugoslavia

Stanoje Simic
Stane Krasovec, Alternate
Ante Pavelic, Alternate
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Adviser
Committee 1
Stanoje Simic
Ante Pavelic, Alternate
Joseph Mohoroyicic, Adviser
Committee 2
Stanoje Simic
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate
Joseph Mohorovicic, Adviser
Committee 3
Stanoje Simic
Stane Krasovec, Alternate
Ante Pavelic, Adviser
Committee 4
Stanoje Simic
Theodore Gjurjevic, Alternate

COMMISSION III—SECURITY COUNCIL

Australia

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
A. S. Watt
John McEwen
Lt. Gen. Sir John Lavarack
Air Marshal R. Williams
Commander S. H. K. Spurgeon
E. V. Raymont
P. E. Coleman

These members may attend meetings of any of the Committees under Commission III.

Committee 1

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
A. S. Watt, Alternate
Commander S. H. K. Spurgeon, Alternate

Committee 2

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
John McEwen, Alternate
K. H. Bailey, Alternate

Committee 3

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
Lt. Gen. Sir John Lavarack, Alternate
P. E. Coleman, Alternate
Paul Hasluck, Alternate

Committee 4

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
A. S. Watt, Alternate
Air Marshal R. Williams, Alternate
P. E. Coleman, Alternate

The official advisers to the Australian Delegation shall be able to attend the sessions of any Commission or Committee as required.

Belgium

M. Spaak
M. van Langenhove, Alternate

Alternate:

During the absence of Mr. Spaak, the seat of the Belgian Government on Commission III will be occupied provisionally by Mr. van Langenhove. Mr. Rolin has been designated to replace Mr. van Langenhove, if necessary.

Committee I

Baron Silvercruys
M. de Laveleye, Alternate

Committee 2

M. De Visscher
M. Loridan, Alternate

Committee 3

M. van Langenhove
M. Rolin, Alternate

Committee 4

M. van Langenhove
M. Loridan, Alternate

Bolivia

Carlos Salamanca
Luis Iturralde

Brazil

Pedro Leao Velloso
Carlos Martins
Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Major General Estevao Leitao de Carvalho
Major General Armando Figueira Trompowsky de Almeida
Admiral Sylvio de Noronha
Jos de Alencar Netto, Adviser
Octavio Brito, Adviser
Commander Joao Pereira Machado, Adviser
Major Alfredo Souto Malan, Adviser
Henrique de Souza Gomes, Adviser

Committee 1

Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Admiral Sylvio de Noronha

Committee 2

Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Major Brigadier Armando Trompowsky

Committee 3

Admiral Sylvio de Noronha
Major General Estevao Leitao de Carvalho
Major Brigadier Armando Trompowsky

Committee 4

Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Octavio Brito, Adviser

Canada

Mackenzie King and
Mr. Coldwell, assisted by
Mr. Wrong and
General Pope

Committee 1

Mr. St. Laurent or
Mr. Pearson, assisted by
Mr. Ritchie

Committee 2

Mrs. Casselman
Mr. Wilgress, assisted by
Mr. Reid

Committee 3

Mackenzie King
Mr. Wrong, assisted by
General Pope
Mr. Ritchie

Committee 4

Mr. Graydon or
Mr. Desy, assisted by
General Pope

Chile

Committees 1, 2, 3 and 4

Carlos Contreras Labarca
Felix Nieto del Rio
Gabriel Gonzalez
Enrique Alcalde
German Vergara
Fausto Soto, Secretary

China

V. K. Wellington Koo
Hu Shih

Committee 1

V. K. Wellington Koo
Hu Shih
Chang Chung-fu, Alternate
Kuo Ping-chia, Alternate

Committee 2

Hu Shih
Hsu Mo, Alternate
Wang Chia-chen, Alternate
Yuen-li Liang, Alternate

Committee 3

V. K. Wellington Koo
Admiral Chen Sao-kuan, Alternate
Liu Chieh, Alternate
Victor Chi-tsai Hoo, Alternate
Lieutenant General Tu Chien-shih, Alternate
Major-General P. T. Mow, Alternate
Yuen-li Liang, Alternate

Committee 4

V. K. Wellington Koo
S. R. Chow, Alternate
Yang Yun-chu, Alternate
Shuhsi Hsu, Alternate

Colombia

Committee 1

Alberto Gonzalez-Fernandez
Jesus Maria Yepes
Luis Eduardo Nieto-Arteta

Committee 2

Eduardo Zuleta-Angel
Silvio Villegas
Abel Botero

Committee 3

Roberto Urdaneta-Arbelaez
Alberto Gonzalez-Fernandez
Abel Botero

Committee 4

Alberto Lleras-Camargo
Miguel Lopez-Pumarejo
Alberto Gonzalez-Fernandez
Jesus Maria Yepes

Costa Rica

The following are to represent Costa Rica on any or all Commissions and Committees:

Julio Acosta
Luis Anderson
Alvaro Bonilla
Francisco de P. Gutierrez
Rafael Oreamuno
Luis D. Tinoco
Julio Pena
Fabio Fournier

Cuba

Guillermo Belt Ramirez
Ramiro Guerra y Sanchez
Ernesto Dihigo Lopez Trigo
Sr. Francisco Aguirre
Guy Perez Cisneros

Czechoslovakia

Jan Masaryk, Delegate
V. S. Hurban, Alternate
Jan Papanek, Alternate

Committee 1

Josef Hanc, Delegate
Jan Papanek, Alternate

Committee 2

Jan Papanek, Delegate
Ivan Kerno, Alternate
Ernest Sturc, Alternate

Committee 3

Vladimir Vochoc, Delegate
Vaclav Benes, Alternate
Ivan Kerno, Alternate

Committee 4

Ivan Kerno, Delegate
Josef Hanc, Alternate

Dominican Republic

Manuel A. Pena Batlle
Brigadier General Antonio Leyba Pou
J. M. Sanz, Adviser

Committee 1

The above representatives will serve on this Committee.

Committee 2

The above representatives will serve on this committee.

Committee 3

The above representatives will serve on this Committee.

Committee 4

The above representatives will serve on this Committee.

Ecuador

Dr. Camilo Ponce Enriquez, President of the Delegation, is empowered by his Delegation to vote and take part in any or all of the Commission or Committee meetings.
Gonzalo Escudero
Eduardo Laso, Alternate
Galo Plaza, Alternate
Neftali Ponce, Alternate
Carlos Tobar, Alternate

Egypt

A. Pasha Badawi
Ibrahim Bey Abdel Hadi

Committee 1

A. Pasha Badawi
Mamdouh Bey Riaz
Taha El Sayed Nasr
Hanna Saba

Committee 2

Ibrahim Bey Abdel Hadi
Adly Bey Andraous

Committee 3

A. Pasha Badawi
Mamdouh Bey Riaz
Lieutenant Colonel Abdel Hamid Ghaleb
Lieutenant Colonel Abdel Halim Khalifa

Egypt—Cont.

Lieutenant Commander Ezzedine Atif

Committee 4

A. Pasha Badawi
Helmi Bahgat Badawi
Hanna Saba

El Salvador

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 1

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 2

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 3

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 4

Hector David Castro
J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Ethiopia

Ato Aklilou Abte Wold
Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam, Alternate
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate
Ato Emanuel Abraham, Alternate
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate

Committee 1

Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam
Ato Menasse Lemma, Alternate

Committee 2

Ato Aklilon Abte Wold
Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam, Alternate
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate

Committee 3

Ato Aklilon Abte Wold
Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam, Alternate
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate

Committee 4

Ato Aklilon Abte Wold
Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam, Alternate
Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Alternate

France

M. Bidault

Committee 1

M. Bidault
M. Paul-Boncour

Committee 2

M. Basdevant

Committee 3

M. Pleven
M. Paul-Boncour, Rapporteur
General Juin
Admiral d'Argenlieu

France—Cont.

Committee 4

M. Bidault
M. Paul-Boncour
M. Bonnet
General Juin
Admiral d'Argenlieu
M. Naggiar
M. Basdevant

Greece

J. Sofianopoulos
Th. Aghnides, Alternate

Committee 1

J. Sofianopoulos
Th. Aghnides, Alternate
J. Politis, Alternate
Alexis S. Liatis, Alternate

Committee 2

Th. Aghnides
J. Politis, Alternate
Alexis S. Liatis, Alternate

Committee 3

J. Politis
Th. Aghnides, Alternate
Colonel S. Georgoulis, Alternate
Wing Commander C. Platsis, Alternate
Alexis S. Liatis, Alternate

Committee 4

C. Goulimis
J. Spiropoulos, Alternate
Colonel S. Georgoulis, Alternate
Wing Commander C. Platsis, Alternate

Guatemala

Guillermo Toriello
Eugenio Silva Pena
Manuel Noriega Morales
Gabriel Biguria, Adviser
Francisco Villagran, Adviser
Jose Luis Mendoza, Adviser

Haiti

Vely Thebaud
Alfred Nemours
Major Antione Levelt

Honduras

(Either one of the following)
Julian R. Caceres, Assistant Secretary General
Marcos Carias Reyes
Virgilio R. Galvez
Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 1

Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 2

Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 3

Virgilio R. Galvez

Committee 4

Julian R. Caceres

India

One or more of the following persons will represent the Indian Delegation on the various Commissions and Committees:

Delegates

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar
Sir Firoz Khan Noon
Sir V. T. Krishnamachari

Advisers

K. P. S. Menon
Major General Cawthorn
J. Bartley
P. J. Thomas

Iran

Nasrollah Entezam
Ali Akbar Siassi
Major General Ali Riazi
Abdoul Hosein Etebar

Committee 1

Allah Yar Saleh
Mohammad Shayesteh
Abdoul Hosein Etebar

Committee 2

Nasrollah Entezam
Ali Akbar Siassi
Major General Ali Riazi
Colonel Ali Moarefi
Djalal Abdoh
Fazlollah Nabil

Committee 3

Major General Ali Riazi
Colonel Ali Moarefi
Hossein Navab

Committee 4

Ali Akbar Siassi
Major General Ali Riazi
Colonel Ali Moarefi
Djalal Abdoh

Iraq

A. Al-Omari and M. F. Jamali assisted by A. M. Haidar

Committee 1

A. Al-Omari and N. Al-Farsi assisted by A. M. Abbas and S. M. Haidar

Committee 2

A. Al-Omari or M. F. Jamali assisted by H. Jawad

Committee 3

A. Jawdat assisted by D. Al-Haidari

Committee 4

A. Jawdat and M. F. Jamali assisted by A. J. Chelabi and M. Khadduri

Lebanon

Wadih Naim
Yusuf Salem, Alternate

Committee 1

Yusuf Salem

Committee 2

Abdallah Yafi

Committee 3

Wadih Naim

Committee 4

Yusuf Salem

Liberia

Committee 1

Senator Gibson

Committee 2

Colonel Grant

Committee 3

C. L. Simpson

Committee 4

G. L. Dennis

Luxembourg

Joseph Bech
Hugues Le Gallais, Alternate
Alphonse Ols, Alternate

Mexico

Lic. Ezequiel Padilla
Dr. Francisco Castillo Najera
Lic. Primo Villa Michel

Committee 1

Lic. Alfonso Garcia Robles

Committee 2

Lic. Manuel Moreno Sanchez

Committee 3

Lic. Esteban Garcia de Alba
Gral. Cristobal Guzman Cardenas
Gral. Luis Alamillo Flores
Tte. Cor. Luis Vinals Carsi
Mayor Waldo Romo Castro
Cap. y Lic. Tarsicio Marquez Padilla

Committee 4

Lic. Emilio Araujo

The Netherlands

Dr. van Mook
Dr. Kielstra
Vice Admiral Helfrich or
Major General van Tricht
Dr. van Royen and
Jhr. van Vredenburch

Committee 1

Dr. Kielstra or
Dr. van Royen

Committee 2

Dr. van Royen

Committee 3

Admiral Helfrich
Major General van Tricht or
Dr. van Royen

Committee 4

Dr. van Mook
Dr. Kielstra or
Jhr. van Vredenburch

In addition to the above assignments the following are empowered to participate in the work and discussions of the Committees and Commissions and to vote for the Delegation:

Dr. van Mook
Dr. Kielstra
Mr. van der Plas
Mr. Star Busmann
Dr. van Royen
Jhr. van Vredenburch
Mr. Pelt
Mr. Slingenberg

New Zealand

P. Fraser
C. A. Berendsen

Committee 1

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Committee 2

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
C. C. Aikman, Alternate

Committee 3

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Committee 4

P. Fraser or C. A. Berendsen
A. D. McIntosh, Alternate
J. V. Wilson
B. R. Turner, Alternate

Nicaragua

Mariano Arguello Vargas
Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa
Colonel Luis Manuel de Bayle
Marcelo Jover

Committee 1

Members of Commission III, and
Colonel Guillermo Rivas Cuadra
Colonel Irving A. Lindberg
Lieutenant Francisco Aguirre Baca

Committee 2

Members of Commission III, and
Alonso S. Perales
Manuel S. Canyes

Committee 3

Members of Commission III, and
Colonel Guillermo Rivas Cuadra
Colonel Irving A. Lindberg
Lieutenant Francisco Aguirre Baca
Alonso S. Perales
Manuel S. Canyes

Committee 4

Members of Commission III and
Manuel S. Canyes
Alonso S. Perales

Norway

Minister Lie
Ambassador Morgenstierne
President Hambro
Dr. Raestad
Professor Worm-Muller
Dr. Ording
Mr. Thommessen
Major-General Steffens
Mr. Joergensen

Committee 1

Ambassador Morgenstierne
Dr. Raestad

Committee 2

Ambassador Morgenstierne
Dr. Raestad
Dr. Ording
Dr. E. Hambro

Norway—Cont.

Committee 3

Ambassador Morgenstierne
Dr. Raestad
Major-General Steffens
Mr. Thommessen

Committee 4

Ambassador Morgenstierne
Dr. Raestad
Dr. Ording
Major-General Steffens

Panama

Roberto Jimenez
Ricardo J. Alfaro
Octavio Mendez Pereira
Mario de Diego, Alternate

Paraguay

Celso R. Velazquez, Rapporteur
General Juan B. Ayala
Cesar R. Acosta

Peru

Arturo Garcia
Victor Andres Belaunde

Committee 1

Arturo Garcia
Juvenal Monge

Committee 2

Luis Fernan Cisneros
Victor Andres Belaunde

Committee 3

Victor Andres Belaunde
Emilio A. Godoy

Committee 4

Arturo Garcia
Manuel B. Llosa

Philippine Commonwealth

Carlos P. Garcia
Alejandro Melchor

Committee 1

Carlos P. Garcia
Alejandro Melchor

Committee 2

Ricardo C. Galang

Committee 3

Jesus Villamor

Committee 4

Leonides S. Virata

Saudi Arabia

Committees 1, 2, 3 and 4

Shaikh Abdul Rahman al-Bassam
Shaikh Hafiz Wahba, Assistant

Syria

Faris al-Khouri
Nazem al-Koudsi, Alternate

Committee 1

Noureddeen Kahale

Committee 2

Naim al-Antaki

Committee 3

Noureddeen Kahale

Committee 4

Nazem al-Koudsi

Turkey

Feridun Cemal Erkin
Sukru Esmer

Committee 1

Feridun Cemal Erkin
Nihat Erim, Alternate

Committee 2

Sukru Esmer
Sureyya Anderiman

Committee 3

Zeki Polar
Lt. Col. Huseyin Ataman
Lt. Col. Tekin Ariburun
Sadi Kavur

Committee 4

Zeki Polar
Nihat Erim
Sinasi Hisar
Lt. Col. Huseyin Ataman
Lt. Col. Tekin Ariburun
Sadi Kavur

Ukrainian S.S.R.

Mr. Ivan Senin

Union of South Africa

L. Egeland

Committee 1

L. Egeland
J. R. Jordaan, Alternate

Committee 2

J. R. Jordaan
B. Fourie, Alternate

Committee 3

D. D. Forsyth
L. Egeland, Alternate

Committee 4

L. Egeland
R. Jones, Alternate

The above distribution of work must be construed as implying that the Leader of the Delegation of the Union of South Africa, the Right Honorable Field Marshal J. C. Smuts, will be at liberty to speak at any meeting of any Commission or Committee, should he wish to do so.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Committees 1, 2, 3 and 4

A. A. Sobolev
A. I. Lavrentiev
K. K. Radionov
G. P. Arkadiev (Rapporteur for Committee 2)
S. S. Mikhailov

United Kingdom

Mr. Eden or Lord Cranborne
assisted by Mr. Jebb, Professor Webster and Colonel Capel Dunn

Committee 1

Sir Alexander Cadogan
assisted by Mr. Jebb, Professor Webster and Colonel Capel Dunn

Committee 2

Sir William Malkin
assisted by Mr. Jebb, Professor Webster and Colonel Capel Dunn

Committee 3

Mr. Foot and Sir Alexander Cadogan
assisted by Mr. Jebb, Professor Webster, General Jacob, Mr. Fleming and Colonel Capel Dunn

Committee 4

Sir Alexander Cadogan
assisted by Mr. Jebb, Professor Webster, General Jacob and Colonel Capel Dunn

United States of America

Delegates

Cordell Hull
Tom Connally
Arthur H. Vandenberg
Comdr. Harold E. Stassen, USNR

Advisers

Leo Pasvolsky
Green H. Hackworth
Hamilton Fish Armstrong
Isaiah Bowman
Avra M. Warren
John D. Hickerson
John J. McCloy
Lieut. General Stanley D. Embick
Major General Muir S. Fairchild
Major General R. L. Walsh
Brigadier General Kenner Hertford
Artemus Gates
Admiral Arthur J. Hepburn
Vice Admiral Russell Willson
Rear Admiral Harold C. Train

Technical Experts

Joseph E. Johnson
Edward H. Buehrig
Donald C. Blaisdell
Lieut. Col. W. A. McRae
Durward V. Sandifer
Clyde Eagleton
Warren Roberts
J. Wesley Adams, Jr.
Lieut. Bernard Brodie, USNR
Colonel P. M. Hamilton
Commodore T. P. Jeter, USN
William Sanders
Harry N. Howard
Colonel C. H. Bonesteel
Colonel Shaler Ladd, USMC

Uruguay

Committee 1
Roberto MacEachen
Capitan de Navio Hector Luisi

Committee 2
Ingeniero Jose Serrato
D. Jacobo Varela, Alternate
Jose A. Mora Otero
Alfredo Carbonell Debali

Committee 3
Capitan de Navio Hector Luisi
Cyro Giambruno
Coronel Cipriano Olivera

Committee 4
Jacobo Varela
Coronel Cipriano Olivera

Venezuela

Caracciolo Parra-Perez
Gustavo Herrera
Alfredo Machado-Hernandez

Committees 1, 2, 3 and 4
Manuel Perez-Guerrero
L. E. Gomez-Ruiz
J. A. de la Rosa
Adolfo Nass

Yugoslavia

Sreten Zujovic
Stojan Gavrilovic, Alternate
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Adviser
Milorad Cerovic, Adviser

Yugoslavia—Cont.

Committee 1
Stojan Gavrilovic
Milorad Cerovic, Alternate

Committee 2
Stojan Gavrilovic
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate

Committee 3
Sreten Zujovic
Stojan Gavrilovic, Alternate
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate
Milorad Cerovic, Alternate
Joseph Mohorovicic, Adviser

Committee 4
Ivan Subasic
Stojan Gavrilovic, Alternate
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate
Milorad Cerovic, Alternate
Joseph Mohorovicic, Adviser

COMMISSION IV—JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION

Australia

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
K. H. Bailey
Sir Frederic Eggleston

These members may attend meetings of any of the Committees under Commission IV.

Committee 1

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
K. H. Bailey, Alternate
Sir Frederic Eggleston, Alternate

Committee 2

F. M. Forde
H. V. Evatt
K. H. Bailey, Alternate
Sir Frederic Eggleston, Alternate

The official advisers to the Australian Delegation shall be able to attend the sessions of any Commission or Committee as required.

Belgium

M. De Visscher
M. Nisot, Alternate

Committee 1

M. De Visscher
M. Nisot, Alternate

Committee 2

M. Dehousse
M. Nisot, Alternate

Bolivia

Luis Iturralde
Carlos Salamanca
Mario Araoz-Levy, Adviser
Walter Montenegro, Adviser
Joaquin Aguirre, Adviser

Brazil

Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Antonio Camillo de Oliveira
Octavio Brito, Adviser
Henrique de Souza Gomes, Adviser

Committee 1

Antonio Camillo de Oliveira
Octavao Brito, Adviser

Committee 2

Cyro de Freitas-Valle
Octavao Brito, Adviser

Canada

Mr. St. Laurent and
Senator Moraud, assisted by
Mr. Desy and
Mr. Chipman

Committee 1

Mr. St. Laurent or
Mr. Chipman, assisted by
Mr. Chaput

Canada—Cont.

Committee 2

Senator Moraud or
Mr. Desy, assisted by
Mr. Wrong
Mr. Renaud
R. G. Robertson
Mr. Chaput, according to subjects

Chile

Committees 1 and 2

Miguel Cruchaga
Oscar Gajardo
Julio Escudero
Alfonso Campos, Secretary

China

Wang Chung-hui
Wei Tao-ming

Committee 1

Wei Tao-ming
Hsu Mo, Alternate
Wang Hua-cheng, Alternate

Committee 2

Wang Chung-hui
John C. H. Wu, Alternate
Dison Hsueh-feng Poe, Alternate
Chang Fu-yun, Alternate
Yuen-li Liang, Alternate

Colombia

Committee 1

Roberto Urdaneta-Arbelaez
Eduardo Zuleta-Angel
Luis Eduardo Nieto-Arteta

Committee 2

Eduardo Zuleta-Angel
Roberto Urdaneta-Arbelaez
Luis Eduardo Nieto-Arteta

Costa Rica

The following are to represent Costa Rica on any or all Commissions and Committees:
Julio Acosta
Luis Anderson
Alvaro Bonilla
Francisco de P. Gutierrez
Rafael Oreamuno
Luis D. Tinoco
Julio Pena
Fabio Fournier

Cuba

Guillermo Belt Ramirez
Ramiro Guerra y Sanchez
Ernesto Dihigo Lopez Trigo
Sr. Francisco Aguirre
Guy Perez Cisneros

Czechoslovakia

Jan Masaryk, Delegate
V. S. Hurban, Alternate
Vladimir Vochoc, Alternate

Committee 1

Vaclav Benes, Delegate
Ivan Kerno, Alternate
Vladimir Vochoc, Alternate

Committee 2

Vladimir Vochoc, Delegate
Vaclav Benes, Alternate
Ivan Kerno, Alternate

Dominican Republic

Gilberto Sanchez Lustrino

Committee 1

The above representative will serve on this Committee.

Committee 2

The above representative will serve on this Committee.

Ecuador

Neftali Ponce
Eduardo Laso, Alternate
Galo Plaza, Alternate
Gonzalo Escudero, Alternate
Carlos Tobar, Alternate

Egypt

Mahmoud Hassan Pasha
Helmi Bahgate Badawi

Committee 1

Mahmoud Hassan Pasha
Helmi Bahgat Badawi
Hanna Saba

Committee 2

Mahmoud Hassan Pasha
Helmi Bahgat Badawi
Hanna Saba

El Salvador

J. Antonio Quiros
Hector David Castro, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 1

J. Antonio Quiros
Hector David Castro, Alternate
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Committee 2

J. Antonio Quiros, Alternate
Hector David Castro
Carlos Leiva, Alternate

Ethiopia

Ato Emanuel Abraham, Assistant Secretary General

Committee 1

Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam
Ato Emanuel Abraham, Alternate

Committee 2

Ato Ambai Wolde Mariam
Ato Emanuel Abraham, Alternate

France

M. Basdevant

Committee 1

M. Basdevant

Committee 2

M. Basdevant

Greece

J. Spiropoulos
N. Gazis, Alternate

Committee 1

J. Spiropoulos
C. Goulimis, Alternate

Committee 2

C. Goulimis
N. Gazis, Alternate

Guatemala

Guillermo Toriello
Eugenio Silva Pena
Manuel Noriega Morales
Gabriel Biguria, Adviser
Francisco Villagran, Adviser
Jose Luis Mendoza, Adviser

Haiti

Vely Thebaud
Clovis Kernizan

Honduras

(Either one of the following)
Julian R. Caceres
Marcos Carias Reyes
Virgilio R. Galvez
Jorge Fidel Duron

Committee 1

Marcos Carias Reyes

Committee 2

Virgilio R. Galvez

India

One or more of the following persons will represent the Indian Delegation on the various Commissions and Committees:

Delegates

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar
Sir Firoz Khan Noon
Sir V. T. Krishnamachari

Advisers

K. P. S. Menon
Major General Cawthorn
J. Bartley
P. J. Thomas

Iran

Mostafa Adle
Djalal Abdoh
Lotfali Suratgar
Ahmad Ardeshir

Committee 1

Mostafa Adle
Djalal Abdoh
Ghasem Ghassemzadeh

Committee 2

Djalal Abdoh
Ali Akbar Daftary
Hossein Navab

Iraq

N. Al-Farsi

Committee 1

N. Al-Farsi, Rapporteur assisted by H. I. Lloyd, A. M. Abbas and B. Awni

Committee 2

N. Al-Farsi assisted by H. I. Lloyd and B. Awni

Lebanon

Wadih Naim
Abdallah Yafi, Alternate

Committee 1

Soubhi Mahmasani

Committee 2

Soubhi Mahmasani

Liberia

Committee 1

C. L. Simpson

Committee 2

R. A. Henries

Luxembourg

Joseph Bech
Hugues Le Gallais, Alternate
Alphonse Ols, Alternate

Mexico

Lic. Ezequiel Padilla
Lic. Francisco Castillo Najera

Committee 1

Lic. Roberto Cordova

Committee 2

Lic. Alberto Trueba Urbina

The Netherlands

Mr. Star Busmann or
Mr. Slingenberg

Committee 1

Mr. Star Busmann or
Mr. Slingenberg

Committee 2

Mr. Star Busmann or
Mr. Slingenberg

In addition to the above assignments the following are empowered to participate in the work and discussions of the Committees and Commissions and to vote for the Delegation:

Dr. van Mook
Dr. Kielstra
Mr. van der Plas
Mr. Star Busmann
Dr. van Royen
Jhr. van Vredenburch
Mr. Pelt
Mr. Slingenberg

New Zealand

P. Fraser
Sir Michael Myers

Committee 1

Sir Michael Myers
C. C. Aikman, Alternate

Committee 2

Sir Michael Myers
C. C. Aikman, Alternate

Nicaragua

Mariano Arguello Vargas
Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa
Colonel Luis Manuel de Bayle
Marcelo Jover

Committee 1

Members of Commission IV, and
Alonso S. Perales
Manuel S. Canyes
Julio C. Quintana
Adan Arguello

Committee 2

Members of Commission IV, and
Alonso S. Perales
Manuel S. Canyes
Julio C. Quintana

Norway

Dr. Raestad
Mr. Thommessen
Mr. Jorstad
Mr. Stabell
Dr. E. Hambro

Committee 1

Committee 2

Secretariat

Panama

Ricardo J. Alfaro
Juan R. Morales

Paraguay

Celso R. Velazquez
General Juan B. Ayala
Cesar R. Acosta

Peru

Arturo Garcia

Committee 1

Manuel C. Gallagher
Luis Alvarado

Committee 2

Luis Alvarado

Philippine Commonwealth

Francisco A. Delgado
Vicente G. Sinco

Committee 1

Francisco A. Delgado
Vicente G. Sinco

Committee 2

Erasmo R. Cruz

Syria

Faris al-Khouri
Naim al-Antaki, Alternate

Committee 1

Naim al-Antaki

Committee 2

Farid Zeineddine

Turkey

Cemil Bilsel
Sinasi Devrin

Committee 1

Cemil Bilsel

Committee 2

Sinasi Devrin

Ukrainian S.S.R.

Prof. Dr. Petr Pogvebayak

Union of South Africa

J. R. Jordaan

Committee 1

J. R. Jordaan
D. L. Smit, Alternate

Committee 2

D. L. Smit

The above distribution of work must be construed as implying that the Leader of the Delegation of the Union of South Africa, the Right Honourable Field Marshal J. C. Smuts, will be at liberty to speak at any meeting of any Commission or Committee, should he wish to do so.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—

Committees 1 and 2

S. A. Golunsky
C. B. Krylov

United Kingdom

Sir William Malkin

Committee 1

Sir William Malkin
assisted by Mr. Fitzmaurice

Committee 2

Sir William Malkin
assisted by Mr. Fitzmaurice

United States of America—

Delegates

Tom Connally
Comdr. Harold E. Stassen, USNR

Advisers

Green H. Hackworth
Charles Fahy

Technical Experts

Durward V. Sandifer
Miss Marcia Maylott
Miss Marjorie M. Whiteman
Philip C. Jessup
Henry Reiff

Uruguay

Committee 1

Hector Paysse Reyes
Cesar Charlone
Jose A. Mora Otero

Committee 2

Cesar Charlone
Hector Paysse Reyes
Jose A. Mora Otero

Venezuela

Caracciolo Parra-Perez
Gustavo Herrera
Alfredo Machado-Hernandez

Committee 1

L. E. Gomez-Ruiz
German Vegas
Santiago Perez-Perez
Manuel Perez-Guerrero

Committee 2

L. E. Gomez-Ruiz
German Vegas
Santiago Perez-Perez
Manuel Perez-Guerrero

Yugoslavia

Vladimir Dedier
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate
Milorad Cerovic, Adviser

Committee 1

Vladimir Dedier
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate
Milorad Cerovic, Adviser

Committee 2

Vladimir Dedier
Theodore Gjurgjevic, Alternate
Milorad Cerovic, Adviser

The United Nations Conference on International Organization

Doc. 323 (ENGLISH)
II/4/12
May 15, 1945

COMMISSION II General Assembly

Committee 4 Trusteeship System

WORKING PAPER FOR CHAPTER ON DEPENDENT TERRITORIES AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP

(This paper is not proposed by any government at this time and does not constitute a withdrawal of the proposals put forward by any government.)

(Note: This draft deals with principles and mechanism only and makes no assumption about the inclusion of any specific territory.)

(Note: Section A might be considered for inclusion in the Chapter on Principles.)

A. GENERAL POLICY

1. States members of the United Nations which have responsibilities for the administration of territories inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world accept the general principle that it is a sacred trust of civilization to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories within the world community, and to this end:

(i) to insure the economic and social advancement of the peoples concerned;

(ii) to develop self-government in forms appropriate to the varying circumstances of each territory; and

(iii) to further international peace and security.

2. States members also agree that their policy in respect to such territories, no less than in respect to their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighborliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of other members of the

world community, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

B. TERRITORIAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM'

1. The Organization should establish under its authority an international system of trusteeship for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements and set up suitable machinery for these purposes.

2. The basic objectives of the trusteeship system should be: (a) to further international peace and security; (b) to promote the political, economic, and social advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants and their progressive development toward self-government in forms appropriate to the varying circumstances of each territory; and (c) to insure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all members of the United Nations, without prejudice to the attainment of (a) and (b) above, and subject to the provisions of paragraph 5 below.

3. The trusteeship system should apply only to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship arrangements: (a) territories now held under mandate; (b) territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of this war; and (c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration. It would be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories would be brought under a trusteeship system and upon what terms. The trusteeship system should not apply to territories which have become members of the United Nations.

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4. The trusteeship arrangement for each territory to be placed under trusteeship should be agreed upon by the states directly concerned and should be approved as provided for in paragraphs 8 and 10 below.

5. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship arrangements placing each territory under the trusteeship system, nothing in this chapter should be construed in and of itself to alter in any manner the rights of any state or any peoples in any territory.

6. The trusteeship arrangements in each case should include the terms under which the territory will be administered and designate the state which should exercise the administration of the territory or designate the United Nations Organization itself to exercise the administration of the territory.

7. In addition, there may also be designated, in the trusteeship arrangement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the territory to which the arrangement applies.

8. All functions of the Organization relating to such strategic areas, including the approval of the trusteeship arrangements and their alteration or amendment, should be exercised by the Security Council. The basic objectives as provided for in paragraph B.2 above should be applicable to the people of each strategic area. The Security Council may avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council provided for in paragraph 11 below to perform those functions of the Organization under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, and social matters in the strategic areas, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship arrangements.

9. It shall be the duty of the state administering any trust territory to insure that the territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the state shall be empowered to make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the territory in carrying out the obligations undertaken by the state for the Security Council in this regard and for local defense and the maintenance of law and order within the territory.

10. The functions of the Organization with regard to trusteeship arrangements for all areas not designated as strategic should be exercised by the General Assembly.

11. In order to assist the General Assembly to carry out those functions under the trusteeship system not reserved to the Security Council, there should be established a Trusteeship Council which would operate under its authority. The Trusteeship Council should consist of specially qualified representatives, designated (a) one each by the states administering trust territories, and (b) one each by an equal number of other states named for three-year periods by the General Assembly.

12. The General Assembly, and under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, should be empowered to consider reports submitted by the administering state to accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering state, to make periodic visits to the respective territories at times agreed upon with the administering state, and to take other action in conformity with the Trusteeship arrangements.

13. The administering authority in each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly should make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of a questionnaire formulated by the Trusteeship Council.

UNDERLINED PORTIONS INDICATE NEW MATTER ADDED TO UNITED STATES DRAFT FOR REFERENCE AND CONVENIENCE IN CONSIDERATION OF PROPOSED WORKING PAPER FOR CHAPTER ON DEPENDENT TERRITORIES AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP

(This paper is not proposed by any government at this time and does not constitute a withdrawal of the proposals put forward by any government.)

(Note: This draft deals with principles and mechanism only and makes no assumption about the inclusion of any specific territory.

(Note: Section A might be considered for inclusion in the Chapter on Principles.

A. GENERAL POLICY

20-11

1. States members of the United Nations which have responsibilities for the administration of territories inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world accept the general principle that it is a sacred trust of civilization to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories within the world community, and to this end:

(i) to insure the economic and social advancement of the peoples concerned;

(ii) to develop self-government in forms appropriate to the varying circumstances of each territory; and

(iii) to further international peace and security.

2. States members also agree that their policy in respect of such territories, no less than in respect to their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighbourliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of other members of the world community, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

B. TERRITORIAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

1. The Organization should establish under its authority an international system of trusteeship for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements and set up suitable machinery for these purposes.

2. The basic objectives of the trusteeship system should be: (a) to further international peace and security; (b) to promote the political, economic, and social advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants and their progressive development toward self-government in forms appropriate to the varying circumstances of each territory; and (c) to ensure equal treatmemt in social, economic, and commercial matters for all members of the United Nations without prejudice to the attainment of (a) and (b) above, and subject to the provisions of paragraph 5, below.

3. The trusteeship system should apply only to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship arrangements: (a) territories now held under mandate; (b) territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of this war; and (c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration. It would be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories would be brought under a trusteeship system and upon what terms. The trusteeship system should not apply to territories which have become members of the United Nations.

4. The trusteeship arrangement for each territory to be placed under trusteeship should be agreed upon by the states directly concerned and should be approved as provided for in paragraphs 8 and 10 below.

5. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship arrangements placing each territory under the trusteeship system, nothing in this chapter should be construed in and of itself to alter in any manner the rights of any state or any peoples in any territory.

6. The trusteeship arrangements in each case should include the terms under which the territory will be administered and designate the state which should exercise the administration of the territory or designate the United Nations Organization itself to exercise the administration of the territory.

7. There may be designated, in the trusteeship arrangement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the territory to which the arrangement applies.

8. All functions of the Organization relating to such strategic areas, including the approval of the trusteeship arrangements and their alteration or amendment, should be exercised by the Security Council. The basic objectives as provided for in paragraph B. 2 above should be applicable to the people of each strategic area. The Security Council may avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council provided for in paragraph 11 below to perform those functions of the Organization under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, and social matters in the strategic areas, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship arrangements.

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20-11

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11. In order to assist the General Assembly to carry out those functions under the trusteeship system not reserved to the Security Council, there should be established a Trusteeship Council which would operate under its authority. The Trusteeship Council should consist of specially qualified representatives, designated (a) one each by the states administering trust territories, and (b) one each by an equal number of other states named for three-year periods by the General Assembly.

12. The General Assembly, and under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, should be empowered to consider reports submitted by the administering state, to accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering state, to make periodic visits to the respective territories at times agreed upon with the administering state, and to take other action, in conformity with the trusteeship arrangements.

13. The administering authority in each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly should make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of a questionnaire formulated by the Trusteeship Council.

20-11

The United Nations Conference on International Organization

Doc. 460 (ENGLISH)
IV/9
May 21, 1945

COMMISSION IV Judicial Organization

VERBATIM MINUTES, FIRST MEETING, COMMISSION IV

Opera House, May 19, 1945, 10:30 A.M.

MR. PARRA-PEREZ (Venezuela), President of Commission IV (speaking in Spanish; English version as delivered by interpreter follows):

Fellow Delegates: I desire my first words to express my gratitude for the distinguished honor that has fallen on me as President of Commission IV--an honor which is really for my country with relation to the efforts and contributions that it has made towards international comity.

Honorable Delegates, upon Commission IV, of which I have the honor to be President, devolves a work as important as it is extensive, since it includes all the aspects of the judicial organization of the world Organization. For this reason, it has seemed to me advisable, after having consulted the chairmen of the committees, as well as the Secretary General, to call this preliminary meeting for the purpose of hearing a statement of the results of the work so far attained.

We shall not be able to discuss, probably, at this time these results, nor make decisions thereon, in view of the fact that certain drafting details are still pending with respect to the documents which are to be submitted to us.

I hope that at the next meeting we shall enter into the Commission's work proper, which is to study the draft proposals submitted to it by its committees, and to recommend to the Conference the adoption of final drafts.

The committees have been obliged to work with relative slowness, not only because the points dealt with are very

delicate, but also because, in addition to their juridical aspect, they present a political aspect which sometimes falls beyond the strict competence of our Commission and is the subject of discussion in committees under another commission; hence, the importance of coordination between the various commissions.

On the other hand, there are a great number of amendments and new proposals submitted by various governments which require careful examination. Committee 1 of Commission IV is charged with the drafting of the Statute of the International Court of Justice and the drafting of Chapter VII of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, which deals with the principles of the Court within the final structure of the United Nations Organization. To Committee 2 belongs the study of numerous juridical problems likewise related to said Organization. I am sure that I interpret the unanimous feeling of the delegates when I repeat that the Court is to be one of the fundamental organs of the world Organization and that its functioning will work more and more for causing the principles of justice and law to prevail in the relations between states. Through its jurisprudence the Court will furthermore perform an essential function in giving the proper interpretation to the rules of international law.

20-21

In the drafting of the Statute of the Court, we have the advantage of having available the experience of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. The great weight of its decisions, the intellectual and moral capacity of its judges, the respect which it has won in the world are other assets which are today available to us. As a connecting link between the past and future eras, we have enjoyed here the collaboration of some of its members, which has been very profitable, and for it we are sincerely grateful to them.

On the other hand, the work of Committee 1 of the Commission has been facilitated by the work done at Washington shortly before the meeting of this Conference by the Committee of Jurists which drew up a draft Statute based on the Statute of the present Court of The Hague and quite excellent as to its technique. Our Committee 1 has discussed this draft in its entirety and will have to decide specifically those fundamental points with respect to which the Washington committee deemed it advisable not to express any opinion owing to the delicate problems of a diverse nature which they involve. I am particularly referring

to the fundamental question of the Statute, that is, to the compulsory or optional jurisdiction of the Court.

Committee 2 of the Commission will propose concrete solutions to the questions which have been referred to it. Among the most important of them, I can mention those which refer to the juridical nature of the Charter of the world Organization, to obligations inconsistent with the latter's Charter, to the registration of treaties, to the privileges and immunities of the officers, and to what has been called the relations with the League of Nations. But it devolves upon the chairmen of the committees to advise you of the details of the work which they are so competently directing. The respective rapporteurs will, in turn, present their remarks, and it will be a pleasure for me to give them the floor later.

I now recognize His Excellency Dr. Gallagher, Chairman of the first Committee.

MR. GALLAGHER (speaking in Spanish; English version as delivered by interpreter follows): Mr. President, I was honored with the office of Chairman of Committee 1 of this Commission, over which you so ably preside.

I wish to go on record expressly as saying that the delegates who compose the first Committee consider with legitimate pride that their work is well advanced. The progress attained is a consequence of two factors.

First, the Committee has had as a basis for discussion the draft formulated by the Committee of Jurists of Washington; and secondly, it has had the benefit of the skill, discretion, and perseverance with which each one of the delegates has worked. Speeches and their literary aspect have been suppressed, and an attempt has been made to have all addresses refer strictly to the question under debate.

Direction of the Committee has been an easy task for me, due to the spirit among the delegates and to the ability which they have demonstrated during our proceedings. Almost all of our decisions have been adopted by unanimous vote and in a very few and exceptional cases have minority votes appeared. Even in these last-mentioned cases, the majorities have been greater than the two thirds required by the rules, which means that the opinion of the Committee has been practically unanimous in the different resolutions which have been adopted.

The study of the Statutes of the International Court of Justice, which is to determine the differences among nations submitted to its decision, is about to be completed. The question whether a new Court should be created or the old Court, born of the League of Nations, should be continued was one of the greatest importance. The problem was so difficult and such strong arguments were advanced on both sides that the Committee entrusted the study of the matter to a subcommittee, over which I also have the honor to preside. The subcommittee has already fulfilled its function and presents to the Committee a recommendation to create a new Court. The solution is not perfect, but it is more in accord with the purpose of the United Nations and a better answer to the legal problems involved and the resolution which may be adopted.

Mr. Al-Farsy, Delegate of Iraq, who is the Rapporteur of the Committee, will read an account of the work accomplished.

I am sure that I interpret the feeling of all the delegates when I thank the Secretary, whose work has been continuous and perfect, and the other members of the Secretariat for their cooperation, and when I offer to you, Mr. President of the Commission, the sentiments of our special esteem.

20-21

Personally, I would like to express publicly my appreciation of the fact that Peru has been designated to preside over this Committee, as well as my special gratitude to all the delegates for the cooperation which they have lent in all the sessions that have taken place, cooperation which has manifested itself in the most perfect harmony, and which constitutes a proof that none of the nations which participate in this Conference aspire to a predominance of their ideas, nor to privileged positions. Rather, they seek harmonious solutions which advance the cause of universal peace, which is the principal purpose of the Conference of San Francisco.

PRESIDENT (speaking in French; English version as delivered by interpreter follows): I now recognize His Excellency Dr. Al-Farsy of Iraq, the Rapporteur of the first Committee.

MR. AL-FARSY (speaking in French; English version as delivered by interpreter follows): Mr. President and Honorable Delegates: I have the honor to submit to Commission IV my first report about the progress made by

Committee 1. Committee 1 of Commission IV has been charged with the drafting of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, as well as the relevant sections of the Charter of the United Nations. The Committee held its first meeting on Thursday, May the third, and has held ten meetings. The Committee decided to deal with all articles of the Statute separately and has approved all the articles which were non-controversial in character. It has made a study of the entire text of the proposed Statute and has approved 51 out of the 69 articles.

The articles approved by the Committee include a number of important subjects dealing with the organization of the Court. The Court, it was decided, shall be composed of a body of independent judges to be elected regardless of their nationality on the basis of character and legal qualifications. The Court is to consist of fifteen members, no two of whom may be nationals of the same state. A term of nine years has been selected as the length of time in which a judge may serve on the Court. He may, however, be reelected and the Committee is proposing a method by which there would be a radial replacement of judges by providing that the terms of one third shall expire every three years. The Court has been empowered to promulgate rules in order to exercise its various functions, especially in the field of the procedure. Furthermore, the Committee has retained the rule which permits any litigant to have a judge of its own nationality on the Court. The Court, moreover, is to be open to the members of the United Nations and to states which are parties to the Statutes. The conditions under which the Court shall be open to other states are still to be determined. Finally, the Committee approved all articles, all of Chapter III of the draft Statute, which establishes rules of procedure for the orderly functioning of the Court. These relate to such subjects as the official language of the Court, the access of documents to the parties, the interrogation of witnesses, and functions regarding the rendering--the entering and revising of judgments. There remain a number of articles which involve matters of principle, and upon which different views are held. Some of these are being studied by a subcommittee and others are still under discussion by the Committee. Generally, it can be stated with fairness that all points at issue have been considered by the Committee, and it is hoped that definite decisions on these matters can soon be made. Thank you.

PRESIDENT (speaking in Spanish; English version as delivered by interpreter follows): I now recognize His

Excellency Dr. Abdel Hamid Pasha Badawi, of Egypt, Chairman of Committee No. 2.

ABDEL HAMID PASHA BADAWI (speaking in French; English version as delivered by interpreter follows):

Egypt greatly appreciates the honor that was done to it when I was selected to be Chairman of this Committee.

After the excellent statement made at the beginning of our meeting by the President of the fourth Commission, it is unnecessary for me to do more than give a few brief remarks on the work of Committee 2. The scope of our work is at the same time wider and undoubtedly less well defined than that assigned to the other committees. While the other committees have the power to examine specific chapters or sections of chapters of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and to amend the wording thereof, the task assigned to Committee 2 of Commission IV entails a study of all the juridical problems inherent in the completion of the Charter.

The Dumbarton Oaks conference was in fact especially concerned with the solution of political questions and did not take up the study of juridical problems which were of a less urgent nature. Moreover, the proposals submitted do not contain formal texts to guide us in our work, and it has fallen upon us to elaborate the draft proposals which we might deem necessary in order to resolve any juridical difficulties which arise. The terms of reference given us by the Steering Committee contemplated more especially that our work should concern itself with the following questions:

(1) Legal status of the Organization and immunities and privileges to be accorded to its officials;

(2) Registration of treaties;

(3) Obligations inconsistent with the Charter.

Many proposed texts have been presented for consideration in this connection by the various delegations. They reveal all the interest manifested in these questions and at the same time stress their complexity. Furthermore, the enumeration I have just given is not restrictive, for our mission comprises juridical questions in their entirety. Under these conditions, we should particularly proceed to the study of suggestions presented by various delegations with respect to the revision of treaties and situations the continuation of which may imperil the peace, to the

development and codification of international law, to the dissolution of the League of Nations and to the integration within the new Organization of certain of its institutions, to the taking effect of the Charter, and to other problems of a legal nature. The reporter of the Committee will now tell you the various stages through which our work has gone and give you an account of the progress that has so far been made and of the excellent collaboration we have received from the members of the Committee.

I should like to pay a tribute to the Secretariat of the Committee for its work, and, in conclusion, to express to the President of Commission IV our great esteem for him and for the capacity with which he is directing our work.

PRESIDENT (speaking in Spanish, English version as delivered by interpreter follows): I now recognize His Excellency Dr. Mariano Argüello Vargas, of Nicaragua, Rapporteur of Committee 2.

MR. VARGAS (speaking in Spanish; English version as delivered by interpreter follows): The Committee on Legal Problems has held seven meetings, beginning on May 5, 1945. Thus far, the Committee has discussed three problems: Firstly, the privileges and immunities which should be accorded to the United Nations Organization, its officials and representatives of its members, in order to enable the Organization to function effectively; secondly, the registration and publication of treaties and international agreements, including the status of possible unregistered agreements and those which may be concluded before the adoption of the Charter; thirdly, the question whether the Charter should contain a provision relating to the abrogation or release from obligations previously concluded and continuing in existence which are inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations Organization. Each of these problems has occasioned extensive and fruitful discussion in the Committee, during which many points of view have been put forward. After preliminary discussion, each of the subjects was referred to a subcommittee for the draft of appropriate texts for inclusion in the Charter. Notwithstanding the complicated nature of many of the questions involved in each of these subjects, a considerable measure of agreement has already proved possible. In due course, this will be reported in detail to the Conference.

The Committee now has under consideration the texts of provision relating to privileges and immunities submitted

to it by the subcommittee. In general, this provides that the Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its members such privileges and immunities as are necessary to the fulfilment of its purposes; that representatives of the members and officials of the Organization shall enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary to the independent exercise of their functions, and that the General Assembly may make recommendations or proposed conventions to members of the Organization with a view to determining the detailed application of these provisions. Thus, the principle is proposed that there shall be privileges and immunities enabling the Organization to perform its work. The Committee is also in substantial agreement that the principle of registration of treaties and international agreements shall be incorporated in the Charter. The drafting of a text has already been undertaken by the subcommittee. There is general agreement that the Charter should contain a provision dealing with obligations inconsistent with the Charter. It is the consensus of opinion of the Committee that the provisions should preclude any agreements by members in the future which may be inconsistent with the Charter.

The Committee plans to take up several other topics. These include, firstly, the reconsideration of treaties, and secondly, the question whether the Charter should include a provision authorizing the Organization to further the development of international law. In conclusion, I'd like to express on behalf of my country, Nicaragua, the honor it feels in its Delegate having been selected as the Rapporteur for this Committee. I would like also to express gratitude and appreciation to our Chairman and to the Secretariat of the Committee.

PRESIDENT (speaking in Spanish; English version as delivered by interpreter follows): Fellow Delegates, you have heard the authorized words of the chairmen of the committees representing in their reports the progress that these committees have made. As you can see, Commission IV has been making favorable progress, and I am rather optimistic about the fruitful results that it will soon achieve.

The committees have been working laboriously with the devoted intelligence of the delegates collaborating in this work.

I feel sure that I express the sentiments of all when I say I want to express to the secretaries, chairmen of

committees, rapporteurs, and all the delegates participating in the deliberations our gratitude for the excellent progress they have been making. I believe that this is the sentiment of the Conference.

I would like to express a special word of thanks to the Chairman of Committee 1, Dr. Manuel Gallagher, and to the Chairman of Committee 2, H. E. Abdel Hamid Pasha Badawi, for the kind words which they have addressed toward me as President.

Gentlemen, I think at our next meeting we can have definite texts for further discussion, and in this way we can maintain the progress that our committees are making.

The work of the Commission will advance in such a way that perhaps before long we will be able to suggest a date for the conclusion of the work of Commission IV.

I feel that there is sort of a spirit of sportmanship within our committees, because I find that they are all striving to be the first to complete their work. I am glad to report that we have not met with serious difficulties in the work of the committees.

May these be my final remarks before we adjourn, but before doing so, I would now like to recognize Dr. Ato Emmanuel Abraham, the Honorable Delegate of Ethiopia.

MR. ABRAHAM: Honorable Delegates: Committees 1 and 2 of Commission IV will continue their meetings this next week with a view to completing their agenda. The next meeting of the Commission will be held when the Committees are ready to report definite proposals to the Commission for approval. The meeting will be convened on call by the President of the Commission.

PRESIDENT (speaking in Spanish; English version as delivered by interpreter follows): The meeting stands adjourned.

PRESS RELEASE
15 May, 1945

Among the accredited members of the San Francisco Conference are many individuals professionally interested in education who are highly influential in shaping the educational policies of their own countries. Among the delegates are at least ten Ministers of Education or former Ministers of Education; about 30% of the delegates and observers hold academic posts in their own countries.

Ministers or former Ministers of Education, or educational leaders in non-governmental posts, now present in San Francisco are in the delegations from China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Egypt, France, India, Iran, Iraq, Mexico, Norway, Panama, Philippine Commonwealth, Turkey, and Venezuela.

20-19

Among the Consultants to the United States Delegation are representatives of four important national organizations in the field of education -- American Association of University Women, American Council on Education, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and National Education Association.

The interest of education in the San Francisco Conference is twofold -- (1) to help create the kind of international organization which makes it possible for free education and learning to exist in the world, and (2) to see established an international agency of education and cultural development which will promote mutual understanding among the nations.

Educational organizations, whose leaders are now in San Francisco, are to hold a press conference on Thursday, May 17, at 10:30 a.m., in the Green Room of the St. Francis Hotel.

May 15, 1945

The Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.
Chairman, United States Delegation
to the United Nations Conference
on International Organization
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Stettinius:

The undersigned Consultants to the Delegation of the United States of America, representing major organizations in the fields of agriculture, business, education and labor, earnestly and unanimously urge upon the Delegation that it sponsor the following amendments and additions to Chapter IX of the United Nations Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a General International Organization:

1. Relations of the Economic and Social Council to Non-Governmental Organizations

Chapter IX, Section D, Paragraph 3, should be renumbered paragraph 4.

Insert the following new paragraph 3:

3. The Economic and Social Council and its commissions should from time to time arrange conferences with and receive recommendations from major non-governmental organizations, national and international, which are concerned with matters within the competence of the Council. For this purpose members of the Organization may establish national advisory boards composed of representatives of such major non-governmental organizations. Recommendations made under this paragraph should be made public by the Council.

II. Relations of the Economic and Social Council to Specialized Governmental Organizations and Agencies

Chapter IX, Section A, Paragraph 2, should be amended, and new Paragraphs 3 and 4 should be added, to read as follows:

2. The various specialized economic, social, cultural and educational, and other organizations and agencies would have responsibilities in their respective fields as defined in their statutes. ~~Each such organization or agency should be brought into relationship with the Organization on terms to be determined by agreement between the Economic and Social Council and the appropriate authorities of the specialized organization or agency, subject to approval by the General Assembly.~~ Each such organization or agency should be brought into relationship

with the Organization in such manner as shall avoid duplication and promote the adoption of consistent policies and effective cooperation by and among these organizations and agencies. To this end the Economic and Social Council should initiate discussions and be responsible for making suitable arrangements with these agencies or organizations.

3. The Economic and Social Council should co-ordinate the activities of the specialized organizations and agencies through consultation with, and recommendations to, such organizations and agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to members of the Organization.

4. The Economic and Social Council should make suitable arrangements with the specialized organizations and agencies for the participation, where appropriate, of representatives of such organizations and agencies in its deliberations and in those of any commissions established by it, and for the participation of representatives of the Economic and Social Council in the deliberations of such organizations and agencies.

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III. Amendments Clarifying the Scope of Chapter IX Regarding Education.

Chapter IX, Section A, Paragraph 1 should be amended to read as follows:

1. With a view to the creation of conditions of stability, mutual understanding and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the Organization should facilitate solutions of international economic, social, cultural, and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex. Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in Economic and Social Council.

Chapter IX, Section C, paragraphs 1b and 1c should be amended to read as follows:

b. To make recommendations, on its own initiative with respect to international economic, social, cultural and educational and other humanitarian matters;

c. To receive and consider reports from the economic, social, cultural and educational and other organizations or agencies brought into relationship with the Organization, and to co-ordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organizations or agencies;

Chapter IX, Section D, paragraph 1 should be amended to read as follows:

1. The Economic and Social Council should set up commissions in the fields of economic activity, social activity, cultural and educational activity, promotion of human rights and any other field within the competence of the Council. These commissions should consist of persons competent in their respective fields. There should be a permanent staff which should constitute a part of the Secretariat of the Organization.

IV. Interim Secretariat to Perform Limited Functions of the Economic and Social Council

The undersigned Consultants also recommend that the Conference create an interim Secretariat of the Economic and Social Council. Pending ratification of the Charter the Interim Secretariat should perform such functions as may be specified by the Conference, including the following:

1. It should keep itself currently informed as to the progress of ratification of the Charter.

2. It should give all possible assistance to such inter-govermental conferences as may be held in the near future, the subjects of which are within the competence of the Economic and Social Council.

3. It should consult with specialized organizations and agencies having responsibilities within the competence of the Council and should prepare recommendations as to the manner in which such organizations should be brought into relationship with the Council.

4. It should study and propose recommendations as to the make-up of the Secretariat to be required by the Council and as to the nature and number of commissions to be created by the Council.

The undersigned Consultants further recommend that the membership of the Interim Secretariat include representatives of the five great powers and such number of other powers as the Conference may decide.

Respectfully submitted,

SPONSORING GROUPS

AGRICULTURE

AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION

By _____
Consultant

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARMER COOPERATIVES

By _____
Consultant

NATIONAL FARMERS UNION

By _____
Consultant

NATIONAL GRANGE

By _____
Consultant

BUSINESS

AMERICAN SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

By _____
Consultant

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

By _____
Consultant

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS

By _____
Consultant

BUSINESS (Continued)

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMENS CLUBS, INC.

By _____
Consultant

NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL

By _____
Consultant

EDUCATION

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

By _____
Consultant

20-21

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF EDUCATION

By _____
Consultant

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

By _____
Consultant

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

By _____
Consultant

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

By _____
Consultant

EDUCATION (Continued)

GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

By _____
Consultant

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS

By _____
Consultant

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

By _____
Consultant

20-21

LABOR

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

By _____
Consultant

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

By _____
Consultant

OTHER SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

20 - 21

My dear Mr:

I have just sent a letter, copy of which is attached, to each member of the United States Delegation, UNCIO.

May I bring it to your attention?

W.E.B. DuBois
Consultant of the American Delegation
representing the National Association
for the Advancement of Colored People

Mailed to U.S. Delegation
42 Consultants
73 Asso. Consultants

S.F. newspapers
RC Call
Defender
Norfolk Journal + Guide
Cleveland Call Post
Houston Informer

Sentinel

Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco, California
May 16, 1945

File Copy

TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION, UNCIO:

The attempt to write an International Bill of Rights into the San Francisco Conference without ary specific mention of the people living in colonies seems to me a most unfortunate procedure. If it were clearly understood that freedom of speech, freedom from want and freedom from fear, which the nations are asked to guarantee, would without question be extended to the 750 million people who live in colonial areas, this would be a great and fateful step. But the very fact that these people, forming the most depressed peoples in the world, with 90% illiteracy, extreme poverty and a prey to disease, who hitherto for the most part have been considered as sources of profit and not included in the democratic development of the world; and whose exploitation for three centuries has been a prime cause of war, turmoil and suffering; - - the omission of specific reference to these peoples is almost advertisement of their tacit exclusion as not citizens of free states, and that their welfare and freedom would be considered only at the will of the countries owning them and not at the demand of enlightened world public opinion.

To insist, therefore, upon this flagrant omission would, Sir, as it seems to me, be missing the greatest opportunity of our age. For the first time in modern history it is possible for three great nations which do not depend upon the exploitation of colonies for their development, to unite and open a new path of progress. We all know that the opposition of Great Britain to any international action on the colonial problem has made the United States refrain from this step and make no allusion to the festering problems of India, of the Netherlands Indies and of West and South Africa.

But is this wise, not only for our own sakes but for the future of the people of Britain, many of whom have denounced the colonial system? We have allowed ourselves in this conference to be estranged from Russia by the plight of a dozen reactionary and Jew-baiting Polish landlords, and have made no comment and taken no action on the great words spoken by Molotov: "We must first of all see to it that dependent countries are enabled as soon as possible to take the path of national independence."

May I beg of you in the name of 13 million Americans who are blood brothers of many millions of these colonists

First, to make a preliminary statement on the essential equality of all races, the same statement which the United States and Great Britain once refused to grant Japan; and identical with the suppressed proposal of the Chinese delegation at Dumbarton Oaks; and that

Secondly, the United States delegation propose this article for the Charter of the United Nations: "The colonial system of government, however deeply rooted in history and custom, is today undemocratic, socially dangerous and a main cause of wars. The United Nations recognizing democracy as the only just way of life for all peoples make it a first statute of international law that at the earliest practical moment no nation or group shall be deprived of effective voice in its own government and enjoyment of the four freedoms. An international colonial commission on which colonial peoples shall have representation will have power to investigate the facts and implement this declaration under the Security Council.

Respectfully yours,

W.E.B. DUBOIS
Consultant of the American Delegation
representing the National Association
for the Advancement of Colored People

~~Editor~~ San Francisco Conference [U.N., San Fran. Conf]

Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco, California
May 16, 1945

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W.E.B. DUBOIS
Consultant of the American Delegation
representing the National Association
for the Advancement of Colored People

[U.N., San Fran. Conf.] [illegible] (10)

Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco, California
May 16, 1945

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46-6-181

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W.E.B. DUBOIS
Consultant of the American Delegation
representing the National Association
for the Advancement of Colored People

[UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION -]

20-16-4

May 17, 1945

Chairman
Ethiopian Delegation
UNCIO
St. Francis Hotel
San Francisco, California

Sir:

I am a Consultant to the delegation of the United States representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

I should like to ask you for an interview in order to discuss matters of mutual interest to the peoples of Africa and their descendants.

May I hear from you at your convenience?

Very respectfully yours,

W. E. B. DuBois
Sir Francis Drake Hotel

FOR THE PRESS

May 17, 1945
No. 26

U. S. DELEGATION

Consultants to the United States Delegation at the San Francisco Conference representing the leading national organizations in agriculture, business, education and labor met today with Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. and other members of the Delegation to recommend four amendments in the United Nations Charter. The proposed changes and additions relate to Chapter IX of the Charter which creates and prescribes the powers and duties of the Economic and Social Council. The four points are summarized as follows:

1. The Economic and Social Council should, from time to time, arrange conferences with and receive recommendations from major non-governmental organizations, national or international, in order that the Council may have the benefit of direct contact with the groups who, from day to day, are confronted by the practical results of national and international economic and social policies. For this purpose, national governments may, if desirable, set up national advisory boards composed of major non-governmental organizations in order to facilitate this direct contact. Recommendations of such groups should be made public.

2. These Consultants consider it most important that the Economic and Social Council assume responsibility for coordinating the work of the several specialized international organizations such as the Monetary Fund and Bank, the international Food and Agriculture agencies, UNRRA, and others. To this end, they suggest the Charter be amended to set forth the need for such coordination and to charge the Economic and Social Council with responsibility for working out suitable arrangements with the special organizations to avoid duplication in their activities and to promote the adoption of consistent policies.

3. The present scope of the Economic and Social Council includes cultural matters, but does not specifically include education. The Consultants express the view that education is the greatest of all social undertakings and recommend that the Economic and Social Council should be given clear authority to exchange with other nations full information regarding educational methods, techniques and statistics. The Consultants state that the Council's functions in this field would be solely informationary and consultative, but would contribute to broader and better understanding between the nations of the world.

4. The Consultants recommend the creation of an interim secretariat to prepare preliminary studies and recommendations on the work and organization of the Economic and Social Council pending ratification of the Charter by the member governments. They state the urgent need for prompt study of international economic problems and believe that an interim secretariat can do much valuable preliminary work to be presented to the Council for consideration promptly upon ratification of the Charter.

The proposals of the Consultants are receiving careful study by the United States Delegation.

20-16

S. F. Conference

UNITED STATES DELEGATION

FOR THE PRESS

May 18, 1945
No. 29

The Chairman of the United States Delegation, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., has issued the following statement today on the position on the trusteeship question taken by Commander Stassen and Congressman Bloom, speaking for the entire Delegation on the trusteeship question:

> It is and has been the unanimous position of the United States Delegation as provided in the original trusteeship paper presented to the Conference on May 4 that one of the basic objectives of the trusteeship system should be "to promote the political, economic, and social advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants and their progressive development toward self-government in forms appropriate to the varying circumstances of each territory." It is our understanding that this clearly includes the attainment of independence if the people of a trusteeship area so desire and are prepared and able to assume the responsibilities of independence. It also includes the right of the people to choose some status other than independence if they so desire. We recognize that all peoples are interdependent in the modern world and that the advance of the individual liberties and the standards of living of the peoples must be included among the basic objectives of the trusteeship system. We point to the Philippines as a concrete example of United States policy.

WALTER F. GEORGE, GA., CHAIRMAN
DAVID I. WALSH, MASS.
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
JOSIAH W. BAILEY, N. C.
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA.
PETER G. GERRY, R. I.
JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA.
EDWIN C. JOHNSON, COLO.
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
SCOTT W. LUCAS, ILL.
BRIEN MC MAHON, CONN.
ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
ROBERT A. TAFT, OHIO
JOHN THOMAS, IDAHO
HUGH BUTLER, NEBR.
EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, COLO.
OWEN BREWSTER, MAINE
HARLAN J. BUSHFIELD, S. DAK.
ALBERT W. HAWKES, N. J.
CHRISTIE B. KENNEDY, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

21-6-41

XXI

San Francisco, California
May 19, 1945.

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
12 Geary Street
San Francisco 8, California

My dear Mr. DuBois:

This will acknowledge your fine letter of May 16th.

I shall hope - before the Conference ends - to have a chance to talk with you personally about the matters to which you refer. Certainly I totally share your general point of view. Even though we cannot achieve the totaly goal which you define, I am very sure that we <u>are</u> going to make great progress in this direction in the text of the new Charter. We must face the fact - in this connection - that we have to get an agreement with forty-five other nations in connection with whatever we do and this prohibits the full freedom of action which we enjoy.

I am indebted to you for your fine statement.

You will forgive the necessary haste of this acknowledgment.

Cordially and faithfully,

Arthur H. Vandenberg

Vandenberg

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[U.N.]

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

San Francisco Conference

May 21, 1945

20-16-12

My dear Doctor DuBois:

Your presentation to the representatives of organizations being served by Public Liaison was most warmly appreciated.

We have received many expressions of gratitude for the opportunities to discuss aspects of the Conference with leading personalities.

On behalf of Public Liaison, which has been responsible for this series of meetings, may I express my personal appreciation to you for your helpfulness in this program?

Sincerely yours,

Chester S. Williams

Chester S. Williams

Dr. W. E. DuBois
Room 918, Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco, California

CSW:RH

[U.N. - United States]

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION
UNITED STATES DELEGATION
San Francisco, California

San Francisco Conference

May 21, 1945

20-16-11

My dear Mr. DuBois:

Thank you for bringing to my attention your letter of May 16, addressed to the members of the United States Delegation.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Pasvolsky

Leo Pasvolsky
Adviser to the
United States Delegation

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
Sir Francis Drake Hotel,
San Francisco, California.

[U.N.-SF]

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

20-16-14

May 23, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Dean Gildersleeve has asked me to thank you for your letter of May 16th. She appreciates this expression of opinion.

Sincerely yours,

Martha F. Lawrence

Secretary to Dean Bildersleeve

CORE COMMITTEE BULLETIN
from
SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

NO. 4

San Francisco
May 25, 1945

Members of the Core Committee, like many other people both in San Francisco, and elsewhere, have been concerned with a number of improvements in the Proposals for a United Nations Charter. A brief review of the present status of these items is presented herewith:

1. Human Rights. The draft as it now stands provides for a Commission on Human Rights and the protection of human rights is even stronger than had been anticipated with the important phrase, "without distinction as to religion, language, race or sex."

2. Economic and Social Cooperation. Provisions for the economic and social side of the organization have been considerably expanded. When the Dumbarton Oaks Conference met, some of the delegates considered security their primary concern. Since Dumbarton Oaks and at San Francisco there has been an evolution of the strength of the Economic and Social Council which is now brought to a level of importance of importance more nearly equal to that of the Security Council.

3. Education both as a word and as a concept is now in the document. This result, like the foregoing item, reflects the cooperation among the Consultants to the United States Delegation particularly from the educational, business, farm and labor groups represented at San Francisco.

4. Trusteeship. The Core Committee believes that the revised draft as published this morning is a decided improvement over the original draft. The success of the trusteeship plan is dependent upon what the governments are willing to make of it, including what strategic areas the United States is willing to place under it.

5. Voting procedure. This issue has yet to be settled. Therefore a continuous expression of public opinion that peaceful settlement of disputes (Chapter VIII, Section A of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals) be undertaken by the Security Council without the unanimous vote of the Big Five is of the greatest importance. Under the Yalta formula, one of the Big Five has no veto power over the peaceful settlement clauses of Chapter VIII if it itself is involved, but does have this veto when two other nations are disputants. It is on this latter point especially that we should concentrate our efforts.

6. Amendments. We continue to urge that the amendment provisions be liberalized.

7. Interim machinery is now a question coming into focus. Most persons are agreed that there must be some continuous machinery to prepare for the setting up of the United Nations Organization. Continue to urge expressions of opinion that the interim machinery be strong enough to avoid a sense of letdown or avoid a vaccuum between the time the San Francisco Conference adjourns and the Organization is set up, and that this machinery have adequate authority in both the security and economic and social fields.

[U.N. - United States]

The United Nations Conference on International Organization

21-6-49

San Francisco, California
June 7, 1945

My dear Mr. DuBois,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 16, concerning problems related to dependent territories.

As always, your interest in this question is appreciated. Your views have been referred for the information and consideration of those officials on the Delegation who are dealing with the work of Committee II/4, on trusteeship.

You are familiar, I am sure, with my press statement of May 18, 1945, in which I reaffirmed the traditional views of the United States on the recognition of the welfare of dependent peoples as a concern of the international community, as follows:

> "It is and has been the unanimous position of the United States Delegation as provided in the original trusteeship paper presented to the Conference on May 4 that one of the basic objectives of the trusteeship system should be 'to promote the political, economic, and social advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants and their progressive development toward self-government'."

I

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, Consultant,
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, New York.

21-6-50

I should like to bring to your attention also the following excerpt from my radio report to the nation on May 28, 1945:

> "And we have stood with equal firmness for a trusteeship system that will foster progress toward higher standards of living and the realization of human rights and freedoms for dependent peoples, including the right to independence or another form of self-government, such as federation -- whichever the people of the area may choose -- when they are prepared and able to assume the responsibilities of national freedom as well as to enjoy its rights."

Sincerely yours,

Chairman
United States Delegation

[U.N. CONF.; U.S. DEL.]

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE

ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

San Francisco, California

June 7, 1945

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ment, such as federation -- whichever the people of the area may choose -- when they are prepared and able to assume the responsibility of national freedom as well as to enjoy its rights."

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Stettinus, Jr.

Chairman

United States Delegation

8/-6

[U.N. San Francisco Conf.]
[1945]

It has been agreed by four of the Great Powers that one of the purposes of the international organization is "promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex" but the agreement also provides that in case discrimination does occur the organization has no right to intervene within the "domestic jurisdiction" of the state concerned. This means that the international organization cannot interfere in colonial affairs, and it may also make impossible any attempt to safeguard the rights of any groups in any nation; for instance, it could not combat the race and religious persecution of another Hitler.

This declaration in Chapter I, Paragraph 3, is encouraging as far as it places the international organization on the side of justice and non discrimination but it is especially dangerous in leaving out the mass of people living in colonies, against whom discimination is customary and unjustifiable. We believe that a declaration should lay down the principle and implement it so as to provide for the transition of all colonial peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as they desire. The eventual disappearance of the colonial system is the best insurance of peace. This democratic principle, the international organization has not recognized.

With regard to trusteeship, the American proposal is permissive only and ought to be mandatory.

The American proposal is that only such territory or parts of territories where strategic considerations are of paramount importance should be designated as strategic; other parts and populations should be under a trusteeship system. The British proposal on the other hand would not recognize the feasibility of separating strategic areas from other trustee areas, and would permit the operation of strategic controls in the interest of security in any territory or part thereof. This, as it seems to us, is a possible encroachment of military considerations upon considerations of humanity.

With regard to mandates distributed after the first World War, and to territories taken by the United Nations after this war, there is proposed a trusteeship administered by the nations who held the mandates and by other interested nations, but there is no provision for Native representation. This failure to include Natives in the governing council does not carry out the stated objectives of the proposal to train the Natives for "progressive development toward self-government." Neither is there provision for Native representation in territories voluntarily put under the trusteeship.

It is unthinkable that the mandated colonies distributed after the first World War should be returned to the position of colonies owned by other countries or that the terms upon which they were mandated should not be subject to revision.

All this refers to a colonial population of not more than 25 millions. This leaves at least 725 millions of colonial inhabitants concerning whom nothing is said except that some of these territories may voluntarily be placed under the trusteeship by the countries controling them.

WALTER WHITE, CONSULTANT
W.E.B. DUBOIS, ASSOCIATE CONSULTANT
MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE, ASSOCIATE CONSULTANT
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF
COLORED PEOPLE

46-2-137

[U.N. San Francisco Conference - 1945 (?)]

[fragmentary]

gion and freedom of speech, with which are related freedom of assembly and press, and "procedural due process," i.e., assurance of a fair and adequate trial in criminal cases. The problem confronting our people at that time is different from the problem confronting the people of the United Nations now. The problem then was how to limit the powers of the central government after an unhappy experience with a tyrannical monarch. The problem now confronting the United Nations is how to grant power to a central international authority after an unhappy experience with too nationalistic states. There is at this time no apprehension that the "general international organization" will abuse its central powers because those will be so limited to begin with. That problem does arise in connection with the use of the emergency internationalized air police, for example, and it has been given consideration by us in such specific connections.

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There was, at the start of our Republic, no inhibition placed on the power of the respective states of the Union. Not until the Fourteenth Amendment was passed after the Civil War were the states of the Union limited as to any action they might take in restriction of civil liberties. The Fourteenth Amendment declared that no state shall deprive a person of "life, liberty or property without due process of law," and granted "equal protection to all." The Supreme Court has held that it is a violation of this "due process clause" when a state passes a statute which would be in violation of a fundamental provision of the Bill of Rights if the Federal government passed it. That is to say, what the Court regards as the fundamental features of the Bill of Rights were read into the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment by the Court. The Court has accordingly voided state statutes which infringe upon freedom of religion, speech, press and assembly. When a legislature passes a law encroaching on one of these, the Court does not indulge the usual presumption of constitutionality but scrutinizes the statute with exceptional vigilance. Through the Fourteenth Amendment the principles of the Bill of Rights were linked to the states through the Federal judiciary. These freedoms, which have been listed in the Moscow Conference Declaration for Italy, and are intended for all liberated areas, have been described by Mr. Justice Cardozo as being "of the very essence of a scheme of ordered liberty." As Secretary Hull said in his report to Congress: "These principles -- including freedom of religion, of speech, of the press and of assembly, and the right of the people ultimately to choose their own form of government -- are among the most basic human rights in civilized society."

There are other violations of civil liberty which the Constitution does not reach, however. These are violations which are not committed by the federal government or by any state but which are committed by private individuals or organizations. If an employer will not engage a Catholic, for example, the Catholic's liberty and property are abridged. He cannot earn money or work

in that kind of job. He is helpless against this violation in fact of equal protection where it may mean the most -- in the field of economic opportunity. He is not helpless in all circumstances in every state of the Union, however. Seventeen states have civil rights statutes. New York, for example, does not permit public utilities or labor unions to discriminate because of religion. An attempt to establish a national civil rights statute was, however, upset by the Supreme Court which declared it unconstitutional. Besides the civil rights statutes there are various other statutes by which the state in the exercise of its police power can protect its citizens from incursions by other citizens. But such protections are far from complete as measured by our avowed ideals. These call for a permeative policy of non-discrimination, whether the discrimination is the result of a federal or state action, or that of a private individual or organization, and whether it is because of race, color, sex, national origin, or religion.

In this field it is most essential that we and our Allies become clearly conscious of our own shortcomings and of the danger, which follows a war, that hatred previously directed against the enemy will be turned inward upon minority groups. The difficulty of bringing practice into conformity with ideals, or even with constitutional guarantees, is illustrated by the lag in our treatment of the Negro. We do not mean in the least to extenuate this lag. But it is pertinent to observe the difference between outright governmental persecution, as in Nazi Germany, and conventional practices which have not yet been broken on the wheel of a legal policy which forbids them. It is to be devoutly hoped that instead of taking generations, the solution of this problem will be hastened by the conscious insistence on freedom which marks current revulsion against Nazi doctrines of racial superiority.

Another instance of a gap may be found in, let us say, the autocracy practised by a mining company which owns an entire town, including homes and stores. The company may with impunity deprive individuals of that town of many of their civil liberties. Any legislation which the state might pass to remedy this situation, so as to make individual liberty more authentic, would trench on the field of economic interest. The relation between economic power and civil liberty is thus seen to be integral. Their traditional separation is artificial. Property is itself a form of sovereignty, a mode of control and exclusion of others. Hence the intimate connection which is discerned between political and industrial democracy. The question "which even yet is by no means settled was whether it would be possible to retain those liberties for which our ancestors had mutually pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, and at the same time to provide for the economically submerged third of our nation the material basis without which, as George Mason may have meant to show in linking it with property, the pursuit of happiness is but an illusion." *

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* Footnote at bottom of page 35

In general it is well to keep in mind the relativity of basic liberties, their relativity to each other and to countervailing governmental ends. The right of freedom of speech is limited by the ban against libel, slander, obscenity and incitation to riot. The Mormon's freedom of religion is restricted by the prohibition of polygamy. Some acts may not be performed even in the name of religion, else we run the risk of social anarchy. The complications of our own system, by reason of judicial review and the federal pattern, are such that we must recognize the impracticability of applying its features literally elsewhere. Always those responsible for maintaining individual liberties must also be concerned for the safety of the state as against activity calculated to subvert its very bases. These considerations add up to a realization that no guaranteed liberties can be absolute, that wisdom and integrity are needed in construing and enforcing them.

The temper and insight of our day recognize the relatively slight value of enunciating general principles of liberty, however warming and directive their solemn pronouncement may be, unless linked to a positive social program of reconstruction and administered flexibly by sympathetic, intelligent and conscientious officials in a kindly-disposed environment by a people capable of governing themselves well. As Carl Becker has written:

> "What confuses our purposes and defeats our hopes is that the simple concepts upon which the Age of Enlightenment relied with assurance have lost for us their universal and infallible quality . . . Liberty, once identified with restraint, is now soon to be inseparable from the complex pattern of social regulation . . . .
>
> "Looked at in this gray light, constitutions are seen to be documents historically conditioned, the imperfect and temporary products of time and place. Whatever the intention of their framers may have been, their meaning is determined by the ingenuity of judges, God helping them, to luff and fill before the shifting winds of social opinion. . . .
>
> "Like it or not, we are confronted once more with the necessity of making constitutions. Since we have learned that constitutions are inseparable from the complex pattern of social regulation, we may call them codes rather than constitutions. Call them what we please, they will inevitably differ in character from the constitutions that derive from the Age of Enlightenment.

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* (Footnote for page 34):

James T. Shotwell, "The Constitution and the Guarantee of Freedom" Bulletin of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, (June, 1942)

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They will be shaped by an experimental and pragmatic rather than by an absolute conception of rights. They will be based less upon universal principles than upon statistical tables, will be concerned less with invariable natural law and more with temporarily insistent concrete needs. They will be less suited, no doubt, to the nature of man but better adapted, let us hope, to the frailties and vagaries of men."

We may achieve some satisfaction and guidance from guarantees enshrined in an international bill of rights, but we should be lacking in the most elementary understanding of law and its protections if we supposed that an automatic assurance of liberty could be achieved simply by the promulgation of such rights. We may find surer ground in the precedent established by the International Labor Organization which has created a system of machinery by which hundreds of treaties have been forged raising standards in the field of social legislation. The pronouncement of an absolute set of concrete standards at Versailles in 1919 would have availed little in the absence of machinery and would have by now been outmoded by our rapid industrial progress. We need to turn our thought from mere reliance on an international declaration of rights. We do not mean to underestimate the value of any such declaration upon which it may be possible to agree. We are in a field where the legal expression and formulation of noble purposes and accepted ideals is needed to afford a leaven and a beacon. But we must not, if we are in earnest, lose sight of feasible legal channels for the progressive achievement of an ever higher degree of genuine protection of human rights in ways that may be required in different parts of the world. In any event this Commission is concerned with the organization of the peace and it is to legal organizations in this field that this paper is devoted and not to various other aspects of the problem which may be equally important.

What are the directions in which the United Nations may now move? What are the steps to be taken? What essentials of the anti-fascist peoples may now be made effective through organizing appropriate machinery? The problem of reaching agreement is not as easy today as it was in Wilson's day. Fundamental and respected divergencies have emerged within a very broad democratic framework. We are on the threshold of a climacteric future.

III. ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS

A. Conference on Human Rights

The present juncture of history is marked for an international dispensation of human freedom. Wars and revolutions have frequently yielded a "new birth of freedom." Declarations emerge which express with eloquence man's restless spirit moving toward further horizons of liberty and equality. Those declarations, if not themselves law, frequently are followed by positive law and governmental structures. The Declaration of Independence was followed by the Constitution; the Emancipation Proclamation by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments; Wilson's Fourteen Points by the Covenant of the League of Nations. The United States has had no small influence in extending basic human rights to other parts of the world. Tom Paine influenced his friend Lafayette who introduced into the National Assembly an early draft of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, admittedly based on the American conception of a bill of rights. The Convention which was drawing up the Constitution of the French Republic ordered a translation to be made of the Constitution of Virginia, thus having at hand a comparison with the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen the Virginia Bill of Rights of George Mason. In a speech in America, Lafayette had said: "May this great monument, raised to liberty, serve as a lesson to the oppressor, and an example to the oppressed." In his dedication of The Rights of Man to Washington, Paine expressed the hope that Washington's ideals would be universalized and that Washington might "enjoy the happiness of seeing the New World regenerate the Old."

It is an open secret that the Minorities Treaties were the result of the pressure of the American delegation at Versailles. The American Law Institute, Vice-President Wallace, President Benes of Czechoslovakia, and others, have been giving thought to the need for an "international bill of rights." In that connection, our nation surely need not be diffident in pressing for a wider recognition of certain fundamentals which we have found workable and beneficent. In his Press Conference on November 15, 1943, Secretary Hull pointed out that the Three-Power declaration regarding Italy exemplified doctrines and policies adopted by the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union for application to any and all countries, especially the liberated areas of Europe; and that Russia agreed to their applicability there. Russia's agreement on what we regard as democratic pillars is extremely significant and betokens a sincere desire to come closer to our ideal of democracy. The dissolution of the Comintern, the change in the Soviet national anthem, "The Internationale", and permission for the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church to meet in Moscow are other cases in point. Pravda and Izvestia have hailed the Moscow Conference and look forward to closest cooperation with us culturally as well as politically and economically. Secretary Hull in turn has said: "It has never been my fortune to attend an international conference at which there was greater determination

on the part of all the participants to move forward in a spirit of mutual understanding and confidence." Chiang K'ai-shek has promised China a constitutional government. The divergencies and pitfalls are still many, but we may have a reasonable basis for hope in a consensus of agreement on ways of protecting fundamental human rights.

The next step now required is to convene an international conference on human rights for the purpose of laying down broad directions to be adopted by the United Nations as fundamentals of international law.

The President has pointed out to the delegates to UNRRA that it is evident we mean business in a political and humanitarian, as well as a military, sense. We have held conferences and taken large forward steps in the fields of food and agriculture, relief and rehabilitation. A pressing necessity now exists for comparing notes and viewpoints on human rights, for canvassing our differences, for trying to define minimal international norms, and erecting appropriate machinery for their maintenance. The sooner we start, the better the chance of successful outcome. Sufficient mutual confidence already exists to warrant going further without fear of rupture. Before the Moscow Declaration appeared, the counsel of timidity was not to hold a Senate debate for fear of embarrassing our Allies. We have passed safely beyond that shoal. We have passed on to Cairo and Teheran. We shall be holding many conferences on various phases of the peace. Among the most urgent, we believe, is a conference on human rights. The institutional aim of that conference would be to establish a permanent Commission on Human Rights to exercise defined functions of advice, investigation, and collaboration.

It is readily conceivable that agreement could be reached on freedom of religion and information to be recognized in each nation's constitution or basic laws and to be required as a condition of membership in the United Nations.* Except for consultative contact with the Human Rights Commission, and such pressures as might result from continual international conference, each nation would naturally reserve the right to construe these freedoms in its own way. We could no more have Russia or China tell us, for example, how far to let Christian Scientists go in the name of religion before calling a physician than we could tell these countries what incidence freedom of religion should have there.

Probably, with the same limitations, agreement could be achieved on full freedom of speech, including freedom of press and assembly. It is proposed that nations undertake to establish adequate

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* The first fundamental for the general international organization enunciated by this Commission in its general statement for this Fourth Report provides "for eventual participation by all nations capable of fulfilling their responsibilities."

national legal procedures in connection with the rights guaranteed. There would have to be an assurance within each state of equal protection and enforcement in specified safeguards of human life, liberty and livelihood. Measures for avoidance of discrimination because of race, religion, language, sex, or country of national origin would be an underlying goal. The history of international conventions on equality of the sexes indicates how difficult this problem will be and how it varies in different places. UNRRA, the first United Nations administrative agency to be set up, has made clear that there will be no discrimination against relief recipients within a country on the grounds of race, creed or politics. It has been observed that the Four Freedoms "are, of course, much broader than the protection of minorities, for they apply to all peoples 'everywhere in the world', and include some rights of man which he is permitted to exercise only under the most liberal democratic governments" * and that it therefore reminds us of the Declaration of the International Rights of Man adopted by the Institut de Droit International in 1929. This Declaration was adopted by high authorities on international law from Europe, the Americas and Asia. Its Article IV. reads:

> "No motive based, directly or indirectly, on distinctions of sex, race, language, or religion empowers States to refuse to any of their nationals private and public rights, especially admission to establishments of public instruction, and the exercise of the different economic activities and of professions and industries."

At the Versailles conference the powers declined to promulgate the principle of racial equality which rankled the Oriental world to an extent we might now do well to consider. The peculiarly international problem of statelessness would have to be met directly. The genuine priority of international law at the bar of national tribunals should be vouchsafed.** The individual person as a proper subject of international law should be proclaimed.

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* George A. Finch, "The International Rights of Man" 35 The American Journal of International Law (October, 1941) p.663.

** In this connection it is interesting to note the concurring opinion of the Chief Justice in the recent case of Waterman Steamship Company v. Jones, No.582, October Term, 1942 (April 19, 1943). The issue was whether a seaman injured while returning to his ship after shore leave is entitled to receive compensation from the shipowner. Under the Shipowner's Liability Convention of 1936, which became effective for the United States and its citizens by presidential proclamation in 1939 (54 Stat. 1693), the shipowner is held liable for injuries occurring during the dates of employment specified in the articles of agreement. This convention clearly covered the

(concluded in footnote page 40)

No one could dare be facile in suggesting what the agenda of the conference should be, or in predicting what agreement could be reached. It is certain that the conferences, especially the Big Four, would each have to approach the problems with an open mind, with a sincere respect for one another, with a lively sense that the values of democratic civilization are somehow to be extended and consolidated, and with a determination to accomplish more than simply the declaration of a series of general rights. The general purpose of an internationally declared bill of rights would be to protect people against oppression by governmentor -- in the emphasis of current conceptions of the function of government -- indicate the duties of governments toward people. Current trends demand a bottom beneath which governments cannot go in serving their people. Broad economic foundations could be put into the declaration or reserved for special conferences or handling by the Unternational Labor Organization.

The task of establishing human rights will only have begun when agreement has been reached on these points. It is not merely that rights are ineffective without adequate machinery to make them prevail. Even when machinery is set up, the ways of justice are often obscure, and those who seek it often weak and ignorant, easily overawed by its majesty. Aggrieved persons fighting for justice under conditions of racial prejudice and civic inequality will need the continual help of the Commission on Human Rights. The vistas which such developments open up are of the most challenging kind. Unparalleled opportunities would be afforded the peace movements and other humanitarian organization of all countries to participate. The techniques of service which they may render are as rich in variety as the purposes to which they are dedicated. The task is nothing less than the concerted and deliberate effort to enhance the conditions of human freedom.

The meat and meaning of the argument of this Report has been that protection of human beings can scarcely be done effectively without local procedures. It would be next to impossible to re-entrench human freedom in Germany or elsewhere simply by fiat from an inter-national authority located elsewhere. We are deal-

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** (Footnote from page 39, concluded):

facts here involved. Justice Rutledge, writing the opinion of the Court, preferred to rest the decision, however, on common law reasoning based on the decided cases. Having reached a conclusion favorable to the seaman he added: "In view of the ground on which we rest the decision, it is not necessary to consider the effects of the Shipowner's Liability Convention of 1936, other than to state that it in no way alters the conclusion here reached." The Chief Justice, however, concurred in the decision on the simple, foremost, and sufficing ground "that the recovery was authorized by the Shipowner's Liability Convention."

ing with people, their attitudes, approaches, and contacts, their vagaries and frailties. The hopeful aspect of this fact is that, as the distinctions between international and national law are made to break down, as they must, all the national machinery of justice, law-making, and public-opinion formation, becomesavailable for the purpose of achieving internationally-agreed ends. The potentialities of growth and development inherent in every system and jurisdiction of law may thus be placed in the service of the international community. A central feature of any international declaration to issue from the proposed conference would be the insistence that nations give the right of way to the enlarged international law, as against conflicting national laws, and the undertaking upon the part of each nation not to subvert or sabotage the international requirements by contradictory national measures. Another central feature is the necessity for clearly recognizing the individual person as a proper subject of international law with direct access to its processes and directly sheltered by its provisions.

Viewed in its broader international aspect, this picture is no less hopeful. The war, and also the transition period in some areas, are multiplying opportunities to learn lessons of international cooperation and to develop techniques of international collaboration in realizing common aims. As we move into the peace we must jointly undertake to guarantee freedom of information.(which means also communication in and across all nations on matters essentialto the functioning of the United Nations organizations). This freedom is vital for the success of the general international organization to be created and indispensable to the prevention of future war.

In international, as in national affairs, our emphasis is shifting from the punitive and technical aspects of law to its functions of social service and prevention. Even the Moscow Conference declaration on atrocities, rationally viewed, is more important for whatever intimidating and deterrent effect it can have now than because of the punishment to be meted out later. With this change goes a broadening of vision about the procedure of law. As we become more appreciative of the importance of the functions to be performed by law we are less concerned with abstract problems of division of power, of artificial checks and balances. We are more interested to achieve efficient functional allocations of tasks. We want to take advantage of the assembled tendencies of social forces. We seek to provide channels of one form or another which utilize these forces in the broader tasks of social reconstruction. International law has, ready at hand, the forces of national legal machinery to be pressed into service. To aid that development we propose the establishment of a permanent United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

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B. Commission on Human Rights

This United Nations Commission should be set up in conjunction with the general international organization of the United Nations as adumbrated in the Moscow Conference. As outlined in the fundamental proposals of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace this general international organization would eventually be open to all nations. It would have a central political body consisting of a general assembly and an executive council. In the council the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and China would be represented as permanent members, each with a veto power. There would be several ad hoc commissions or semi-autonomous agencies to be coordinated in some way with the political body. Among these would be the Commission on Human Rights. The proposed functions of the Commission on Human Rights are as follows:

1. Its Functions

a. The conduct by all available means, including press, radio and cinema, of an intensive program of public education on the dignity of human personality and appreciation of individual and group differences in culture, race, religion, language and nationality.

b. Aid and advice through expert staff specialists to be rendered nations which are aiming to revise their legal and other machinery to give effect to any internationally agreed standards.

c. Reformulation of relevant international law, including proposal of new conventions or alteration of existing ones.

d. Cooperation with various other United Nations organizations like the proposed migration and refugee authority, the commission on education, the colonial commission, the Organization for Intellectual Cooperation, and the various economic organizations, especially the International Labor Organization, which are devoted to the achievement of kindred purposes. *

e. Cooperation with national and non-governmental agencies, including power to appear, pursuant to authority granted, before national tribunals to present the international viewpoint.

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* Each of these enumerated organizations and subjects will be discussed in separate papers of the Commission to be issued at a later date. Hence consideration of these problems is omitted here.

f. Surveillance of impediments to the free and world-wide transmission of information in order to prevent peoples from being cut off from the influence of the opinion of mankind and from expressing it.

g. Direct protection of human rights in particular trouble zones by means of special machinery of investigation, inspection, and redress, in vindication of the general public interest of the international organization in maintaining human rights.

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It is crucially important that the Human Rights Commission should be recognized as having functions to perform in each country. It should be accorded standing to act in national courts, with power to make argument and file briefs in any given case in order to present the international standard. It should also have formal access to legislative committees, executive departments, and administrative agencies of all kinds, especially those dealing with questions of human rights, for the purpose of insuring proper regard of human rights involved. It would probably act in most cases through a local branch of the Commission.

A continuing central task of the Human Rights Commission would be the reformulation of international standards of human rights in the light of changing social conditions, increasing world solidarity, and democratic development. For this purpose, it would institute studies of relevant aspects of national legal systems, utilizing the discipline of comparative law as a tool of international understanding and collaboration.

It must work in the closest cooperation with the International Labor Organization. This Organization has already made a significant and valuable contribution to the furtherance of those human rights which pertain to the conditions of livelihood, the opportunities and standards of the day's work.

The International Labor Organization has not hitherto found occasion to initiate proposals that it should be represented in local forums and tribunals for the purpose of urging the common viewpoint of which it is the guardian. There are wide potentialities in such procedures for furthering more effectively the claims of human beings to economic security. In these areas collaboration between the Human Rights Commission and the International Labor Organization is likely to be very fruitful. Legal standing afforded the one should be paralleled by legal standing afforded the other.

It is to the International Labor Organization that we believe should be chiefly assigned the extension and deepening of the rights

of labor and the common man's interest in security against the normal and, often catastrophic, hazards of life. Twentieth-century constitutions like those of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the Weimar Republic all contain fundamental economic rights such as the right to work and provision against illness and old age. Vice-President Wallace has included such positive and economic rights in a recent analysis of the meaning of freedom from want.* Many of our state constitutions contain economic rights as, for example, workmen's compensation for injuries regardless of fault, together with protection of the right by an administrative agency, as in New York State.

2. The Legal Bureau

The Human Rights Commission, which would necessarily be a large body of a deliberative kind, having, like the International Labor Organization, representatives of non-governmental groups as well as governments, should be convened in assembly once a year regularly. The continuing and enforcement tasks of the Commission should be performed by a smaller body of the Commission, which might be known as the Legal Bureau, consisting of perhaps seven members chosen for staggered periods of five years, and served by an executive secretary assisted by a permanent staff. It would be the duty of this small body, consisting of jurists and others experienced in public affairs, to carry on the steady work of the Commission including the reception of petitions concerning grievances addressed to the parent body, and, after study, to act upon them through one or more of the channels we have enumerated. Such petitions might be transmitted direct from any aggrieved individual group, or might reach the Commission through organizations, either those affiliated with the Commission, or other organizations, national or international. The Bureau should have a sizeable budget adequate to its task if its efforts are not to be crippled.

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* The Vice-President's enumeration in his Chicago address, September 11, 1943, is as follows: (1) Freedom from worry about a job. (2) Freedom from worry about a dependent and poverty-pinched old age. (3) Freedom from strife between workers and business men, and between workers and farmers. (4) Freedom from strife between the races and creeds. (5) Freedom from fear of bankruptcy caused by overproduction of necessary materials. (6) Freedom for venture capital and for inventors of new ideas to expand production of needed goods without fear of repressive cartels, excessive taxation or excessive Government regulations. We pointed out that: "There is certain to be revolution until they are obtained. The only question is the spread of the revolution and whether it will be peaceful or violent." The "Second" Bill of Rights which the President proposed in his January 1944 message to Congress is meant as a program for the United States.

2. The Legal Bureau (Continued)

a. Branch Offices in Trouble Zones

In trouble zones to be designated as may be necessary by the council of the general international organization, in which we conceive that the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China will each have a veto power, the Bureau will have more direct functions which it will administer under responsibility to the Human Rights Commission which will be coordinated with the international political body in approximately the same way as the International Labor Organization will be.

Supervision in the restoration of human rights cannot be effective at a distance. Branch agencies will be needed on the spot to cooperate with the national authorities in the repeal of all discriminatory legislation, regulations and practices; in framing and proposing positive measures and machinery to meet the international requirements; and to assist aggrieved individuals and groups in obtaining remedies for injustices by acting on their behalf in national courts and other agencies, and in other ways. Questions concerning the interpretation of the internationally defined standards, whether arising in the course of proceedings in the courts, administrative agencies, or other tribunals, should be subject to review by a special Human Rights Chamber, analogous to the Labor or Communications Chambers, of the Permanent Court of International Justice. It would, of course, be a great advantage if the Bureau were to have power to issue regulations and directives implementing the international standards and binding on the national agencies of law enforcement. If such powers were conceded, their exercise would also have to be made subject to review by the Permanent Court.

The problem confronting us here is that of building a bridge between national and international law where human rights have been trampled upon or are being ignored and the maintenance of peace -- certainly of a just peace -- is jeopardized. In view of the great success in the functioning of administrative agencies within nations in settling comparable matters easily, and often informally, it is suggested that "adequate legal machinery" in each "trouble zone" nation would have to include a national administrative agency on human rights. (It would be well if every single nation were asked to give consideration to the creation of such administrative machinery. The Civil Liberties Unit of the Department of Justice and the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee for defense plants are examples in close point). In "trouble zones" it would be ideal if the gap between national and international law were to be further closed by having a representative of the local offices of the Legal Bureau included as a regular member of the national administrative agency on human rights.

2. The Legal Bureau

a. Branch Offices in Trouble Zones (Continued)

In the transitional period, for some years after the war, there will certainly be vital need for the Legal Bureau, through its branch offices, to deal with urgent problems in the restoration of human rights in many of the areas now under Nazi domination. The problem in these countries will be to repeal discriminatory legislation and stamp out inhuman practices induced or intensified by Nazi ingressions. These areas are now, to a greater or lesser extent, ideologically infested sub-standard areas. In some of these places, the oppression of persons or groups is endemic and of long standing. In others, the Nazis have newly introduced the mad doctrine of the master race. Elsewhere compromises have been made with justice in the name of appeasement or under the heel of enemy occupation. We are faced with the imperative duty to restore or introduce minimal standards. It is as important a problem as faces the United Nations.

The dimensions of the task are so great and its implications so portentous that we need to examine in some detail the role the Legal Bureau may play in the transition period. We shall require sympathy for considerable legal inventiveness to contrive a mode of functioning which will avoid the weaknesses of the old Minorities Treaties system, which will yet bring home internationally-agreed minimal norms, and will not trench intolerably on national independence. It is evident, to begin with, that we shall get nowhere if we are deterred at the threshold by the bogey of absolute national sovereignty. Whatever the over-all political settlements may be in these areas, there will still be need for the Legal Bureau to operate in these troubled zones during the period of transition. It is evident that the period may be longer in one place than in another, and no one can say when maturity will be reached in any zone. The Bureau and its technique would be available for use anywhere, at any time, if need should arise, upon the approval of the council of the international organization which would require the concurrence of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China.

While the Legal Bureau must be empowered to aid in the restoration and maintenance of human rights in the occupied and conquered territories, it may not be necessary for the Bureau to function in all parts of the conquered or occupied territories. It is only after investigation by the Council and a finding by the Bureau that they are trouble zones that any nations or areas will be designated as sub-standard. The Bureau will then send agencies to the spot. Efficient performance of the tasks of the Bureau from the central seat of the United Nations organization (if it is to have its seat in one central place) seems likely to be difficult for a number of reasons:

(1) During the difficult years ahead, its services must be easily accessible.

(2) A central office would be swamped under the innumerable applications likely to come to it during the transition period.

(3) Familiarity with the intimate detail of local situations and experience in the problems peculiar to each particular area will be vitally necessary and not available except to those on the spot. The devices and subterfuges of sabotage in this field are legion and require specialized nosing out.

(4) Experience with the administration of Minorities Treaties has made clear the importance of not needlessly wounding the sensibilities or impugning the honor of nations or dominant national groups by dragging them into an open international forum. The local agents of the Bureau could function for the most part in and through the state agencies, employing various techniques of cooperation, often informal communication and conference. The risk of putting up the official back of the offending nation would be reduced correspondingly. While in the last resort there may have to be appeal to the Permanent Court of International Justice, it is wiser from every point of view that such appeal should be the last resort, and not the first. Not the least of the consideration to bear in mind on this point is the need to avoid straining the seams of the law. Where the machinery of Justice must constantly be formally and elaborately appealed to in order to maintain law, the situation is likely to explode or the law to become a dead letter. Informal methods are likely to provide more substantial satisfaction all around and have all the advantages that prophylaxis possesses.

Let us take a concrete example: A person aggrieved because he believes he is being discriminated against because of his race, religion or national origin in his application for civil service employment -- let us say -- will have open to him one of the courses: (1) recourse to his own national legal processes with the cooperation of the branch office of the Legal Bureau, or (2) recourse in the first instance to the branch office of the Legal Bureau. The example is not idly chosen as in the quasi-collective economics of many European states, the state is a chief employer. Let us consider each of these courses:

(1) He may institute suit on his own initiative and at his own expense with a private attorney before the courts or administrative agencies of his country. It would be important, as we have indicated, for each country in the course of providing adequate legal machinery to provide an administrative agency of its own to consider com-

plaints of that character. Court litigation is generally slow, cumbersome and expensive. Administrative action is more informal, more understanding, speedier and can be preventive. Such an administrative agency should be required of each of the "sub-standard" countries. The Legal Bureau should be officially notified when an action is being started in the court or appropriate administrative agency for it is an internationally guaranteed and defined right which has been denied the claimant. The Bureau then may take appropriate action as a "friend of the court" or of the administrative agency. The Bureau would be empowered to take an appeal to the Permanent Court of International Justice if necessary.

If this procedure were available as the only one, there could be no imputation of treason often flung at those who exercised their rights under the Minorities Treaties. We should do well to consider if this mode of procedure, without more, should be established as the only course. An alternative procedure might, however, be made available at the option of the petitioner.

(2) If the aggrieved individual prefers to rely more directly on the branch office of the Legal Bureau, such a course would then also be open to him. The branch office should itself have authority to receive complaints and to initiate action of redress. Such action would not be taken primarily in vindication of the private right of the aggrieved individual, but in furtherance of the general public and international interest of the United Nations in assuring fair treatment. This means that the Legal Bureau must be endowed with greater powers than the Minorities Section of the League or even the Mandates Commission had. We dare not again establish machinery of such uncertain justice as the League Minorities procedure. The procedures of justice cannot work at political whim or be subject to twisting by political strategy. It is time to declare flatly that procedures in which one of the parties may use political pressures to deny a hearing to the other is injustice. The merit of the suggestion made here is that the administrative and judicial devices to be employed are effective and take much of the sting out of the assault on the state's prestige. States would not be liable to immediate discipline in the forum of a central international authority, as in the case of the League's Minorities procedure.

Unless the complaint made to the branch office is fraudulent or frivolous on its face, the branch office of the Bureau will proceed, according to the procedure we contemplate, to institute on investigation into the complaint. From that time forward the individual will no longer have to assume any of the burdens in pressing his allegation. From that time forward the branch office of the Bureau will pursue the matter to ultimate vindication of the public interest entrusted to its guardianship. The matter will not depend on the individual's disposition, persistence, courage, funds or capacity for resistance of pressures or reprisals which may be brought against him. The onus will be upon the branch office, as will be the responsibility. That is where it belongs for we are pursuing a public interest in a matter of international concern.

In making its investigation into the complaint, the branch office of the Bureau should be empowered to utilize all the procedures by which administrative functioning has been found to be effective in other fields, some

of them comparable with this one. Informal efforts should first be made to straighten out the difficulty. If each nation has its own administrative agency for these questions, this effort would be very much facilitated, and especially so if a representative of the Legal Bureau sat as one of its members. If such efforts do not avail, the branch office may continue the investigation. It must have power to elicit the facts by procedure of inquiry including those analogous to a trial.* The local courts must be required to facilitate the labors of the Bureau in this respect, e.g., in summoning needed witnesses, etc. The branch office may conclude that the complaint is unjustified. If it decides that the complaint is justified, and its efforts to induce the appropriate authorities to afford redress are unsuccessful, it may institute action in the national courts or other tribunals for an appropriate remedy. From an adverse decision in the national forum, appeal may be taken by either the nation or the Bureau to the Human Rights Chamber to be set up by the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The traditions of the judiciary, or of quasi-judicial bodies, however much they may be departed from at times, are clearly the traditions of disinterestedness and impartiality. Placing reliance upon the courts

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* John Foster Dulles, New York attorney, who has appeared before the Securities and Exchange Commission in behalf of corporations being regulated, has this to say of the efficiency and propriety of administrative adjudication:

"I think," he said before the Attorney General's Committee in 1940, "it is entirely proper that an administrative body should have a qualified power to prosecute and to adjudicate. I think this because the normal procedure for a commission, when it finds or thinks it finds something wrong, is to call the alleged culprit in, go over the situation with him and satisfy itself and, if it can, also satisfy him that he has violated the law and that something should be done about it. The Commission should then seek, and have power to apply, a judgment which will be essentially remedial and preventive. There should be a penalty designed to act as a deterrent against repetition. That is the normal way the Commission should work. But it may not be possible to work this way. It may be that there will be disagreements as to the facts or the law, or the party involved may not accept the remedy which the Commission thinks proper to apply. If the matter reaches such an impasse then it seems to me that it becomes like an ordinary lawsuit; and I would suggest in that case that the party to be prosecuted should have the right, if he so desires, to compel the Commission to prosecute him before a court. In many cases I do not think the party concerned would exercise that option to be tried before a court. I think he would often accept the Commission as both the prosecutor and the judge because he would still be getting the more expert consideration that the Commission will give him. But the very fact that he had the option of transferring his trial into court and having an impartial tribunal, would do away with the natural reaction against being compelled to accept the same agency as both prosecutor and judge."
(Emphasis Added)

of a nation to interpret international law for the benefit of the individual or the group fairly, honestly, and giving international law precedence, we may expect courts to try to retrieve the honor of their government if it is really at fault. In addition, a court will think twice before allowing the matter to escape beyond the confines of the state and into the arena of the Permanent Court and the frame of international opinion.

Periodic reports to the Bureau may be required of governments. The branch office will also be authorized to make inspections when and if necessary. These powers should go far to overcome the inadequacies of previous controls which made violations of the Minorities Treaties, for example, easy to perpetrate and difficult to check.

It will have been observed that this proposal for administrative implementation in the safeguard of human rights in troubled areas is patterned upon the start which has already been made in the Minorities Section of the League and in the stronger Mandates Commission. It is patterned also upon our considerably increased experience with, and appreciation of, administrative functioning in England, and particularly in America during recent years. The Continent has had an even longer and fuller experience with administrative agencies. The growth of administrative law and practice, as we have noted, is one of the significant and notable developments in legal machinery in recent years.

The extent to which administrative procedures have become the approved current method of attacking our agitated social problems is reflected in the following authoritative conclusion:

> "The use of that cluster of controls which is designated supervision and which includes inspection, investigation, consultation, education, advice, cooperation, and the like, is becoming increasingly the method of government regulation as against policing and judicial procedure." *

It will be instructive to dwell briefly upon our own experience with administrative agencies in this country in order to illustrate their peculiar adaptability to the problems we are considering. Administrative agencies in our country are as old as the Post Office and Customs Bureau. Among the leading older agencies in the field are the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Trade Commission. The Securities and Exchange Commission and the National Labor Relations Board are recent advents. The patterns of activity, so far as their procedure is concerned, are roughly similar for all these boards. Unfair competition was rife when its elimination was left to the office of the Attorney General under a general statute. Real progress in eliminating unfair competition was made when the Federal Trade Commission was set up to police this area of our economic order. It was able to function effectively because it developed specialized personnel and equipment, because its procedures were informal and speedy, because it could take preventive action and not wait for harm to be done. In general, the enlightened tendency of the law is toward adequate preventive measures in a particular field which causes social difficulty, instead of waiting for law

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* J.P.Chamberlain, Dowling and Hays, "The Judicial Function of Federal Administrative Agencies", p.224

suits. The National Labor Relations Board, the procedure of which has been the object of attack largely by those who do not approve the law which it administers, does not function in any essential way differently from the Federal Trade Commission which was itself the object of vilification in its beginnings. The Labor Relations Board is a particularly appropriate analogy, inasmuch as the field in which it functions is a field of traditional conflict and animosity. It is therefore almost beyond belief that in less than a decade since it was set up our experience has been that more than three-fourths of its cases are settled in their early informal stages and that it has made union organization and collective bargaining a normal and accepted aspect of our economic scene. Even where bitterness against unions and union organizers persists, it has checked discrimination against employees because of their union membership or activity. In the same way the Legal Bureau, through its branch or regional offices, would be able to check discrimination even where bigotry persisted. In time, with the aid of the general educational program of the Commission on Human Rights, we could accomplish a diminution of the intolerance and hatreds which have obtained for decades in some of the areas under consideration and which have been whipped up to a fever heat by the Nazi propaganda in other areas. A mature acceptance of the "freedom to be different" and a positive pleasure in appreciating differences in human culture and expression are not to be achieved overnight.

The United Nations have already made great progress by setting up ad hoc administrative agencies for the handling and settlement of urgent problems which have arisen in relief and nutrition fields. The latest development of national law and the earliest steps of the new international collaboration coincide in the governmental device which they utilize. Here is an extraordinary and happy coincidence. The administrative agency is the most flexible and efficient tool of modern government in each sphere.

IV. THE RELATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

Constitutional law, including administrative law, has generally been considered a separate legal domain to which alone the individual could look for protection of his individual freedom -- the liberty of his unwonted governmental encroachment. By constitutional law we mean the fundamental law of each nation which defines the limits of governmental action. International law, as we have seen, has generally been regarded as the concern only of nations whose rights it purports to define. As a result of our analysis we believe it becomes evident that the United Nations will be unable to organize adequate procedures for the loyal observance of international prohibition of aggression unless they can bulwark them with effective assurance of respect for basic human freedom. Nor could a just peace be founded today on any other basis when the rights of men and peoples transcend national boundaries in the common interest of humanity and other over-riding interests of science, art, religion, cultural affinities, business, labor, etc. Hence there has emerged a direct international interest in the rights of all individuals within nations, an interest which requires implementation. The old water-tight division between constitutional and international law can no longer be maintained. The protection of human rights has ceased to be a matter of exclusively domestic interest. The relations between states and their subjects have become a matter of vital international concern. How can individual human liberty be preserved when men are

periodically regimented or killed by the exigencies of war? How can freedom from fear of war be henceforth enforced under international law if tyrannical governments are free to cut off, silence, or oppress their enlightened populations? It follows that while the state must retain jurisdiction to enforce its laws on all persons within its domain, the relation between the nation and the United Nations must be given some institutional basis if it is to be meaningful. To recognize the integral relation between a just and lasting peace and the rights of men without having the wit to seek the vindication of these rights in some way through international organization is to commit moral abdication. The future of peace is inseverably linked with the future of human freedom. We have taken thought as to the means by which to make the protection of human rights a working principle of international organization. That this can be done without too much interference with the state, and should be done with as little as possible, is a major theme of our paper. Henceforth international law and constitutional law must come into closer rapport. Above all, public opinion must be alert to make public officials constantly aware of this necessity. People must be made attentive to the need for respect for human rights generally. Vigilance is still the price of liberty and liberty is indivisible. That is why the Atlantic Charter pledges us to a peace in which "all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

That does not mean that any one nation will have the power to intervene in the internal and domestic affairs of another nation. It does mean that the United Nations, through their general international organization and the Human Rights Commission which we propose, has a vital interest in the maintenance of conditions within each nation which do not upset international amity by the perpetration of injustices which outrage the conscience and opinion of civilized mankind and upset its conjoint functioning. "The right of self-determination", as President Roosevelt has said of the Atlantic Charter, "does not carry with it the right of any government to commit wholesale murder or the right to make slaves of its own people." The discontinuance of such barbarism by an exercise of the lawfully constituted authority of the United Nations is certainly minimal in a world which will seek to maintain itself through law and order. The Conference of American States in 1938 made clear that it is contrary to our systems to countenance "any persecution on account of racial or religious motives which makes it impossible for a group of human beings to live decently." In protesting against certain conditions in Spain the Council of the League of Nations resolved in 1937 that these were in violation of "elementary dictates of humanity" and offended the "conscience of mankind." The Precedent is there. The assertion has been made that men may not be despoiled, exterminated and oppressed with impunity. The United Nations cannot build a sound peace unless they found it upon justice as upon a rock. Assertions must be backed by adequate legal machinery, national and international, acting together along the lines we have proposed. Men must come to feel the urgency of respecting the dignity and human rights of fellowmen. Else they build in vain who seek to build an international order.

It is significant that the Teheran Declaration alludes to the devotion of peoples, not only the committment of nations. The Three-Power invitation seeks the "co-operation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance." It is into "a world family of democratic nations" that they are welcomed. It is time that they took conference together for these common ends.

[U.N - San Fr. Conf]

San Francisco Conference Resolutions

The March on Washington Movement
New York, New York

I am sending this statement that I hope you will give consideration in your discussions to the many delegates:

A BILL of RIGHTS, setting forth the essential liberties of men and groups and nations, should be incorporated in the charter of the world organization; and the Assembly of all nations should be made the custodian of these essential liberties.

All COLONIAL PEOPLES, without consideration of color or race, who are animated by a consciousness of their nationality and desirous of national autonomy, should be assured of their right to independence within the framework of regional and worldwide federation, and it should be a function of the international organization to give them aid and guidance toward the attainment of this right.

20-18

Negro Ministers of New Haven, Conn.

The Negro ministers of New Haven, Conn. subscribe to the following that freedom and equality of all races, creeds and colors be maintained and freedom to live under the existing government in the United States with equal opportunities socially, economically and politically.

Rev. J. E. Henry, President

National Urban League
New York City

The National Urban League has not expressed itself formally on the issues involved in the international and colonial problems relating to the new world organization of nations. However, we have followed with close interest the work of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois on the issues, and herewith express confidence in the general substance of his proposals and his procedure of consulting with responsible leaders of thought and action among the darker races who are directly affected by imperialism and colonial rule.

In that connection, we approve the resolution unanimously adopted by your colonial conference recently in New York City,

[U.N.-San Fran Conf.]

The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance
& Christian Workers' Conference
Bluefield, West Va.

We request the Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America, the NAACP, the Nat. Federation of Negro Women's Clubs, the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters, the Urban League and other organized movements for the protection of the rights of minority groups, to appeal to the Council of United Nations in Conference assembled in an Francisco, California, and at the Peace Conference to follow, that some inter-Allied plan be agreed upon by the Allied Nations by which freedom, equal rights, equal opportunity, social and political justice shall be guaranteed to all minority groups that shall live under the jurisdiction of the Allied Naions, irrespective of national allegiance.

Rev. S. C. Taylor, President

20-18

Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine
of North & South America and Jurisdiction
Columbus, Ohio

We sincerely hope Dr. DuBois can assist in seeking economic equality for all peoples - educational equality and political equality.

National David Spiritual Temple of Christ Church Union, Inc.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

We will appriciate your interest in presenting this resolution to the proper authorities at the conference. You are authorized to make public this resolution, in whole or in part.

RESOLVED, that representatives of all Allied nations at the San Francisco Conference being held in the City of San Francisco go on record and recommend the inclusion of a statutory clause in the international law governing all nations, making the teaching and practices of raceism, race prejudice, discrimination, and racial supremacy an international crime against civilization.

National Ass'n of Colored Graduate Nurses
New York City

The National Ass'n of Colored Graduate Nurses as a member of the National Council for Negro Women would like to state its position in relation to its hopes and aims for the women of the world.

Discriminatory and degrading practices which now face women become the concern of the Government under which they live.

[U.N. San Fran Conf]

Nat. Ass'n of Deans and Advisers of Men in Negro Educational Institutions
Tallahassee, Fla.

We endorse proposal to have representatives of colonial peoples appear before conference, revealing their present status and what they hope the post war world will mean in terms of democratic participation. Endorse reviving Pan-African Congress and more equitable representation of small nations in organization to keep the peace.

Walter R. Brown, Secty

20-18

[U.N.- San Fr. Conf]

The National Ass'n of Ministers' Wives
Virginia Union University Actively Cooperating
Richmond, Virginia

The National Ass'n of Ministers' Wives would like to make two suggestions to be considered for enforcement during the conference to be held at San Francisco:

1. Be it resolved to abolish the inhuman, ungodly, humiliating, irritating segregation of races so widely practiced in our country.

2. That for a safe national or international foundation, we have the governments authorize the teaching of basic religious principles in all schools.

(Mrs.)Elizabeth Coles Bouey, President

- - - - - - - - - - -

North Carolina State College off Agriculture and Engineering
Greensboro, N.C.

20-18

We believe fundamentally in the position of agriculture in the Nation's economy, and I feel that a greater recognition of the part agriculture plays and will play in the peace will be a very important factor. All of us have confidence in you and your ability to represent the Negro people in the United States as a consultant.

R. E. Jones, Negro State Agent
Cooperative Extension Work
and 4-H Club Specialist.

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National Dental Association and National Dental Hygience Ass'n
Charlottesville, Virginia

Please include our Associations in your resolution for world peace based on equality and justice for all. ~~XXXthat problems of dependent nations and minority groups is a world problem and must be treated as one.~~

D. H. Turpin, President

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Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Mullicahill, N. J.

This sorority urges that minority group and dependent nations receive adequate protection in the proposals. The problems of dependent nations and minority groups is a world proble m and must be treated as one.

Mae W. Downs, National President

[U.N. - San Fr. Conf.]

The African Orthodox Church
New York City

1. We are opposed to any International Trusteeship and Mandates and Colonialism.

2. A Resolution advocating or doing away with Colonial domination will be welcome.

3. We advocate the Principles of the Atlantic Charter and that they be extended to all Peoples in all Countries, irrespective of Race, Creed or Color.

William Ernest
Office of the Patriarch

Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Count on our wholehearted support.

20-18

William M. Cooper
Secretary-Treasurer
Conference on Adult Education
and the Negro

The United Cooperative League of America, Inc.,
Chicago, Illinois

Whereas, the United Cooperative League of America, Inc., has for its purpose plans for the economic and social freedom and progress of American Negroes and to create better racial relations and understanding with other races, andto establish business enterprises and vocational training school, or schools, to prepare our youth along commercial lines and enable them to cope with the future development of the race,

The refore, Be it resolved that the said United Cooperative League of America, Inc., be placed on record as supporting any act or acts of the said N.A.A.C.P. which tend toward the betterment of minority group or groups and they do hereby empower the said National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to make representative to proper authorities of the said Conference as they may deem fit and best for the people of our racial group and bearing in mind the purpose of our organization.

Lee R. Lewis, Chairman
Committee on Resolutions

[U.N. - San Fr. Conf.]

National Convention of Churches of God-Holiness
Atlanta, Georgia

Resolved that the American representatives at the San Francisco Conference seriously consider the status of the darker races in India, South Africa and the West Indies who are being exploited.

Resolved further that the United States set an example and precedent of treating its own minority groups with justice and with full application of the principles and ideals guaranteed by the United States Constitution to the life, liberty, and happiness of such minorities with special emphasis on abolishing segregation, lynching and injustice in the courts and granting equal opportunities to all of the colored races.

The National Bar Association
Louisville, Kentucky

20-18

You may feel certain that the National Bar Association will cheerfully cooperate with you and the NAACP as Consultant to the American Delegation at the San Francisco Conference.

C. W. Anderson, Jr., Pres.

National Medical Ass'n, Inc.
Los Angeles, California

1. Health problems considered and participation in the Negro health workers in those countries and provinces comparable to Liberia, Virgin Islands and South America. That the present restrictions facing minority peoples and professional workers may not rule them out of participation here and there.

2. Better hospitalization and such facilities be made available to minority people, both professional and patient within the provincial boundaries of the continent of United States of America and its dependencies or countries who the United States may be protectorate of such people.

3. Abolishment of segregation in the armed forces.

4. Better medical research facilities made available for minority professionals and returning G. I.'s be given equal opportunity for medical education.

5. Negro doctors will serve on boards for examining returning veterans when being discharged.

6. We are bitterly opposed to the establishment of any segregated veterans facilities.

[U.N. S.F. Conf.]

National Gay Northeasterners
New York, New York

Like all good Americans the Gay Northeasterners wholeheartedly support the efforts of our government to ratify at San Francisco the proposals for world organization made at Dumbarton Oaks. Naturally we believe other propositions such as the colonial question should be given wise consideration but in their natural sequence. World organization comes first. We trust NAACP and other like organizations will use all available means to bring about these conditions.

Janice King, National President

Nationl Council of Negro Women
Washington, D. C.

We are happy in the thought that you are one of the organizations which will have a representative as a consultant to the American Delegation at the World Security Conference in San Francisco in view of the excellent thought given to this problem by your organization and the Council on African Affairs. The National Council of Negro Women endorses the point of view expressed in the resolutions of these two organizations. From this standpoint we offer the use of our name and the influence of the 6½ million Negro Women of America and pushing for Conference consideration of these points affecting the colonial and dependent areas of the world."

Mary McLeod Bethune, President

20-18

National Negro Insurance Ass'n
Atlanta, Georgia

We feel that you know the desires of American Negroes in general and will utilize every available opportunity that we realize full American citizenship, freedom of exercise in the pursuit of happiness, political and economic welfare. Negroes being fully aware of the accompanying responsibilities to obtain under a democratic from of government, we are fortunate to have you represent us as consultant to the American Delegation at San Francisco.

Charles W. Green, President

Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers
Mariana, Ark.

We trust your opinion and endorse all that you do for the best interest of all American Negroes and all countries.

Mrs. A. M. P. Strong, President

Ass'n of Colleges and Secondary Schools
Concord, N. C.

L. S. Cozart

[U.N.-S.F. Conf]

The Right Worthy Grand Council, Independent Order of St. Luke
Richmond, Va.

A fraternal organization of 30,000 Negroes operating in 17 states of these United States sets forth the following as its view on what the Negroes want, full and unabridged citizenship. We will appreciate the service and effort of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in getting this view before the San Francisco Caonference.

Hattie N. F. Walker
Right Worthy Grand Secretary

The Independent Order of Good Samaritans
Washington, D. C.

I am requesting that your representative speak for the Independent Order of Good Samaritans, an organization of 10,000 members.

John H. Dale, Jr.
National Grand Secretary

20-18

W.E.B. Du Bois

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Jane Evans
National Peace Conference

Robert Norton
Observer for American Legion

Catherine Schaefer
Catholic Association for International Peace

James T. Shotwell
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Walter Van Kirk
Federal Council of Churches

The people listed above with their organization affiliations will act as a strategy committee for all organizations, will work with those who have representatives at the conference and will keep the organizations which have no representatives at the conference informed. In addition to these, it is hoped there will be representatives from farm groups and from the American Federation of Labor.

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Theological Seminary
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Bishop James C. Baker,
125 East Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles 12, Calif.

21. FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
22 East 38th Street, New York 16, New York

General Frank McCoy, President,
22 East 38th Street, New York, New York

21. FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION (Cont'd.)

Mrs. Vera M. Dean,
Research Director and Editor,
22 East 38th Street, New York, New York

Mr. William W. Lancaster,
Chairman, Board of Directors,
55 Wall Street, New York, New York

22. GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS
1734 "H" Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Mrs. LaFell Dickinson, President,
60 Roxbury Street, Keene, New Hampshire

Mrs. William Dick Sporborg,
Chairman, Dept. International Relations,
122 Trenor Drive, New Rochelle, New York

Mrs. Earl B. Shoesmith,
President of the California Federation
327 Woodland Park, San Leandro, Calif.

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23. KIWANIS INTERNATIONAL
520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 11, Illinois

Mr. Donald B. Rice, Immediate Past President,
Business Manager of Oakland Board of Education
1025 Second Avenue, Oakland, Calif.

Dean J. Hugh Jackson,
Dean of the School of Business Administration, Stanford Univ.
445 El Escarpado, Stanford University, Calif.

Mr. Harley Magee,
Managing Editor, The Kiwanis Magazine,
520 No. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Benjamin W. Black,
Alameda County Hospital, Oakland, California

24. LIONS INTERNATIONAL
332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 4, Illinois

Mr. David A. Skeen, President,
1501 Walker Bank Bldg., Salt Lake City, Utah

24. LIONS INTERNATIONAL (Cont'd.)

Mr. Melvin Jones,
Secretary-General, Lions International
332 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago 4, Ill.

Mr. Fred W. Smith, Third Vice-President
President of California State Board of Education
P. O. Box 30, Ventura, California

25. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Mr. Walter White, Executive Secretary,
69 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director of Research,
69 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York

Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, Vice-President,
1318 Vermont Ave., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.

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26. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS
14 West 49th Street, New York 20, New York

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Chairman of the Board,
Rockford, Illinois

Mr. Hugh O'Connor, Staff Consultant,
Darien, Connecticut

Mr. William W. Cumberland, Economist,
120 Broadway, New York 5, New York

27. NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D. C.

Mr. Richard Patteo,
1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D. C.

Miss Elinor Falvey,
818 "B" Street, San Mateo, California

28. NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS
600 South Michigan Blvd., Chicago 5, Illinois

28. NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS (Cont'd.)

Mrs. William A. Hastings, President,
600 So. Michigan Blvd., Chicago 5, Ill.

Mrs. Florence Bingham,
Chairman, Post-War Planning Committee,
2005 Cowper Street, Palo Alto, California

Mr. J. J. Garland,
President, California P.T.A.,
1325 Middle Avenue, Menlo Park, California

29. NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARMER COOPERATIVES
1731 Eye Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Mr. Homer L. Brinkley, President,
P. O. Drawer 877, Lake Charles, Louisiana

Mr. Earl W. Benjamin, Member Executive Committee,
11 Park Place, New York 7, New York

Mr. Charles Teague,
Member of Board and Executive Committee,
724 Santa Paula, California

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30. NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
1201 - 16th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Mr. F. L. Schlagle, President,
Superintendent of Schools, Kansas City, Kansas

Mr. William Carr,
Associate Secretary, N.E.A.,
1201 - 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Mr. Ben M. Cherrington,
Chairman, International Relations Committee,
Chancellor of the University of Denver,
Denver, Colorado

Dr. Flaud Wooton, Associate,
Assistant Secretary, Educational Policies Commission,
Professor of Education, University of California,
Los Angeles, California

31. NATIONAL EXCHANGE CLUB
335 Superior Street, Toledo 4, Ohio

31. NATIONAL EXCHANGE CLUB (Cont'd.)

Mr. A. Brooks Berlin,
Past District Governor,
525 Standard Oil Building, San Francisco, Calif.

Mr. Ivan Branson,
President, Golden Gate Club,
380 Moncado Way, San Francisco, Calif.

Mr. Cyril Sinclair,
President, San Francisco Exchange Club,
343 Mills Tower Building, San Francisco, Calif.

32. NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
3501 East 46th Ave., Denver, Colorado

Mr. James G. Patton, President,
954 Bonnie Brae Blvd., Denver, Colorado

Mr. David Bazelon, Counsel,
231 So. LaSalle, Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Lucille Beck, Educational Consultant,
1714 Stout Street, Denver 2, Colorado

20-11

33. NATIONAL FEDERATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMENS CLUBS, INC.
1819 Broadway, New York 23, New York

Miss Margaret A. Hickey, National President,
560 No. Skinker, St. Louis, Mo.

Miss Josephine Schain, Chairman, International Relations Committee,
3 Mitchell Place, New York, New York

Miss Clotilde Grunsky,
68 Post Street, San Francisco 4, Calif.

34. NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL
26 Beaver Street, New York 5, New York

Mr. Eugene P. Thomas, President,
26 Beaver Street, New York 5, New York

Mr. Henry F. Grady,
President, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce,
333 Pine Street, San Francisco, California

34. NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL (Cont'd.)

Mr. John Abbink, Director,
330 West 42nd Street, New York, New York

35. NATIONAL GRANGE
744 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Mr. Albert S. Goss, Master,
744 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Mr. George Sehlmeyer,
806 "K" Street, Sacramento, California

36. NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD
16 East 41st Street, New York 17, New York

Mr. Robert W. Kenny, President,
Attorney General, State of California,
State Building, San Francisco, Calif.

Mr. Martin Popper,
National Executive Secretary,
16 East 41st Street, New York, New York

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37. NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
726 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Mrs. Anne Hartwell Johnstone, Jr.,
3065 University Terrace, N. W., Washington 16, D. C.

Mrs. Kate Carla Nachtrieb,
111 Southampton Drive, Berkeley, Calif.

Mrs. Harold Hacke,
1359 - 20th Avenue, San Francisco 22, California

38. NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE
8 West 40th Street, New York, New York

Mr. John Paul Jones, President,
201 - 80th Street, Brooklyn 9, New York

Miss Jane Evans, Director,
8 West 40th Street, New York, New York

38. NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE (Cont'd.)

Mr. Richard Wood, Vice-President,
304 Arch Street, Philadelphia 6, Pa.

39. RAILWAY LABOR EXECUTIVES ASSOCIATION
10 Independence Avenue, S.W., Washington, D. C.

Mr. Charles J. MacGowan,
Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas

40. ROTARY INTERNATIONAL
35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago 1, Illinois

Mr. Richard H. Wells, President,
P. O. Box 1591, Pocatello, Idaho

Mr. Walter D. Head, Past President,
20 Lloyd Road, Montclair, New Jersey

Mr. Allen D. Albert, Past President,
Director of the Sheldon Swope Art Gallery, Terre Haute, Ind.,
P. O. Box 295, Paris, Illinois

30-11

Mr. J. Raymond Tiffany, Past Director,
10 Crestmont Road, Montclair, New Jersey

Mr. Luther Hodges,
Chairman, Rotary Post War Committee,
82 Worth Street, New York, New York

Mr. Philip Lovejoy, Secretary,
Mr. Lester G. Struthers, Assistant General Secretary,
Mr. Cyrus P. Barnum, Assistant Secretary,
35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

41. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES
Broadway and 34th Street, Kansas City 2, Missouri

Mr. Louis E. Starr, Grand Vice Commander in Chief,
725 Failing Building, Portland, Oregon

Judge Frederick M. Miller, Aide-de-Camp,
State House, Des Moines, Iowa

Mr. Laurence Taggart
2919 Park Way, Bakersfield, Calif.

42. WOMEN'S ACTION COMMITTEE FOR VICTORY AND LASTING PEACE
1 East 57th Street, New York 22, New York

Miss Lillian M. Phillips, Chairman, Northern California,
1880 Jackson St., San Francisco, Calif.

Mrs. Fanny (Arthur) Brin, Vice President,
2566 W. Lake of the Isles Blvd. Minneapolis, Minn.

Mrs. June (George Fielding) Eliot,
National Radio Chairman,
150-1/2 East 38th Street, New York, New York

20-11

Sent

Consultants

- Clark M. Eichelberger
- Dr. Helen D. Reid
- David A. Simmons
- Herman B. Wells
- Edward A. O'Neal
- Robert J. Watt
- Joseph M. Proskauer
- Henry Monsky
- Edward N. Scheiberling
- Philip B. Reed
- Hugh Moore
- Charles G. Bolte
- Dr. James T. Shotwell
- Thomas H. Mahony
- Harper Sibley
- Dr. Henry Atkinson
- Philip Murray
- Thomas K. Finletter
- Milton D. Cohn
- James G. Patton
- Walter Van Kirk
- General Frank McCoy
- Mrs. Lafell Dickinson
- Donald B. Rice
- O. A. Skeen
- Walter White
- Robert M. Gaylord
- Richard Pattee
- Mrs. William A. Hastings
- Homer L. Brinkley
- William G. Carr
- A. Brooks Berlin
- Miss Margaret Hickey
- Eugene P. Thomas
- Albert Goss
- Robert W. Kenny
- Mrs. William Johnson
- Miss Jane Evans
- Charles J. MacGowan
- Richard H. Wells
- Miss Lillian M. Phillips
- Louis G. Starr

Amer. Ass'n for United Nations
Amer. Ass'n of University Women
Amer. Bar Ass'n
Amer. Council of Education
Amer. Farm Bureau Federation
Amer. Federation of Labor
Amer. Jewish Committee
Amer. Jewish Conference
Amer. Legion
Amer. Section, Internat. Chamb. of Com
Americans United for World Organ., Inc
Amer. Veterans Committee
Carnegie Endowment for Internat. Peace
Catholic Ass'n for Internat. Peace
Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.
Church Peace Union
Congress of Industrial Organization
Council on Foreign Affairs War
Disabled Amer. Veterans of the World /
Farmers' Union in America
Fed. Council of Churches of Christ /
Foreign Policy Ass'n
General Fed. of Women's Clubs
Kiwanis International
Lions International People
Nat. Ass'n for Advancement of Colored /
Nat. Ass'n of Manufacturers
Nat. Catholic Welfare Conference
Nat. Cong. of Parents & Teachers
Nat. Council of Farmer Co-operatives
Nat. Education Ass'n
Nat. Exchange Club Women's Clubs
Nat. Fed. of Business & Professional /
Nat. Foreign Trade Council
Nat. Grange
Nat. Lawyers Guild
Nat. League of Women Voters
Nat. Peace Conference
Railway Labor Executive's Ass'n
Rotary International
Women's Action Committee for Victory & Lasting Peace
Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States

20-10

XXI

ROSTER
OF
MCRA - PRESS TRAIN
TO
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

NAME	PULLMAN ACCOMMODATIONS	CAR
Angelopoulds, A.	Drawing room C	NY-6
Ackerman, M. J.	Compartment E	NY-3
Antonakakis, A.	Drawing room C	NY-1
Armstead, George	Drawing room A	NY-8
Allen, W.	Compartment H	NY-5
Batt, B.	Compartment H	NY-5
Baker, Sheila	Compartment D	NY-7
Beckley, J.	Compartment G	NY-2
Berger, Oscar	Compartment G	NY-1
Boothby, Robert	Compartment D	NY-5
Bertelis, L.	Compartment G	NY-7
Butler, J.	Drawing room C	NY-3
Calloway, Mrs.	Compartment H	NY-4
Canham, Edwin D.	Compartment E	NY-4
Canel, E. B.	Compartment G	NY-4
Castillo, Miss P. L.	Compartment F	NY-6
Collin, Claude	Drawing room B	NY-2
Cooke, F. G. A.	Compartment F	NY-2
Curtin, G.	Compartment E	NY-9
Clark, William	Compartment E	NY-8
Davida, Carlos	Drawing room B	NY-4
Dawson, Mrs. James	Compartment E	NY-1
Dean, Mrs. Vera M.	Compartment E	NY-5
Delgado, Mr.	Drawing room C	NY-2
Derse, Mr.	Compartment D	NY-6
Dias, A. Vas	Drawing room A	NY-4
Dietz, Howard	Drawing room B	NY-2
Dodd, W.	Compartment I	NY-8
Dubois, Dr. Web	Drawing room C	NY-9
Dascalakis, A. Prof.	Drawing room C	NY-1
Dimakos, Andrew	Drawing room C	NY-1
Edlin, William	Drawing room B	NY-8
Epstein, L.	Drawing room B	NY-6
Evans, Jane	Compartment D	NY-1
Fischer, Dorsey	Compartment G	NY-2
Forman, Mr.	Drawing room C	NY-2
Fowler, Miss K.	Drawing room D	NY-9
Freeman, Harry	Drawing room C	NY-8
Falkowski, Edw.	Drawing room A	NY-8
Grand, A. C.	Compartment G	NY-4

NAME	PULLMAN ACCOMMODATIONS	CAR
Hall, Cameron	Compartment I	NY-7
Halleran, George	Compartment B	NY-9
Heinzen, Mr.	Drawing room C	NY-5
Heymanson, Randel	Drawing room A	NY-3
Hutchinson, Mr.	Drawing room B	NY-3
Iddon, Mr.	Drawing room B	NY-5
Isaccs, Miss	Drawing room D	NY-5
James, Edward & Mrs.	Drawing room B	NY-7
Jacobs, Arthur	Drawing room A	NY-7
Jessup, John K.	Drawing room A	NY-6
Jones, Joe	Compartment I	NY-6
Jonsson, Thorsten	Compartment F	NY-8
Joseph, F. M.	Drawing room B	NY-6
Kalkin, Miriam	Compartment H	NY-3
Kaltenborn, Mrs. H. V.	Compartment H	NY-2
Karagoorgis, C.	Compartment G	NY-7
Koster, Mr.	Compartment F	NY-7
Krylov, B.	Drawing room C	NY-8
Kuhn, Ferdinand	Compartment H	NY-1
Kolen, Mr.	Compartment D	NY-6
Lee, Claude	Compartment N	NY-6
Lenton, Miss.	Drawing room D	NY-5
Ledas, A.	Drawing room C	NY-6
Montgomery, Miss Jean	Compartment H	NY-8
Mackenzie, Alex	Drawing room C	NY-7
MacNeil, Neil	Compartment D	NY-4
Mangels, William	Compartment H	NY-7
Martin, Henri George	Drawing room A	NY-7
May, Wilfred	Compartment F	NY-7
McCormick, Mrs. Anne O'Hare	Compartment I	NY-4
Miller, Miss M.	Drawing room D	NY-9
Mills, Ogden, Mrs.	Compartment A	NY-9
Moolman, M.	Compartment G	NY-6
Morgan, Carlyle	Compartment E	NY-4
Morrissey, J.	Drawing room C	NY-3
Megaloconomos, Mr.	Drawing room C	NY-6
Ormerod, Major	Compartment F	NY-5
Parry, Mable	Drawing room B	NY-5
Perkins, D.	Drawing room D	NY-1
Persson, Per	Drawing room A	NY-4
Porter, Russell	Compartment D	NY-4
Powers, Joshua B.	Drawing room D	NY-4
Pravdin, V.	Compartment I	NY-8

20-12

NAME	PULLMAN ACCOMMODATIONS	CAR
Reves, E.	Compartment D	NY-8
Reyes, Carlos	Compartment G	NY-3
Robb, Inez	Compartment H	NY-4
Schneider, H. F.	Drawing room C	NY-3
Schneiderman, Mrs. & Mr. S.L.	Compartment I	NY-1
Schridharani, Dr. K.	Compartment F	NY-1
Schor, R.	Drawing room A	NY-5
Sheridan, Mrs. Doris B.	Compartment G	NY-8
Singh, J. J.	Compartment F	NY-3
Spivak, Lawrence & Mrs.	Drawing room C	NY-4
Starobian, Joseph	Compartment F	NY-4
Subin, H.	Compartment E	NY-9
Suydam, H.	Compartment D	NY-8
Sparks, Mrs. Sarah	Compartment E	NY-1
Tabouis, Madame C.	Compartment E	NY-7
Tien-Shan, Wang	Drawing Room A	NY-1
Taylor, D.	Drawing room A	NY-5
Teller, Mr. & Mrs. J. L.	Compartment I	NY-2
Timin, Carl	Drawing room B	NY-1
Thayer, Mrs. Mary V. R.	Compartment H	NY-3
Thompson, C. V. R.	Drawing room C	NY-7
Tonkin, A.	Drawing room A	NY-3
Van Camp, Paul	Compartment B	NY-9
Vanderschmitt, F.	Compartment I	NY-7
Viollis, Madame Andree	Compartment D	NY-3
Wilson, Lyle	Compartment G	NY-5
Wang, Thomas S. J.	Drawing Room A	NY-1
Watkins, A.	Compartment E	NY-8
Ways, Max	Drawing room A	NY-6
Webster, Clarence J.	Compartment D	NY-5
Weinberg, Mr.	Drawing room B	NY-8
Werner, Max	Drawing room A	NY-2
White, H.	Drawing room C	NY-5
White, Walter	Drawing room C	NY-9
Wilson, V.	Compartment F	NY-8
Woodward, V. E.	Compartment B	NY-9
Yen, Ying Jen	Compartment A	NY-1

20-2

ARRANGEMENTS FOR
INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP

Additional Chapter Proposed by the
United States

(Note: This draft deals with principles and mechanism only and makes no assumption about the inclusion of any specific territory.)

1. The Organization should establish under its authority a system of international trusteeship for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent agreement.

2. The basic objectives of the trusteeship system should be: (a) to further international peace and security; (b) to promote the political, economic, and social advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants and their progressive development toward self-government; and (c) to provide for non-discriminatory treatment in trust territories with respect to the economic and other appropriate civil activities of the nationals of all member states.

3. The trusteeship system should apply only to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship arrangements: (a) territories now held under mandate; (b) territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of this war; and (c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration. It would be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories would be brought under a trusteeship system and upon what terms.

4. The trusteeship arrangements for each territory to be placed under trusteeship should be agreed upon by the states directly concerned and should be approved as provided for in paragraphs 7 and 8 below.

5. The trusteeship arrangements in each case should include the terms under which the territory will be administered.

6. There may be designated, in the trusteeship arrangement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the territory to which the arrangement applies.

7. All functions of the Organization relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the trusteeship arrangements and their alteration or amendment, should be exercised by the Security Council.

8. The functions of the Organization with regard to trusteeship arrangements for all other areas should be exercised by the General Assembly.

9. In order to assist the General Assembly to carry out these functions under the trusteeship system not reserved to the Security Council, there should be established a Trusteeship Council which would operate under its authority. The Trusteeship Council should consist of specially qualified representatives, designated (a) one each by the States administering trust territories; and (b) one each by an equal number of other states named for three-year periods by the General Assembly.

10. The General Assembly, and under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, should be empowered to consider reports submitted by the administering authorities, to accept petitions, to institute investigations, and to take other action within their competence as defined by the trusteeship arrangements.

11. The administering authority in each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly should make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of a questionnaire formulated by the Trusteeship Council.

20-12

The present status of proposed decisions by the UNCIO are as follows:

The United States, Great Britain, Russia and China have agreed to these amendments to the Charter:

CHAPTER I PURPOSES

1. To maintain international peace and security with due regard for principles of justice."
2. To develop friendly relations among nations "based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples"
3. To achieve international cooperation and...."promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, language, religion, or sex.

CHAPTER II PRINCIPLES

" Nothing contained in this Charter which authorized the organization to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned, or which require the members to submit such matters to settlement under this Charter."

CHAPTER V - GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in political, economic, political and cultural fields "to assist in the realization of human rights and basic freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex."

An additional Chapter is proposed by the United States:

1. The Organization should establish under its authority a system of international trusteeship for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent agreement.

2. The basic objectives of the trusteeship system should be: (a) to further international peace and security; (b) to promote the political, economic, and social advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants and their progressibe development toward self-government; and (c) to provide for non-discriminatory treatment in trust territories with respect to the economic and other appropriate civil activities of the nationals of all member states.

3. The trusteeship system should apply to

   a. Territories now held under mandate

   b. Territories detached from enemy states as a result of this war.

   c. Territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

Under the trustee arrangement strategic areas may be set aside and administered by the Security Council. Other areas would be supervised by the General Assembly. The General Assembly would establish a Trusteeship Council consisting of one person appointed by the states administering the trustee territories and one each by an equal number of other states appointed for 3-year periods.

20-16

The Trusteeship Council should consider reports submitted by the administering authorities, should accept petitions and ~~insists~~ institute investigations. The administering authority should make an annual report on the basis of a questionnaire formulated by the Trusteeship Council.

It will be noted that in accordance with this proposal certain military bases of strategic value will be administered as military areas. Other parts of these bases will be administered under Trusteeship. There is some difference between the British and the Americans as to this separation of functions on these bases.

In regard to mandates distributed after the first World War, and to territories taken by the United Nations after this war, ~~the~~ ~~is proposed~~ is a Trusteeship administered by the nations who hold the mandates and by other interested nations, but there is no provision for Native representation. All this refers to a colonial population of not more than 25 millions. This leaves at least 725 millions of colonial inhabitants concerning whom nothing is said except that some of these territories may voluntarily be placed under trusteeship by the countries controlling them, but there is no compulsion to make them do this.

It is also agreed that principles of justice and equal rights shall be followed without distinctions asto race, religion and sex, but it is specifically provided that in case such discrimination does occur, the organization has no right to intervene within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned, which means that the organization cannot interfere in colonial affairs. This situation is encouraging so far as it puts the proposed organization on the side of justice and nondiscrimination. It is unsatisfactory because it does not lay down the principle and implement it so as to provide for the transition of all colonial peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as they desire. The eventual disappearance of the colonial system is the best insurance of

peace. This democratic principle the international organization has not recognized.

20-19

[duplicate]

30-24-2

An additional Chapter is proposed by the United States:

1. The Organization should establish under its authority a system of international trusteeship for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent agreement.

2. The basic objectives of the trusteeship system should be; (a) to further international peace and security; (b) to promote the political, economic, and social advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants and their progressive development toward self-government; and (c) to provide for non-discriminatory treatment in trust territories with respect to the economic and other appropriate civil activities of the nationals of all member states.

3. The trusteeship system should apply to

   a. Territories now held under mandate

   b. Territories detached from enemy states as a result of this war.

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The General Assembly would establish a Trusteeship Council consisting of one person appointed by the states administering the trustee territories and one each by an equal number of other states appointed for 3-year periods.

The Trusteeship Council should consider reports submitted by the administering authorities, should accept petitions and institute investigations. The administering authority should make an annual report on the basis of a questionnaire formulated by the Trusteeship Council.

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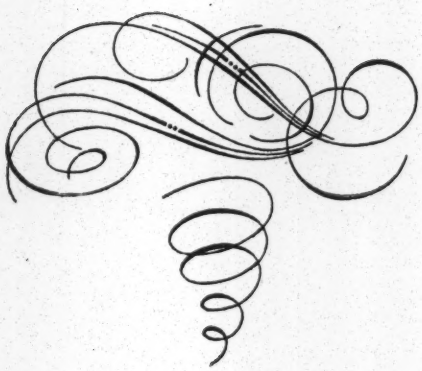
S. F. Conference.

W. E. B. DuBois

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION
SPECIAL TRAIN

42-18-10



SOUTHERN PACIFIC

DINNER SELECT

WAITERS ARE NOT PERMITTED TO TAKE VERBAL ORDERS. PLEASE WRITE ON MEAL CHECK ITEMS DESIRED, PAYING ONLY UPON PRESENTATION OF CHECK

SELECTIONS

1—Eggs, Mexicaine, and Spring Vegetable, Rissole Potatoes 1.20

2—Fillet of Fresh Fish, Saute, Meuniere, Creamed Spinach, Potatoes 1.35

3—Fried Prawns in Butter, Served with New Peas and Potatoes, Franconia 1.40

4—Roast Young Turkey, Farci, and Jelly, Fresh Asparagus, Drawn Butter, Candied Sweet Potatoes 1.65

5—Prime Ribs of Beef, au Jus, Yorkshire Pudding, Garden Vegetable, Potatoes, Rissole 1.60

HALF BOTTLE OF WINE (RED OR WHITE—SPECIAL BOTTLING FOR SOUTHERN PACIFIC) SERVED WITH MEALS 50c EXTRA

EACH SELECTION INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING:

Soup: Pot-au-Feu
or
Chicken Broth, Princesse

Lettuce and Tomatoes, Russian Dressing
or
Endive, French Dressing

Hot Tea Biscuits | Dinner Rolls | Assorted Bread

Green Apple Pie | Diplomat Pudding, Fruit Sauce or Orange Fritters, Vanilla Sauce | Sherbet

Tea | Coffee | Decaffeinated Coffee | Chocolate | Milk

PRICES SHOWN SUBJECT TO SALES TAX IN STATES WHERE APPLICABLE

Our stewards are keenly interested in maintaining the finest service, and will greatly appreciate your expressions as to features you enjoyed as well as your suggestions for improvement.

A LA CARTE

GUESTS WILL PLEASE CALL FOR CHECK AND COMPARE AMOUNTS CHARGED BEFORE PAYING. SERVICE BY WAITER OUTSIDE OF DINING CAR 25c EXTRA TO EACH PERSON SERVED.

Anchovy Canape 55

Sardines, Imported 1.00; Domestic 65

SOUPS

From Select Menu (Tureen) 40; (Cup) 30

SALADS

Lettuce and Tomato, French Dressing 50

The Salad Bowl (Per Person) 45

Fresh Fruit 55

SANDWICHES

Club Sandwich 90

Chicken Salad Sandwich, Garni 60

Chopped Egg and Lettuce Sandwich 30

BREADS, ETC.

Raisin, Whole Wheat or White 15

Toast, Dry or Buttered 20

Ry-Krisp 15

Dry Cereals with Cream 35

DESSERTS

Ice Cream 25

Fresh Baked Pie 25; with Cheese 35; a la Mode 40

Camembert or Swiss Cheese with Melba Toast 60

BEVERAGES

Coffee (Cup) 15; (Pot) 25

Cereal Coffee (Pot) 25

Teas: English Breakfast, Orange Pekoe (Pot) 25

Cocoa or Chocolate with Cream (Pot) 25

Buttermilk (Bottle) 15

Milk (Bottle) 15

All prices listed are our ceiling prices unless otherwise indicated, in which case they are below ceiling prices. By OPA regulation, our ceilings are our highest prices from Feb. 1, 1943 to April 10, 1943. Records of these prices are available for your inspection.

HARRY A. BUTLER, Manager
Dining Cars, Hotels, Restaurants and News Service
San Francisco, California

WORLD PEACE AND THE DARKER PEOPLES

The plan of trusteeship now being considered by the UNCIO has to do with not more than 2 million colonial peoples. If there is added to this number the people in colonies mandated after the first world war they may amount to 10 million people. Certain territories may be internationalized and mandated after this war which would bring the total number of colonial peoples under trusteeship of mandates up to possibly 25 millions. There would still be left 725 million in colonial regions. The British would control 400 millions in Asia, 60 million in Africa, 3 million in the Islands of the Sea. The French would control nearly 30 millions in Asia, 35 millions in Africa and the Netherlands 67 millions in East Asia. Portugal and Spain would have 12 millions.

It is in these colonial peoples that the world should be intereste if it wants to maintain peace. Their attitude toward them today is that they are backward, not because of their history but because of their lack of ability. The world believes that in accordance with former race theories they must be ruled for their own good as well as for the profit of Europe and North America. This is a dangerous doctrine, first, because it is not true. There is no scientific proof that any of these colonial peoples are not capable of progress and advancement, but the second reason is even more cogent. So long as these colonial peoples remain poor, ignorant and diseased, their domination by white Europe and America will be profitable and the fight to obtain the profits of their exploitation will cause wars in the future as it has in the past.

26-6-43

And in addition to this, some time and some how these people themselves are going to rebel against domination. We may think that European technique will prevent this, and that European power can keep one-third of the human race in permanent subjugation. This is a false dream. It is going to be the cause, if not of a third World War, certainly of a fourth or fifth.

The UNCIO ought not to adjourn without distinctly providing for the implementing of the following three propositions which have been laid before it by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

The main groups of mankind, commonly called races, are essentially equal in capability of progress and deserve equality of treatment, opportunity and respect.

In the eye of both science and religion, all men are brothers, with rights to freedom of thought, belief and expression; freedom of domicile movement and communication; justice before the courts and equal, civil, economic, political and social rights. The first duty of civilization is to see to it that no human being is deprived of these rights because of poverty, disease or ignorance.

30-6-44

The colonial system of government, however deeply rooted in history and custom, is today undemocratic, socially dangerous and a main cause of wars. The United Nations recognising democracy as the only just way of life for all peoples make it a first statute of international law that at the earliest practical moment no nation nor group shall be deprived of effective voice in its own government. An international colonial commission on which colonial peoples shall have representation should have power to investigate the facts and implement this declaration under the Security Council.

To the ~~finance~~ delegate of the U.S. to UNCIO:

20-24-55

In the ~~new~~ revised chapter on colonial peoples:

1. Nearly all the material broadening and liberalizing the attitudes toward colonies, ~~as for instance~~

Section A 1-b
~~Section B~~ Last 2 lines of ~~par.~~ 1; par. 11 (last half)
par. 12 (last half); par. 13 (last half) ;

was not in the original United States draft: which would seem to show that the United States originally sided with the colonial powers and against Russia and China. Why was this necessary?

2. Section A instead of resting itself upon racial equality intimates that the situation of colonial peoples is not due to oppression and exploitation but to their own weakness or the intricate "demands" of modern culture. It is precisely the demand of modern profit-making culture for cheap ignorant labor that has ruined primitive and valuable cultures. There is here inserted no word against discrimination and no general defense of human rights. The statement in paragraph 2 of Section A is a covert defense of the exploiters as against the exploited.

3. Chapter B establishes the territorial trusteeship system but this system is not compulsory and applies only to such territories as subsequent agreements designate. It will apply at most to only 20 million of 750 million colonial peoples. ~~It may, of course, apply to a larger number providing the colonial powers voluntarily surrender their colonies to the United Nations, which is not probable.~~ For these 20 millions or less there is demand for political, social and educational development without race discrimination: but the governing trusteeship council provides for no representation of the colonial people themselves, no specific right of oral petition, ~~and for~~ examination of written petitions "in consultation with administering state"; and ~~for limited~~ rights of investigation into colonial conditions.

This is a reiteration of the assumption that peoples in colonies are not fully developed human beings, have no inherent right to speak for themselves or to begin now to take part in their own government.

Is this a basis upon which world peace & progress can be built?

WEB DuBois
Member of the United States delegation to UNCIO

5 + delegates

To Post

Chronicle [illegible] Stanley Bailey

News

Examiner

20-24-125

W. E. B. DuBois of the Consultants for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the American Delegation, San Francisco Conference, proposes the attached resolutions as a preamble to the charter.

He would be glad to have any suggestions or criticisms directed to his hotel, the Sir Francis Drake.

21-6-185

September 19, 1945

Mr. Carl Van Doren
41 Central Park West
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Van Doren:

I wonder if you will help me run down a quotation. It is this:

> "Over the sea passed Crete, on the Syrian shore
> to the southward dwells a dark Ethiop people
> who know not the Gods of Olympus."

Is it a translation from the Greek or what is it and where can I find the whole passage?

I shall be very obliged if you can help.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

CARL VAN DOREN
41 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK 23

21 September 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois:

21-6-106

I am very sorry, and a little ashamed, that I cannot tell you right off where this quotation comes from. The reference appears to be to one of the Ethiopian peoples of Asia mentioned by Herodotus, but as this seems to be two lines of English hexameter it cannot be a translation, I suppose, from Herodotus, and I do not find just this statement in his history. Nor do I find the original in Homer -- though I have not had time to search him very thoroughly and happen to have no good Homeric index handy. Of course the lines may be from some English poet who used hexameters. They are not, I think, anywhere in Longfellow, and I think not in Arthur Hugh Clough. They might be somewhere in Kingsley, who used this form of verse occasionally. Have you tried Matthew Arnold's On Translating Homer? If these lines are Homeric, you might find them quoted by Arnold....Here I am asking you questions, not answering yours. Again, I am sorry. But I'll keep the lines in mind, and try still to find them if I can.

Yours

Carl Van Doren

[VIKING PRESS ?]

THE AFRICAS

Chapter

1. The exigencies of the slavetrade and the necessity of proving the inferiority of the Negro race has led to a racial conception of Africa which persists today. We think of a deep cleft between Negro Africa and the northern and northeastern and southern parts of the country. We must reorientate our thought from race to geography.

2. We must regard Africa today as a continental unit which in numberless ways is of importance to the modern world because of its economic connection with Europe and America and because of the diversity of its various groups, a diversity which is cultural primarily and not simply biological.

3. The significance of Africa to international trade is much greater than ordinary reports indicate. Cheap labor and a favorable climate together with vast mineral resources furnish an increasing amount of raw material from Africa which is valued low in international trade and for that reason is an attractive investment for processing and manufacturing countries. Investment in Africa has gone forward by leaps and bounds in the last twenty-five years and is yielding profits which are enormous compared with the dwindling rate of domestic profit in European and American countries. For this reason the control of Africa in order to protect investment and insure future profit makes Africa today a center of new power politics.

4. Let us now look back to the first World War and consider the main groups of African peoples and their condition and significance. We have here Egypt, the Egyptian Sudan and Ethiopia, Tunis and Algeria, Morocco, Libya; then French Africa and British West Africa, the Belgian Congo and what is now British East Africa with Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika; Portuguese Africa divided into two great parts, the Rhodesias and the Union of South Africa. Finally, and often forgotten, Madagascar. These centers are political and subdivided into cultural units which do not correspond with the political boundaries and organized into industrial areas which again overlap both. The condition of these areas during and after the first World War calls for careful consideration and as many reliable figures as can be adduced.

5. We must remember that the depression following the first World War and culminating in 1929, was far more disastrous to colonial regions than to the great centers of civilization. Its effects upon industry in Africa and upon African culture deserves investigation.

6. The reaction of African colonies to this series of phenomena should be noted. There was the upsurge of industry, the war, failure and poverty which followed, and the spirit of colonial revolt which was widespread. In the midst of this the effort of organizing the mandates fell flat.

4/6-6-00

7. The present World War makes Ethiopia the center of a new effort at colonial empire in Africa. Beginning with the encouragement of Italy and following with the reconquest of Ethiopia and the determination of the British Empire encouraged by the Union of South Africa and Kenya to make Ethiopia at least a British sphere of influence came a new phase of colonial development in northeast Africa.

8. Coincident with this is the use again of African soldiers in this war not only against the Italians in Ethiopia but in the reconquest of the Far East especially in British territory.

9. There are consequently arising in Africa today a series of demands for autonomy, freedom and democracy which can easily be overlooked because the European and American press have systematically ignored them. They are important and envisage real independence for Ethiopia, federation and dominion status for British West Africa, federation and democracy for French Africa, a new autonomy for Portuguese Africa, land and the vote for black South Africans, land and recognition for British East Africa and a system of education for all the Africans which has today scarcely begun.

10. What now is to be the future of this continent? Our study indicates that instead of the future role of Africa being assumed as continuing the present situation with little alteration, on the contrary African raw material must be recognized as belonging to Africans, investment profits must be taxed for the education and social uplift of Africans and an increasing number of educated Africans must have voice in their own government. For this end the cultural status and contributions of Africans must be scientifically studied and used for the new emancipation of this continent.

416-6-41

THE AFRICAS

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46-6-69

Oswald Garrison Villard
No. 20 Vesey Street
New York

March 30, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois:

20-9-10

In going over my library I have discovered two publications of the Bureau of Education published in 1888 and 1889, The History of Education in North Carolina by Charles Lee Smith of Johns Hopkins, and The History of Higher Education in South Carolina by Colyer Meriweather, also of Johns Hopkins. It has occurred to me that you might be interested in owning these, and if not would you have any suggestion as to whether Howard or Fisk or Atlanta would be interested in them?

I am glad to hear of your new activities in connection with the N.A.A.C.P.

Sincerely yours,

Oswald Garrison Villard

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
70 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

3 April 1945

My dear Mr. Villard:

Thank you for your letter of March thirtieth. I would be very glad to have the books by Smith and Merriweather. I am building up my library with the idea of making it a sort of collection and museum for the use of the NAACP after my death.

I am enjoying my return to the organization and trust this will find you in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard
No. 20 Vesey Street
New York

Oswald Garrison Villard
No. 20 Vesey Street
New York

April 5, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois:

20-9-8

The enclosed letter has been prepared by William Henry Chamberlin and myself to be signed by a group of journalists, and sent to the New York Times and some other newspapers throughout the country for printing on their editorial pages. We believe that this will be a more effective way of propagandizing at the moment than trying to get the press services to carry it as an appeal to the delegates to San Francisco. We earnestly hope that you will join us. I enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope and beg for your reply, favorable or unfavorable, at the earliest possible moment.

Cordially yours,

Oswald Garrison Villard

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N.Y.

Sir:

As American journalists and writers, for years concerned with foreign affairs, we appeal to you to give space to our protest against the Yalta decision as to Poland. We are convinced that never was a moral issue more clearly presented to the American people than is involved in this abandonment of Poland by its American and British Allies. This is one of those issues which will never be settled until it is settled aright. This the history of Europe proves, and will prove again. Agitation to right this wrong will no more be extinguished in the years to come than was Poland's demand for real freedom and its rightful boundaries during all the long years when it was subdivided and occupied by Russia, Germany and Austria. We have not the slightest desire to stir up ill-feeling against any country, much less an ally, but while unity and cooperation are desirable with the Soviet Union, as with all the United Nations, unity must be for just purposes and in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter. Upon no other basis can unity survive.

20-9

We appeal to the San Francisco Conference to make good this tragic blunder and remind its members that when, in 1939, the Russians joined hands with Hitler's ruthless invaders and took almost half of Poland for itself, the British Government at once declared that: "This attack. . . cannot in the view of His Majesty's Government be justified by the arguments put forth by the Soviet Government. For the unhappy victim of this cynical attack the result has been a tragedy of the grimmest character. . . If Britain and France have been unable to avert the defeat of the armies of Poland, they have assured her that they have not forgotten their obligations to her." Now these

obligations are forgotten and the consciences of Great Britain and the United States are asked to approve the perpetuation of the grave wrong that England and France denounced in 1939.

It is not surprising that it is being asked in England whether the above quoted declaration meant that the English "would drive the Germans out of Poland only to create a vacuum for the Soviet to fill." Or that Viscount Halifax should be reminded of what he said on December 5, 1939:

> "We have tried to improve our relations with Russia, but in doing so we had always maintained the position that rights of third parties must remain intact and be unaffected by our negotiations. . . I have little doubt that the people of this country would prefer to face difficulties and embarrassments rather than feel that we had compromised the honor of this country and the commonwealth."

20-9

Despite all the attempts made since the publication of the Crimea appeasement to soothe the American public by saying that "one must face facts and be realistic"; that "we cannot go to war with Russia over Poland"; that Poland will gain by getting East Prussia and Pomerania as far as the Oder, the situation has not been ameliorated or stabilized. The great change that has come is that, as has been officially admitted in the British Parliament, the Russians are already terrorizing Poland, banning and imprisoning Poles. This brings the situation straight home to Mr. Roosevelt and every American. For in yielding to the Russian demands Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill certainly have made themselves morally responsible not only for the way in which Russia carried out the readjustment of the map which they authorized, but also for the Sovietization by the Red Army and the Russian secret police of the rest of Poland.

Upon no such foundation of international wrong-doing,

upon no such deliberate violation of the Atlantic Charter, can any lasting world organization be built. Even to propose it is to do violence to our finest American traditions of fair play and justice for all peoples. To abandon an ally, to whom we solemnly promised to restore all its rights, privileges and liberties taken from it by a brutal, bloody and wicked enemy, is something surely without precedent in American history. Of course no sane man advocates any course which would bring us into armed conflict with Russia. Perish the thought! But self respect and the debt we owe to our men who have died in Europe for a really free world in which Poland also might be free, make it impossible for our government or any other authority to still the imperishable demand that complete justice be done to Poland, and that this new "tragedy of the grimmest character" should cease. No more than England in 1939 have we the right to compromise the honor of this country.

80-9

10 April 1945

My dear Mr. Villard:

In answer to your letter of April fifth, I regret to say that I do not agree with your proposed statement. I think that the Russians showed unusual fairness in being willing to accept the Curzon line as a boundary. Historically it is almost impossible to re-constitute ancient Poland but even more impossible than that: the Polish government has for centuries been in the hands of reactionary landlords and capitalists and has shamefully oppressed the peasant. They should have an opportunity to rule Poles but it would be scandalous to put white Russians and Ukranians under their control.

The echo of Polish reaction is shown among the Poles in the United States: it was a Polish priest that incited the riot around the Harriet Tubman homes in Detroit. Poles have burned churches and put hindrances before Negroes in other parts of Michigan. They have been among the most unsympathetic of foreigners toward Negroes in recent times.

On this account I regret to say that I cannot sign the statement which you are sending out.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard
No. 20 Vesey Street
New York

[Virginia State College — Norfolk]

NORFOLK DIVISION

Virginia State College

Norfolk 10, Virginia

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

April 11, 1945

Pictures

20-13-5

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Doctor DuBois:

I am inviting you to be the speaker at the commencement exercises of the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College on June 6 at 8:15 P.M.

Not only the Faculty and Administration of this college, but the people in the City of Norfolk in general are anxious to have you come to this area. We feel that whenever possible we should bring to this section persons who could help the people in understanding some of the important issues of the time.

We do hope that you will find it convenient to accept this invitation.

Very truly yours,

Lyman B. Brooks

Lyman B. Brooks
Director

tmh

[Virginia State College]

20-13-6

17 April 1945

My dear Mr. Brooks:

I can speak at Norfolk, June sixth. My charge would be one hundred dollars and roundtrip fare from Norfolk to Washington and Washington to Norfolk.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Lyman B. Brooks
Norfolk Division
Virginia State College
Norfolk 10, Virginia

Va State College

NORFOLK DIVISION

Virginia State College

Norfolk 10, Virginia

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

April 20, 1945

20-13-36

Lectures

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for accepting the invitation to be the Commencement speaker for the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College on June 6 at 8:15 p. m. For this service we will pay you one hundred dollars and round trip fare from Washington to Norfolk and Norfolk to Washington.

(You will be guest in the home of Dr. and Mrs. D. W. Byrd of 517 Cumberland Street, Norfolk.)

Very truly yours,

Lyman B Brooks

Lyman B. Brooks
Director

LBB:MPL

April 20, 1945

COPY

20-24-10

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for accepting the invitation to be the Commencement speaker for the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College on June 6 at 8:15 p.m. For this service we will pay you one hundred dollars and round-trip fare from Washington to Norfolk and Norfolk to Washington.

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Very truly yours,

Lyman B. Brooks
Director

LBB:MPL

[Virginia State College — Norfolk Division]

NIGHT LETTER

May 16, 1945

Mr. Lyman B. Brooks
Norfolk Division
Virginia State College
Norfolk 10, Va.

Have had no acknowledgment of my letter of April 17th. Will therefore cancel offer to speak June 6th.

W.E.B. DuBois

20-21-14

21 June 1945

20-13-7

My dear Mr. Brooks:

I am at last back in my office. May I take this opportunity to thank you very much for the chance which you gave me at Norfolk. I enjoyed the occasion very much.

Also will you express to Dr. Byrd, his wife and daughter my appreciation of their kind hospitality. Unfortunately I did not keep their address or I should have written them personally.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Lyman B. Brooks
Virginia State College
Norfolk Division
Norfolk 10, Virginia

NORFOLK DIVISION

Virginia State College

Norfolk 10, Virginia

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

June 23, 1945

20-13-37

Lectures

Dr. W. A. B. DuBois
Director of the Board of Special Research
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of June 21. May I say that we were more than happy to have had you in Norfolk and with us at the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College. It was a real inspriration to us all.

Dr. D. W. Byrd's address is 517 Cumberland Street in case you wish to write. In the mean time, I shall be glad to express to them your appreciation.

Very truly yours,

Lyman B. Brooks

Lyman B. Brooks
Director

LBB:gp

Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

JOHN MALCUS ELLISON, PRESIDENT

January 10, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

20-13-1

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am writing to invite you to deliver the Commencement Address at Virginia Union University on June 12, 1945.

It has been a long time since you were at Virginia Union. We sincerely hope that we shall have the pleasure of your presence on this occasion.

With best wishes, I am

Yours cordially,

J. M. Ellison
President

JME/acl

#180 - Transmit
N.Y.

17 January 1945

22-13-2

My dear President Ellison:

Unless some unusual duty intervenes, I shall be glad to speak for you June twelfth, 1945. My charge would be one hundred dollars and round trip travel from New York.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President J. M. Ellison
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Lectures

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
WAYLAND-1865
RICHMOND-1865
HARTSHORN-1883
1899
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

JOHN MALCUS ELLISON, PRESIDENT

February 5, 1945

2D-13-3

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Let me express my deep appreciation to you for accepting our invitation to deliver our Commencement address June 12, 1945.

The charge of One Hundred Dollars and round trip travel from New York are acceptable to us. We shall be glad to look after your entertainment as our guest on the occasion of our Commencement Exercises.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Ellison

J. M. Ellison
President

JME/acl

[VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY]

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY

JOHN MALCUS ELLISON, PRESIDENT

RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 1, 1945

20-21-6

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is to remind you of your engagement with us to deliver the Forty-Sixth Annual Commencement at Virginia Union University, Tuesday, June 12, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Will you be kind enough to indicate to me about the time that you will arrive in Richmond, and when you expect to return?

Yours sincerely,

J. M. Ellison

J. M. Ellison
President

JME/acl

21 June 1945

20-13-4

My dear President Ellison:

May I thank you and Mrs. Ellison for your hospitality. I greatly enjoyed the opportunity offered by this visit.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President J. M. Ellison
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

[c. MARCH 1945]

(1945)

14512 Ohio ave
Cleveland Ohio

Dr W. B. DUbois

Dera Dr, Dubois,

I know you are a very busy man , but no doubt you may find enough time to answer this little quest.

Some weeks ago I heard you speak at the St James A. M. E. Church, here in cleveland and in your talk you mentioned something about a probable revival of the Pan African Congress, or some th ing similar to it. I would greatly appreciate you you will kindly give me the address of the group, or individauls who are labouring to make this effectual.

I was a missionary for 14 years in West Africa, and just now I am trying to interest the Youth here in Cleveland in things Afican, I am sure some contact with any group or individual working on African Affairs will be a great help to me in my work, hence this request.

Kindly forgive me for imposing on your busy moments, and Thank Yuo in advance for favour.

Yours sincerely,

Montrose Waite
Montrose Waite

3 April 1945

20-8-M

My dear Sir:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the League of Coloured Peoples, 19 Old Queen's Street, S. W. 1, London are both interested in a Pan African Congress after the war and are working toward that end.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Montrose Waite
14512 Ohio Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN ~~EMBASSY~~ LEGATION

Monrovia, Liberia, March 28, 1945.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

20-9-4

This will serve to introduce Vice-President C. L. Simpson of Liberia, who is Chairman of the Liberian Delegation to the United Nations Security Conference at San Francisco.

From 1935 to 1943 inclusive it was my privilege and pleasure to have official dealings daily with the Honorable Simpson then Secretary of State, during which period he and I negotiated, concluded and signed on behalf of our respective governments important treaties and agreements. Our relations have been consistently cordial and cooperative. In him United States has a warm friend and admirer.

Any favors shown Vice-President Simpson will be appreciated by me.

Sincerely yours,

Lester A. Walton

Lester A. Walton
American Minister

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,

69 Fifth Avenue,

New York, New York.

[AUGUST 11, 1945]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

1945 AUG 12 [illegible]

WESTERN UNION

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SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
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[illegible]

The STANDARD TIME at point of destination

10-48-21

KRA37 INTL=KR HARBEL LIBERIA 33 AUG 11 1930

NLT W E B DUBOIS=

SIXTYNINE FIFTH AVENUE NEWYORK (NY)=

=RESIGNATION NOT FORCED STOP TENDERED WITH ALL AMBASSADORS AND MINISTERS AS ROUTINE MATTER AS IN CASE OF REELECTION OF ROOSEVELT STOP KINDEST REGARDS=

Lester =WALTON.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Monrovia, Liberia, September 8, 1945.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I read with interest and appreciation your article which was published some weeks ago relative to me. As I subsequently cabled you, my resignation was not forced as had been supposed by some Negro editors and others. Upon President Roosevelt's reelection I always tendered my resignation. This step was taken last November in accordance with custom. When Mr. Truman assumed the Presidency a circular telegram was transmitted to all chiefs of diplomatic missions throughout the world instructing them to tender their resignations. The erroneous report was circulated and published that I had been "recalled." The truth is up to this writing I have neither been recalled nor has my resignation been accepted.

20-13-62

One might be inclined to be charitable toward editors who were not familiar with the facts, but the inspired article in the Chicago Defender was malicious, libelous and contained not one word of truth. A member of the race was used in the plot to discredit me.

When I see you I shall recount a story of intrigue involving certain persons in FEA here and at Washington. When I returned home September a year ago I did not know that some people in FEA were opposed to my returning to this post, evidently feeling that I would not fit in with some of their plans. Earl P. Hanson, head of the mission here, never consulted me although he did not depart for Liberia until November; and Kenneth Meeker, his immediate superior in Washington, did not get in touch with me until late in December after I had remarked to a State Department official that I thought it strange he had made no effort to contact me.

Upon returning to this post I learned that John Ross, a member of the FEA mission, shortly after arrival had approached certain white Americans in Liberia and suggested that a petition be sent to Washington requesting my recall. However, his scheme was not taken seriously.

It was not long before Hanson got into trouble with the Liberian Government for mixing up in politics, acting as if he were a dictator and was recalled by the Liberian Government. Meeker and another Washington official came post haste to Monrovia and induced President Tubman to give Hanson another chance.

On July first, last, I entered into my eleventh year as American Minister. I feel that ten years is long enough for any diplomatic representative to remain on one assignment.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

On the basis of my record I feel that ordinarily I would be promoted to Ambassador and transferred.

It was not my intention to return to Liberia. However, leading Liberian officials, representatives of the U.S. Army and Navy here, also of health, agricultural and other missions expressed the hope that I would remain in Liberia longer. It was not until December first, last, when my period of consultation ended, that I decided to make one more tour. Nowadays I serve as a sort of conciliator between this Government and American interests, and I felt that I was rendering a service by returning. Judging from the vaporings of some of the "colored Walter Winchells" I am fighting desperately to keep on the job. The truth is I am very anxious to get back home to my family.

20-13-63

There is a certain element here and in the United States which looks with some disfavor on my presence here as American Minister. They think I am too friendly with Liberians and do not take kindly to my advocacy of the employment of qualified American Negroes to serve key positions in Liberia. You have no idea what under cover opposition exists in certain quarters against the health mission because of its all-Negro personnel.

I confess that an important part was played by me in bringing the health mission as well as the Negro agricultural specialist (not FEA) to Liberia. There can be no denying that I also had something to do with the assignments of Bishop Harris and Bishop King. Fortunately, the State Department has stood four-square at all times behind me and is due great credit for its liberal policy. The Liberian Government also has been most cooperative.

Liberia is growing in importance both economically and strategically. It is the aim of certain Americans to bring about the appointment of a white man as chief of diplomatic mission in Liberia as was done with respect to Haiti. Either that or a Negro who is willing to do their bidding - all for the sake of holding a job. What is likely to happen when I return to the United States will be the assignment of a Chargé d'Affaires from the State Department. Because of the wild and bitter scramble for appointment the Administration will find itself embarrassed.

I do not expect the average Negro editor to give me due credit for my record of accomplishment until commendation is paid me by white writers. However, it is regrettable that in making enemies because I consistently and conscientiously fight for principle I am unfairly attacked and misrepresented

20-13-64

by members of the race. However, to be subjected to such treatment is nothing new to you.

If I recall correctly, it is my next treat at "eatfest." I look forward to seeing you and discussing the Liberian situation more fully.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Lester A. Walton

Lester A. Walton

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Oct. 15 '45

20-25-14

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The "Christian Register" (August) had an excellent review of your new book - the third I have seen - and a friend and I are going to buy it together and give it to the public library, later.

You have probably forgotten a talk you gave at Brewster in Aug. 1914 when you explained that the war had its genesis in the exploitation of the colored peoples of the world. That was my first meeting with you!

If you ever send books gratis where you think they may spread the gospel please send one to Dr. George Gilmore of the Liberal Church here. - Mirror Lake Prize. This is a missionary church - supported partly by the A.U.A. & the Universalist organization - so the ministers salary is rather too little to permit of much book-buying.

I think he would make fun of the book — perhaps have a symposium on it. They have several such each year, and he always gets fairly good publicity in the press.

The (many) evangelical churches are worthless — either to lay the foundation for true Christian action or for right thinking in social & political affairs. The Cong'l church is an exception, however. Its minister is

Rev J. P. Jackinson
Congregational Church
Fourth St. St. Paul

You might send him an announcement of the book & later I will speak to him about it. He is the only minister in the city who fires India a hearing. Use my name as suggesting this.

Do you ever see the Catholic World? If it is to be had, look up the August issue for two articles "Imperial Man" (unbelievably outspoken) & "Eng, Ireland & India." The editorial "The Atom Bomb" is refreshingly decent. Dr Tillis is no hypocrite & he is courageous in taking the mi-

(over)

20-25-15

.nority side even when it is pitifully small. He says he has a conscience; and certainly he writes as tho it was a healthy and lusky one. He inveighs against the (enemies) commentators (on both sides of the Atlantic) who haven't had the back bone to stand in the path of the "landslide of approbation of this "greatest blow ever delivered ag't the moral law, and Christianity". "Tragic to the last degree (he adds) and pathetic!"

My own idea — and yours also, I can be sure.

Sincerely Yours
Blanche Watson

[WALTER]

20-15-74

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HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

London Views, plate 3

American Council on Race Relations

32 West Randolph Street • Chicago 1, Illinois

January 23, 1945

20-4-146

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter of January 10, addressed to me at the Rosenwald Fund, has just come to my attention.

I think a conference composed of persons who are natives of the colonies and have been resident in them fairly recently is an excellent idea. It would seem to me that such a conference should be planned so as to permit persons familiar with colonial situations to present the pressing problems of the territories from which they come. I think that with such a presentation, it would probably be possible to arrive at an agreement as to what the basic issues are. Then, it would seem desirable to have an overall statement of the various proposals or lack of proposals for dealing with such problems. Finally, the conference could turn its attention to devising suggested plans and programs for meeting these problems. The conference could also work out techniques for implementing its recommendations and findings.

I am sure that you have already given a great deal of thought to this matter and have probably considered suggestions which I have made above. In any event, I cannot resist the temptation of expressing my opinion on the matter.

Insofar as participation in the planning and attendance at the conference or at conferences is concerned, the American Council on Race Relations will be glad to participate.

135
136

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver, Director
Community Services

American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street • Chicago 1, Illinois

March 28, 1945

20-4-147

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am extremely sorry that I am not going to be able to attend a Colonial Conference as previous commitments make it necessary that I be in Chicago on that date.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver

Robert C. Weaver, Director
Community Services.

20-20-34

N. C. College
Durham N C
P. O. Box 435
July 3, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Dept. of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Ave.
New York 3, N. Y.

My dear Sir: I am studying the files of the Crisis magazine as the facts found will be a part of my graduate thesis at this institution. I think it stands as the voice of the N. A. A. C. P.; but as the first editor, will you please tell me if there was any particular riot or incident which stimulated its actual birth? Why has it so much lessened its literary offerings in the last years? Approximately what is its circulation now?

This will aid me greatly, and I shall appreciate any information concerning your magazine.

Yours very truly
(Mrs.) Vina Washington Webb

July 9, 1945

20-20-25

My dear Mrs. Webb:

There is only one of the questions in your letter of July 3rd that I can answer. The other questions should be directed to the present editor, Mr. Roy Wilkins.

The lynchings at Springfield, Illinois, the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, were the immediate cause of the organization of the NAACP in 1909 and the Crisis was established as the organ of the NAACP to express and make public our ideas and purposes.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mrs. Vina Wadlington Webb
N. C. College
P. O. Box 435
Durham, North Carolina

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE
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DEPARTMENT OF ~~ECONOMICS AND~~ SOCIOLOGY

February 20, 1945

20-15-44

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Social Science

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanks for your very short but nice letter. I am gladly looking forward to seeing you & I'll be at the station when you arrive.

I apologize for, first, writing by hand; I am at the College, second, for bothering you with a personal problem. Yesterday afternoon, I received a letter of thanks from the President of Connecticut College: my service will be finished in June. Reason: "We are planning to appoint a full professor as chairman of the department..." to you know, I have been teaching sociology only for four years in this country, that is not enough to be a full professor & chairman of the department.

After receiving this letter I immediately wrote to

Mrs. W. C. Haygood of the Rosenwald Fund – Chicago.
If it is not too late for applying for a fellowship now I should like to ask you to be so kind as to write a few words to Mrs. Haygood in my behalf. I gave your name as a reference. In my letter to her I mentioned three studies which I have started & would like to finish. 1. "Diary of a marginal woman", which I wrote at the A&C College for Negroes where I was the only white woman teacher at that time; 2. an introduction to that diary dealing with the problem of the stranger in the caste society of the South; 3. a study on the Minority Personality, an outline of which I had handed in to the Social Science Research Council two years ago but it was not accepted.

Since we shall not have much time to talk about such personal matters next Monday, I thought it might be better to write you now, especially since it is late to apply for a fellowship. I should be glad to work for the improvement of interracial & inter-cultural relations for an organization interested in such work. Maybe you have some ideas for my future.

Thanking you in advance for your help & advice

I am sincerely & cordially
yours, Hilda Weiss

My love to Irene!

THE WELLESLEY COLLEGE FORUM

WELLESLEY . MASSACHUSETTS

Shafer Hall,
20 November, 1945

20-13-15

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois,
National Assoc. for the Advancement of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York

My dear Mr. DuBois;

The Wellesley College Forum hopes that you will be able to have dinner with them following your speaking engagement at the Old South Meeting House, Boston, on December the ninth at three-thirty.

For publicity purposes, we would appreciate any biographical information which you can give us, and a picture if it is available.

We will be very happy to meet your train if you will let us know the time of your arrival.

Sincerely yours,

Beverly Sitrin

Beverly Sitrin,
Secretary of Forum

---------- 20 West 40th Street

29 November 1945

20-13-16

My dear Madam:

I shall be glad to have dinner with the Wellesley College Forum after the speaking engagement at Old South Meeting House, December ninth. I would suggest that my hostess, Mrs. Emma Groves, 30 Peacevale Road, Dorchester, Massachusetts, who will probably be with me should be invited also.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Beverly Sitrin
The Wellesley College Forum
Shafer Hall
Wellesley, Massachusetts

21-6-117

Mrs G.P.Wells [H.G. WELLS]
Secretary to Mr H.G.Wells
13, HANOVER TERRACE, REGENT'S PARK, N.W.1.

TELEPHONE, PADDINGTON 6204.

Nov. 5th, 1945.

Dear Mr du Bois,

Mr H.G.Wells asks me to thank you for your letter. He would very much like to see you, but he has not been in good health for some time, and tires very easily, so that the visit would have to be a short one. Perhaps you would telephone after 10 a.m. to suggest a time that would suit you. About 4 or 4.30 in the afternoon is his usual time for visitors, but he asks me to find out what time would be most convenient for you.

Yours sincerely,
Marjorie Wells.

W.E.B.Du Bois, Esq.
Belfield House, Greenhill Park, New Barnet

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BOX 64
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20-19-22

Dr. W.E. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York,N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

A mutual friend who spoke with you at the dinner at which Mrs. Roosevelt spoke for the Southern Conference,suggests that you would like to see a copy of the recent pamphlet put out by the Commonner Party of Congers,Ga. Since I have been doing considerable work on this party (you may have noted a recent issue of In Fact), I am glad to send you the enclosed copy of the pamphlet.

I shall also enclose a few little items,school paper,etc., about our school here. You might possibly be interested in our program. We're native white Georgians,and we believe that all men were created of one blood,etc.,etc. Upon that belief we base all our work.

You may recall possibly that I once visited you in Atlanta with Dr. Hedwig Kuhn of Hammond,Indiana, and you may not recall that I tried to gain access to see you on a couple of other occasions unsuccessfully.

Your absence from Georgia is a big loss to our state. I regretted very much to read of your going.

Sincerely,

D. L. West

D. L. West

23 March 1945

20-19-23

My dear Mr. West:

I remember you very well and I am glad to hear of your good work in the Lula public schools. Thank you for the pamphlet which you sent me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Donald L. West
Lula Public Schools
Box 64
Lula, Georgia

[WEST AFRICA]

3 April 1945

20-19-66

My dear Sir:

You are sending me two copies of WEST AFRICA: one to Atlanta University where it should go as an exchange for PHYLON and not to me personally. I left the University last summer. The other copy for which I have subscribed comes to me here at 69 Fifth Avenue.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Editor
West Africa
Chansitor House
37-38 Chancery Lane
London, W. C. 2
England

Wasu House

WASU

1, South Villas,
Camden Square,
London, N. W. 1.

March 31st, 1945

Dear Sir,

We send you with the Compliments of the Editorial Board this Number which we hope will interest you. It is the product of West African Students, members of the West African Students' Union of Great Britain and Ireland, all of whom are pursuing various courses of study in Great Britain and Ireland.

These students need encouragement in their most difficult task. The ''WASU'' Magazine is the property of the West African Students' Union of Great Britain and Ireland. It is the only magazine of its kind, and will always bring to your home or office the most up-to-date information from the African view-point regarding the activities of West Africans both in Great Britain and Ireland and in the following countries of West Africa, namely, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Nigeria.

If you are interested in getting accurate information from the horse's mouth, as it were, and so be enabled to know what Africans think today in the midst of a World War, please fill in the attached form and return the same to us as soon as possible.

WASU
MAGAZINE

Published by the West African Students' Union of Great Britain and Ireland

VOL. XII. No. 1 MARCH, 1945

98/08/04

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WASU MAGAZINE

VOL. XII. NO. 1. *Editor :* E. UDO UDOMA MARCH, 1945

PRÖEM

In this, the first number of its twelfth volume, the *WASU* has introduced some innovations. The most significant of these are, of course, its format and general material contents. It was decided that faithfully as the old cover and the somewhat traditionally spasmodic method of publications had served their purpose, the time had come for a real change.

Our *WASU* is now in pith and substance a students' Miscellany, a quarterly magazine intended to carry articles of wider appeal, and at the same time reflect the opinion and general activities of West African Students in Great Britain and Ireland. It is under the direction of an Editorial Board consisting of five students. Our next issue will be published some time in May, war conditions permitting.

Our debt to all contributors whose articles appear in this, what we might with some justice call, our maiden number, is particularly heavy. We would also like to thank all those whose contributions have been held over. And so without further ado, we beg " to leave our readers to it ".

E. UDO UDOMA
(CHAIRMAN, EDITORIAL BOARD).

40/89/HD

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E. UDO UDOMA C. A. EKERE
AKO. ADJEI KANKAM-BOADU
G. ODDOYE

LADIPO SOLANKE M.A., LL.B., B.C.L.,
Secretary General and Warden.

He and Mrs. O. Solanke, Matron (picture below), are now on a mission to West Africa.
(*See Editorials*)

DR. IRENE COLE

who obtained her Medical Degree recently. She is the sister of Dr. Wellesly Cole of West Africa and New Castle fame.

MR. M. A. O. WILLIAMS,
Wireless Operator.

A direction finder in the R.A.F. He has passed the Bar Finals and will soon be called to the Bar.

EDITORIALS

OUR RESPONSIBILITIES

THE life of an average student is supposed to be one of a happy-go-lucky irresponsibility. Not so that of a West African student whom circumstances have tricked into placing his destiny under the absolute control of an external foreign power. As soon as a West African student sets his foot on the soil of England, he is willy-nilly forced into the position of assuming the rôle of what might be termed an ' introvert-controvert '. He must, if he has any national pride at all, defend, without being bitter, the sanctity, integrity and honour of his native country and her ancient institutions against the onslaught of pseudo-scientists and self-appointed colonial experts, whose pens are being devoted towards driving a wedge between Great Britain and the peoples of West Africa.

The perpetuation of the colonial status—a system of *herrenvolk*, of superiors and inferiors—has become with such experts a lucrative source of livelihood. To them also the possession of second-hand information on Africa is a passport to glory, and entitles them to move in that section of English society which is separated by economic parasitism from the common mass.

A West African student abroad almost instinctively, therefore, assumes as a duty a dual capacity. As a merchant of light in search of the golden fleece, he becomes at once a student of his own special field of study and an interpreter of West Africa to Britain and America. A most delicate and difficult undertaking such as that calls for the wisdom of Solomon and the energy of a Samson. An ambassador of goodwill, he is expected also to interpret British life and culture to his people in West Africa. He is thus the real living link between the two peoples. His responsibilities are particularly heavy. His views are given weight; and sometimes form the subject of the most serious consideration on both sides of the Atlantic, even by the cynics. His behaviour and particular idiosyncracies; his gait, whether slovenly or smart; his manner of speech, whether natural or affected with a superimposed complex; even his reaction to the fair sex; all are meticulously scrutinised by those around him, and frequently form the stock-in-trade of the common people. Africans being usually considered *en masse*, and seldom as individuals, his failings in these respects reflect discreditably on the peoples of West Africa.

Then, too, there is the psychological factor. It is not often realised that West Africans in Britain are living in the midst of (if the truth must be told) an indifferent and, in many respects, unfriendly people who regard them, quite logically, as aliens, and, not so logically, as inferior rivals. English people have been consciously educated, if we may say so with respect, to look upon Africans as inferiors with whom they should not associate except in so far as such association will result in their material benefit. And what is more, some educated Africans have also fallen victim to this cleverly systematised and executed propaganda. The result is not a happy one. English people and West Africans are now at arm's length. Under such circumstances, it is more of a miracle that Africans do achieve academic successes in British Universities and other Institutions.

Thus the life of a West African student differs considerably from that of an average English student, whose main objects in life as a student consist in taking a lively interest in sports, in meeting celebrities, in taking part in general social and educative activities, and in passing examinations.

It is therefore of the utmost importance that African Students of the right stamp should be encouraged to travel not only to Britain but to the

United States of America and elsewhere also. Equally important is the fact that the establishment of a West African House in London, the management of which must be vested in the students themselves, has become an urgent necessity to which priority must be given. If it is conceded that the students should have a place in London which they can in all respects regard with pride as a " home from home " ; and if they are to have somewhere to which those of them in the Provincial Universities of Britain can look forward with pleasure to returning to during vacations, then *a priori* the duty of providing such a home falls directly upon the peoples of West Africa and their well-wishers.

There are, of course, several other uses to which such an Institution might be put. It might, for instance, be used as a clearing-house of information on West African affairs. Or, it might constitute a true West African Consulate charged with the important function of protecting West African interests abroad until such time that the appointment of an accredited African commissioner, resident in London, shall be considered expedient.

These were some of the considerations which prompted the West African Students' Union of Great Britain and Ireland to despatch their devoted Warden, Mr. Ladipo Solanke, to West Africa to raise funds for the laudable purpose of establishing a West African House in London. The house is intended to serve in the heart of London as a fitting memorial of the peoples of our four great countries, that is to say, Gambia, Sierra-Leone, Gold Coast, and Nigeria. Its cost is estimated at some £50,000. We are confident that our people at home, in order to demonstrate their greatness and self-determination, will give such moral and financial support to our Warden which will show to our critics, and indeed, our enemies in Britain that we are ready for, and not only ready for, but are determined to have internal self-government.

* * * *

Education : Need for a New Outlook

Many people talk about education to-day. What exactly do they mean ? What do we mean when we say that one of our most urgent needs in Africa is education ? If we wish our people to have a really effective education, we must be on our guard against a certain misconception of education which has arisen from the introduction of the European system of education into Africa.

This misconception consists in the idea that education is the exclusive duty of a certain body of people known as teachers, that it is concerned with a particular stage in one's life, that it is carried out in a special place known as the school, and that those who undergo this experience are a people set apart from the rest of the community.

Rightly interpreted, education is a process of growth brought about by the operation of the various factors—physical, mental and spiritual—that shape our life. This is to a great extent the conception of education as exemplified in indigenous African society. There education is the duty not of a few selected people, but rather of the whole community. We must look at education in this light ; we must hold ourselves responsible for the education of our own people.

We hear a good deal of criticism against the existing system of education. Critics point out that the existing education is not adapted to African life and environment. This is to a very great extent true. But how many of us realise that the root cause of this divorce of education from African life lies in the fact that the existing education was planned by alien people, who, however well-meaning, could not see the African situation as an African sees it. This being the case, it follows that the best way to improve

our education is for Africans to take a more active part and a greater initiative in education. This is especially true of mass education, which is essentially the function of the community.

Furthermore, teachers must develop a greater sense of responsibility to the community. There is a tendency for teachers to think of themselves as Government teachers, Mission teachers, Native Administration teachers and so on. While such a classification of teachers may be accepted for the sake of convenience, the teachers must never lose sight of the fact that their service is first and foremost a service to the nation and not to the Government, or the Mission, or the so-called Native Administration. Only in this way shall we accomplish that urgent need of integrating education with the other aspects of life in our society.

* * * *

Selfless Sacrifice

Is it concord or discord, is it unity or strife, is it hatred or friendship or is it victory or failure ? These are the mighty questions Africa asks her beloved children—Africans : and what is our answer ? Are we determined to catch up and join the other nations of the world in the race for progress ? Are we charged with the necessary sacrificial qualities to attain this gaol ? The answers appear to us to be in the affirmative.

Much has been said and written by experts about the enormous untapped resources of the Continent ; resources among which are, to mention only a few, tin, timber, copper, manganese, gold and diamonds.

On the question of man-power, the physical proportions and qualities as well as the endurance of the African have been claimed to equal any other in the world. At one time the Zulus, for instance, were considered the best physical " specimen " of humanity even though to-day circumstances seemingly beyond control have contributed to their emaciation.

Incidents of the present war have borne a convincing testimony to the fighting ability of the African soldier. African soldiers and airmen have proved capable of fighting with equal determination and tenacity in any climate ; in the jungles of Burma, in the highlands of Abyssinia, in the cold climate of Europe and even in the Arctic areas.

To the average observer in Europe, it appears there are no political organisations in Africa—absence of knowledge is no indication of their non-existence.

There are progressive political organisations, for example, The Nigerian Youth Movement, The Gold Coast Youth Conference, the Sierra-Leone Youth League and similar organisations in East and South Africa. All these organisations have declared an " absolute defeat-of-Fascism-policy wherever it may exist ". General Smuts is known to have said " next to the ass, the Negro is the most patient animal ". Dr. Danquah was right when he said : " But the specific moral gravity of the ass is an unmeasured quantum . . . even the ass will kick sometimes and one never can tell when ".

But to kick effectively there must be a united front. It is therefore necessary that all thinking Africans should come together. We must realise that right is not a corporeal thing that can be handed over by one to the other. It is one's own acquisition. There is no record in history of any people obtaining independence on a silver plate. Let us put a stop to fruitless sentimental shouting. Let us settle down to business and work so hard as to make the foreign governing elements in out midst feel themselves superfluous !

The fate of Africa depends on us Africans, and there is no doubt that, with a united effort and selfless sacrifice we shall achieve the seemingly impossible. The Russians have done it. We can do it too.

The Nigerian Youth Movement: Its Aims and Aspirations

By Dr. Akinola Maja

(*President, Nigerian Youth Movement*)

SINCE my arrival in the United Kingdom news has reached me of my re-election as President of the Nigerian Youth Movement. This is an honour which I greatly appreciate and for which I am heartily thankful. I assure comrades at home and abroad that I shall do my best to justify the confidence reposed in me by their action.

As the Editor of *WASU* has invited me to contribute this article, I think I can do no better than tell the readers about the Nigerian Youth Movement, its lofty aims and aspirations.

The Movement came into being in 1933. It was the climax of the resentment of the young people of Nigeria against the anomalies of the Government, which, in the absence of organised public opinion, was taking too much for granted. The immediate bone of contention was the inauguration of the Yaba Higher College, which, from its inception, was meant to turn out half-trained medical assistants. It was realised by the young African intelligentsia that the cream of African brain would be drafted into the College and that it was not in the national interest that nothing better than third-rate medical assistants, assistant engineers and teachers should be produced out of brains which were equal in alertness to the best anywhere in the world.

This organised body of opposition formed the nucleus of what ultimately became the Lagos Youth Movement. This organisation was at first a sort of Watch Committee which kept a sleepless eye on the activities of the Government and pointed out anomalies, criticised them and agitated for their removal.

The activities of the Lagos Youth Movement soon spread into the provinces and, in response to popular demand, the word "Lagos" in its designation had to give place to "Nigerian". By 1938 branches of the Movement had numbered about thirty, scattered all over the principal towns in Nigeria and included one in Accra in The Gold Coast.

Achievements of Movement

The work of the Movement has overstepped the boundary of ordinary criticism of Government policy and activities and has included deliberate plans of its own to enhance the happiness and prosperity of the people of Nigeria. As far back as 1938 the Movement, after carefully analysing the political and economic position of the country, came to the conclusion that nothing short of internal self-government could create an atmosphere conducive to self-realisation by the twenty-two million people of Nigeria. This idea, sounding so common-place to-day, was then revolutionary in character and the voice of the Movement was *a lone one.* Politicians with antiquated ideas, who had lost all touch with the outside world and had failed to appreciate the new problems confronting the youth of the country, or to notice the temper with which the rising generation was reaching to these problems, hastened to dissociate themselves with the suggestion of self-government

To-day it is pleasing to note that the Movement's point of view has been confirmed by the West African Students' Union and that even the most reactionary of the older generation have begun to see the light.

A Youth Charter was drawn up and adopted in 1938 and a Manifesto in 1942. The former contained the Movement's plan for the country and the latter a critique of the existing political, economic, and cultural machinery of the Government with suggestions for immediate improvement.

Activities of the Movement since its inception include opposition to the Cocoa Pool of 1938, agitation against a possible transfer of Nigeria to Germany in 1939, establishment of unemployment bureaux, taking charge of representation of the people in the existing legislature of the country and other official bodies, and the founding of a daily newspaper—*The Daily Service*—which is the official organ of the Movement.

The Movement has ambitious plans, but the necessary and inevitable wearing down of rough edges among the leaders and lack of funds to provide efficient administration are so far the drawbacks, but these are being gradually overcome.

An outstanding achievement of the Movement is the bold way in which it sets out to obliterate parochial prejudices among its members and to inculcate in the youth of the country their common bond of resurgent nationality. Everywhere that the evil of tribal disruption had attempted to rear its head it had met with merciless attack. Even the Hausa Youth in the North, whom the studied policy of the Government has for a long time isolated from his brothers in the South, is now awake to the fact and is already stretching forth his arms across the great river Niger.

The Movement co-operates with all progressive African organisations —the trade unions, the Civil Service Union, the Nigerian Union of Teachers, the farmers' associations, the Association of African Traders, the youth clubs, and all other unions or associations which have the interest of the country at heart.

The aim of the Nigerian Youth Movement is to work steadily for the improvement of the people so as to prepare them for the assumption of greater responsibilities in the management of the affairs of their own country. In this cause it regards itself, with great justification and popular approval, as the vanguard of a new Nigeria in which the government of the people for the people will devolve on the people themselves. A free and independent Nigeria is the ultimate aim of the Nigerian Youth Movement.

Movement's Policy Criticised

The Nigerian Youth Movement has been criticised on the ground that it does very little on its own but spends all the time criticising the Government and asking the Government to do things for it. This criticism the Movement has always regarded as unfair. The Movement has its own schemes and is steadily, though slowly, working up to them.

In any case in a country such as ours, where legislative and coercive powers are assumed by a people who are foreign to the country, where the material resources of the country are exploited mainly for the benefit of vested interests, and where the people are hard put to pay taxes out of their scanty resources, it is inevitable that a Movement such as ours cannot be indifferent to how power is exercised or public money disposed of. An essential part of the Movement's task will consequently continue to be criticism of Government policy and activities until a fair share of control has passed into our own hands.

Another criticism of the Movement, which I have heard since leaving Nigeria, is that very little is known in the other colonies of the activities

of the Movement and that greater amount of co-operation between the Movement and similar organisations in West Africa is desirable.

My answer to this is that when we have succeeded in placing the Movement in Nigeria on very good foundations then, and not till then, can we be ready for effective co-operation outside the country. I agree that more and more should be known about the activities of the kindred organisations so that they can profit by each other's experience ; but the time to be utilised in arranging and advertising joint conferences is now vitally necessary for internal organisation.

Collaboration Needed

In regard to the Movement's relation with the West African Students' Union, and through the Union with the West African Parliamentary Committee, the position is somewhat different. Greater collaboration with these two bodies is of the greatest importance to the Nigerian Youth Movement—nay, to all such organisations in West Africa. WASU can justify its existence in this country only on the extent to which it serves West African interests as a whole. That means, so far as Nigeria is concerned, the extent to which it is in close contact with the Youth Movement.

The Nigerian Youth Movement in itself, in as much as it wishes to explore and exploit the constitutional means available to it in the pursuit of its aims, cannot afford to ignore the claims of the *WASU* and the West African Parliamentary Committee to its complete confidence and co-operation.

To this end I am determined to work conscientiously and consistently on my return to Nigeria. With active co-operation between *WASU*, the Nigerian Youth Movement, and kindred organisations throughout West Africa, our natural aspiration of self-government which to-day is a dream will become an accomplished fact within a few years.

Miss Aduke Alakija,
former Vice-President of the Union.

She has passed the final examination for Diploma in Social Science at the London School of Economics, London University.

Mr. A. Osakwe,
Science Student, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Captain (Oxford University Soccer XI), holds double blues for tennis and soccer, led his team against Cambridge University Soccer XI on December 2nd, and won by two goals to one, scoring one of the goals himself.

Partnership and what it Means

By Dr. Rita Hinden, Ph.D.

(*Secretary, Fabian Colonial Bureau*)

"TRUSTEESHIP" was the word which described Britain's policy towards the Colonies—at least since the Covenant of the League of Nations laid down that the "backward" areas of the world should be "the sacred trust of civilisation" until such time as they were able to stand alone "in the strenuous conditions of the modern world". The ordinary personal relationship of a trustee and a ward is terminated naturally when the ward comes of age and there are no two questions about it. In international politics, however, the trusteeship may stretch on with wearisome indefiniteness, while the ward chafes and strains, and is driven to frustration and resentment. Trusteeship, too, is a negative concept. A trustee must guard his ward's possessions on his behalf and protect his interests, but he is not bound to take active steps for his ward's advancement, or to spend a penny to secure his well-being.

With these limitations, trusteeship has clearly become outmoded. The colonial peoples resent the term; it is only too easy for public opinion to point to the abuses and anomalies which shelter under the umbrella of fine phrases; and the actual conditions in most Colonies demand increasingly that active constructive steps shall be taken to improve them—steps such as are beyond the functions of any trustee.

What, then, is to replace trusteeship? There is always the possibility of a complete dissolution of the association between Britain and the colonial empire. But no responsible person, either in the Colonies or in Britain, is calling for that at this particular moment. Progressive thought throughout the world looks for a greater unity and integration between nations and peoples—whether they unite within the framework of commonwealths, united states, federal unions, empires or unions of socialistic soviet republics. The lot of any small—or indeed, any big—nation, which attempts to stand alone under the military and economic conditions of the modern world, is bound to be a difficult and dangerous one. It may be technically "free", but in practice it will be at the mercy of every wind that blows and of every gangster whom circumstances may throw up. The alternative is to remain inside some form of commonwealth or empire, but bearing a new status—and the phrase coined to describe the possible new status is "partnership".

What can partnership mean between nations, some of which are large and rich and strong and have accumulated the reins of power in their own hands; others of which may be small (apart from Nigeria no British Colony has a population of more than five millions and the majority are much smaller than that) and have not yet attained a high degree of prosperity, experience and education? It might too easily turn out like one of those marriages where an older, richer and better educated husband rules the roost and, with the best intentions in the world, stifles the personality and opportunities of his young and less experienced wife. The colonial peoples understand these dangers and are suspicious of the new phrases.

And yet, looked at from the point of view of progressive thought in Britain, there might be some real possibilities for a useful partnership in the years to come. The democratic freedom-loving forces within the British people have had generations, if not centuries, of struggle to attain the

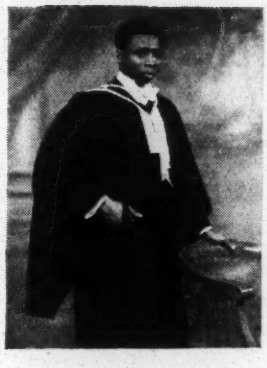
institutions of freedom and self-government, which have been the greatness of this country. The British people have had to fight not only to wrest the power of parliament from kings and nobles and to secure the vote for every adult in the country ; but also, simultaneously, to gain control of their local government institutions, their village, municipal, and borough councils. Then there was the long struggle, accompanied by persecution and bloodshed and victimisation, to gain the right of free industrial association in trade unions, and the struggle to build up their own co-operative organisations. Side by side with this has gone the century-old struggle to create and preserve civil liberties, — a battle which continues to this very day. The colonial peoples are now on the eve of similar struggles. Must they also go through the sufferings which the common people of Britain have endured to achieve their own freedom ? In a way, the colonial peoples have a tougher struggle as they have the added complication of being under alien rule. But on the other hand, cannot the British experience be made available to them so that they leap over the hurdles which we in this country have had so patiently to climb, and with the experience of British history behind them and the backing of British democrats, they may achieve in generations what took us a century ?

The partnership I should like to see is between the progressive forces of Britain and their counterparts in the Colonies. British trade unionists, co-operators and socialists can partner the trade unionists and co-operators and socialists in the Colonies. They can pass over to them their experience and technique, their literature, their lessons in organisation. They can champion the cause of the colonial workers and their popular movements so that the persecution, even the bloodshed, which marked British progress might be avoided in the younger countries. As long as some of the administrative power still resides in Britain, these British forces can support from the British end what the colonial peoples are striving for from their own end. This would indeed be a partnership worth having.

But partnership means a two-way traffic. If the colonial peoples do not enter it willingly ; if they distrust and are unwilling to collaborate with the progressive forces in Britain ; then indeed there is no alternative but to break the tie completely. There are those in the Colonies who say " God helps those who help themselves ". That is a deep and important truth. But it does not mean that one will get on quickest in one's efforts to help oneself by spurning every hand which is held out in comradeship on the way. The great question now is : Can such a relation of comradeship be created between the people's movements in the Colonies and the people's movements in Britain ? That is the only form of " partnership in empire " which appeals to me, as a socialist.

Meet an African Saint

By Dr. E. Udo Udoma, Ph.D.



Dr. E. U. Udoma, B.A., LL.B., Ph.D.
Vice-President of the Union.
He has been awarded Ph.D. degree of the University of Dublin on the merit of a thesis on "Law and Administration."

SOME time ago, I was sent on a special mission to interview a distinguished African Missionary of whose work so much has been written and yet so little known. True to the legendary African tradition and forgetful of Melanchthon's lecture on the value of time, I missed the first train from Euston. By the time the next one arrived, I was almost in a state of fury and exhaustion. It was in such a mood that I boarded the train, and staggering somewhat to a seat, was prepared for the worst.

My journey was not altogether uneventful. Incidentally, the train on which I travelled was a very slow one, and like a tramcar, seemed to stop at every lamp-post! I was very much relieved therefore when we eventually arrived on the Mersey-side.

As I was walking down the streets of the ancient city of Liverpool, my mind began to wander into the realm of history. At random, I could think of an indomitable character like MacGregor Laird who, under a contract with the British Government for a yearly subsidy of some £8,000, literally farmed the Oil Rivers of Nigeria in the days when "Palm oil was king". His one ambition was to establish a chain of factories along the West Coast of Africa: or, of an organisation like the African Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce which, almost alone in the dark days of ruthless exploitation, endeavoured to keep the flame of justice alive.

It may be recalled that the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce was partly responsible for the revocation in 1899 of the charter of a London firm, the Royal Niger Company, and so brought to an end a commercial monopoly which, like the East India Company, was entrusted with the task of ordering the destinies of the inhabitants of an area approximately 50,000 square miles in Nigeria. The Royal Niger Company was notorious for its vigorous policy of brigandage. On the rescission of the charter, the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce urged that the territories (now part of Northern Nigeria) thus taken over by the British Government should be administered on the principles of trusteeship, and that free trade should also be encouraged.

I was deeply buried in thought. And hardly realising that I had walked through what used to be a most expensive shopping area in the city, and through a district of tumble-down houses with a sprinkling of old warehouses and mysterious alleys in which before the war it was not uncommon to see a Chinese in native costume, or a few Africans making their way to the docks, I stumbled into No. 122, Hill Street, the unpretentious cloister of the Saint in whose quest I had undertaken my journey. Above the second door leading to the corridor of the cloister, I saw the inscription "God is the Head of this House"; and to this was attached the motto: "Friend of all and enemy of None". With great humility

I stepped upon the corridor. To my delight there appeared before me a man wearing a neat beard, a black velvet fez and a commanding but lovable countenance beaming with a smile.

" Pastor Ekarte ! " I exclaimed with some excitement. " Yes, welcome," he replied rather affectionately ; and added, " I'm glad to see you again in Liverpool, and especially at the Mission." I was ushered to the sitting-room through the corridor on one side of which was a kitchen that has served hundreds of African seamen and visitors. On the other side of it there was an office which, owing to lack of funds, has now no occupant. Like a charming host, Pastor Ekarte ordered a cup of tea for me, and we began our conversation which went something like this.

Myself : " I've come to have a word with you—I mean interview you."

Pastor : " What for ? "

Myself : " Oh ! for the *WASU* magazine, you know—the only organ of the West African Students' Union of Great Britain and Ireland."

Pastor : " Of course I do. And what can I do for you ? "

Myself : " Everything. But first tell me what exactly made you start this work ? You know, we're very proud of you."

Pastor : " Faith. It was faith in God through the inspiration of the life of a christian lady, Miss Mary Slessor, or the White Queen of Calabar as she used to be known. You may remember the Scottish mill-girl who struggled, just as I'm struggling to-day, as a lonely evangelist among the people of Calabar. She it was who taught me that pleasure can only come to a person through serving others, and, like a distinguished Continental Theologian, that he who has not the Church for his mother can hardly claim God for his father. That's why I'd like my people everywhere to support the Christian Church because, in my view, outside the Church there's no salvation."

Myself : " What do you think of the war ? "

Pastor : " The war ! I've stopped thinking of the war. I'm not an armchair strategist, nor am I a soldier. My own battle is against sin—the sin of exploitation and of inhumanity to man which has contributed to a large extent to the causes of the present armageddon. War, in my opinion, is nothing more than the result of sin and a just punishment from God. You see, I believe that we in this transitory world are all members of one another. We're responsible for our neighbours, for the community to which we belong and without whose help we can never become true persons. In other words, we're all our brothers' keepers. Hence, we can't divorce Christianity which, after all, is a way of life from political, economic and social realities, unless we're willing to see it driven out of society, or put under glass as a museum piece."

Myself : " Has the war affected your membership ? "

Here Pastor Ekarte, raising his eyes a little, looked at me and then at the list of his parishioners which was in front of us on the table. Rubbing his hands together, the Pastor said rather solemnly :

" I'm afraid very much so. Of course, everything, according to the Scriptures, works together for good for them that love the Lord. In many ways the war has hit me very hard. On the other hand, it has also given me an opportunity of helping the poor. For instance, some of our members whose husbands are serving in His Majesty's Forces are being looked after by us. We provide poor children with food, boots and shoes during winter months. We sometimes have to pay even doctor's bills for some of our poor members. There're also our members in the Merchant Navy who've done untold heroic service in keeping Britain's life-line of communication open even in the face of certain death. Besides, there's also our work

among the Afro-American troops in this country. So you see, we've plenty to do. Our great difficulty is to get enough funds to cope with the work."

Myself: " What are your main social activities ? "

Pastor: " Before the war we used to look after the poor and 'stowaways' from West Africa, feed and clothe them. But now we've Brownies, Guides and Scouts, and so on. Last Christmas we entertained over 300 children who, but for the grace of God, might have had to do without such luxuries as sweets, biscuits and a decent meal, especially at Christmas. Incidentally, I'd like to mention that some of our Christmas sweets and biscuits were supplied by the American Forces on the Mersey-side."

Myself: " What is the attitude of other organisations towards the Mission ? "

Pastor: " Some, like the British Council and the Welfare Department of the Colonial Office are, on the whole, somewhat friendly."

Myself: " What about the Shipping Companies and other trade organisations connected with West Africa ? "

Pastor: " I don't think I've much against them."

Myself: " I understand that certain seamen are nowadays usually signed on in West Africa at a lower rate of wages than those signed on in Great Britain. I wonder, do you know whether they're given any, and if so, what protection as to wages and other conditions of service ? "

Here, as I finished the sentence, a black cat entered the room, jumped upon the table and upset an empty tea cup. Pastor Ekarte looked round as if helpless, scratched his uncovered head, bit his lips, and after an unusually long meditation said :

" The whole position isn't yet quite clear. In any case, as you well know, I'm not a business man nor am I a lawyer or politician as to be able to keep abreast of the intricacies of such a major problem. My only interest in the matter is that the people concerned are my people, and anything affecting them adversely must in the long run affect me too. From what I've been able to gather of this new method of signing on seamen, I understand that the men signed on in West Africa are not allowed to procure the necessary passports. Instead, they're provided with certain passes which enable them to remain here until such time that boats are available to take them back to West Africa. While in England they must, I'm told, be under police supervision, and aren't allowed to change their employers at will. That you'll appreciate is a very curious practice and savours of an attempt to restrict the liberty of individuals under the protection of His Majesty, the King. Of course, I've always maintained that as long as Englishmen are living in Africa so long are Africans entitled to come to, and if necessary, live in any part of Britain. However, on the cheerful side of it, I also understand that the Nigerian Government is considering taking up the matter. I shall watch its progress with interest and hope."

Myself: " A moment ago you said something about working among American Forces. Could you tell me who they are ? "

Pastor Ekarte, on hearing this, put on his black fez, and looked rather steadily at a mounted photograph that was hanging on the wall opposite. Then followed a long pause after which, and with a little frown in his face, the Pastor said :

" I think that these great friends of mine mightn't like their names to be published. But since you seem to insist I might take the liberty of saying that by the kind permission of Major-General John Lee, I've had the honour of working with my esteemed friend, Major Frank O. Taafel, United States Chaplain to the American troops on the Mersey-side. It's very encouraging to know that the Mission can count on a distinguished person

such as Major Taafel as one of its supporters. Perhaps I should also add that some of our supporters are our distinguished sons from the West Indies, for example, Mr. Leary Constantine, the famous cricketer, Mr. George Padmore, the author and journalist, and Dr. Clarke."

Myself: " Have you any post-war plans for the Mission ? "

Pastor: " Of course I have. But the trouble is that I'm not quite sure what the attitude of the British Government would be towards Africans and peoples of African descent who're domiciled in this country. My plan will, to some extent, depend upon that. I remember what happened at the end of the last war—I mean the riots which broke out in many parts of Britain between Englishmen and Africans. I can still picture in my mind's eye the terrible shooting and torture that took place then. I sincerely hope that sort of thing isn't going to be repeated. One of my plans is to establish a home for destitute children and orphans, especially those children who've lost their parents in this war. The home might embrace a nursery and a school. That'll inevitably call for a heavy annual expenditure which the Mission can't afford at present. We need all the help we can get from all our well-wishers. I wouldn't like to use your magazine as a medium of appeal for financial support. At the same time, I think the fact that the Mission has this scheme should be made known to all who love children. I've already secured a place, but as yet there's no money to pay for it."

I got up to go. Pastor Ekarte saw me to the door ; and having kissed my hand, bade me God's speed. I began to ponder over the self-sacrificial life this great philanthropist has lived. I said to myself " Here indeed is one man to whom earthly pomp and glory is meaningless—a man who believes in giving even the little which he has, if such giving would bring happiness and joy to others ". Pastor Ekarte is a man of faith of whom there can be no two opinions. His life seems to be a compound of two separate and distinct ingredients. There is certainly something in him of the element of Saint Augustine, as there is too something about him reminiscent of his heroine, the Scottish mill-girl, Miss Mary Slessor.

African Students in America

By Ako Adjei, M.Sc.

THERE are about a hundred African students in the United States and Canada at the present time. This includes all Africans, who, during the past twenty-five years, have gone to America for higher education and have not yet returned to their respective countries in Africa. They come from different countries such as Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra-Leone, Liberia, Uganda, and the Union of South Africa. The greater number, however, come from British West Africa. There are none from any of the French colonies.

A few of the earlier group of students who distinguished themselves as competent scholars in various fields of learning, such as philosophy, classics, mathematics, anthropology, and theology, are now holding important teaching appointments in several American institutions of higher learning. There are also some who have settled down permanently and have created excellent reputation in the practice of law and medicine or are holding positions of responsibility in business and politics. The service that all these people are rendering indirectly to the greater cause of Africa is considerable.

In this article, however, I shall confine myself mainly to the activities of the newer generation of African students who have entered the United States since 1938, and, especially, those from British West Africa.

In choosing to write of the students from British West Africa, namely, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and Sierra-Leone, I am not by any means overshadowing the laudable achievements of students from other parts of Africa who are also studying in American and Canadian institutions. But I believe that the great number of students from West Africa, including those from the Republic of Liberia, and the circumstances under which they have come abroad to study entitle them to a prior consideration.

All West African students who are studying at the present time in American and Canadian universities and colleges have come abroad as private students on their own and do not receive any kind of financial support from the governments of their respective countries. This is also true of the majority of the students from Liberia, with the exception of a few who are either government scholars or receive some measure of financial assistance from their government.

I believe that perhaps there is nothing that can convince Americans and Canadians more of the present intellectual awakening in Africa, or indicate to them in a better way the desire of the African people to prepare themselves for the responsibilities connected with their political aspirations, than the fact that they see so many African students in their midst who are studying at great sacrifice to their parents.

By their mere presence, therefore, the students indirectly bring home to their friends the fact that life is not stationary in Africa and that Africans are keeping step with the progress that is taking place in the world about them. This point is significant.

However, there are many direct ways in which our fellow students across the Atlantic interpret Africa to the American world. They perform this duty either as individuals or as a group.

Through their quarterly magazine *The African Interpreter*, which is the official organ of the African Students' Association of the United States and Canada, African students in the New World keep the American and Canadian people constantly informed of African public opinion on current international affairs. The Editor of this magazine and his small body of coworkers have a standing policy that is worthy of commendation. Before expressing an opinion on any important issue, they search through all the newspapers from West Africa, as well as papers from other parts of the continent, that are available to them and then present an objective picture of African public opinion as best they could. Letters from relatives and friends are also useful in this respect. In this way, great care is exercised in checking any information that may come to their knowledge before releasing it to the public or expressing an opinion in *The Interpreter*.

Through the initiative of some of our students in America, two organisations were founded in New York City last year. The activities of these organisations may help a great deal in establishing friendly relations between the people of the New World and the people of Africa.

The two organisations are *The African Academy of Arts and Research*, founded by Mr. Ozuomba Mbadiwe, B.Sc. (Columbia), and *The American Council on African Education*, founded by Mr. Nwafor Orizu, M.A. (Columbia).

The chief purposes for which the Academy was founded are :—

(1) To foster goodwill between the people of Africa and the people of the United States of America.

(2) To stimulate an appreciation of African culture.

(3) To create cultural centres in the United States and in Africa which will provide information on all phases of African life ; and to arrange for visits of people of the U.S.A. to Africa, and for people of Africa to the U.S.A.

(4) To aid African students who wish to pursue their education in America.

(5) To co-operate with institutions and agencies who sincerely support the cause of the African people.

The aims of the African Academy, as here stated, need no further explanation. I must add, however, that Mr. Mbadiwe is working hard to implement these high purposes. There are many prominent Americans in business and in the learned profession, both black and white, who are lending their support to The African Academy, and the writer had the privilege of enjoying many of the concerts that were staged under the auspices of the Academy in New York City in the early part of this year.

Among others, the chief aims of the American Council on African Education are as follows :—

" To create a fund here (in America) and in Africa which would be administered for and on behalf of African students . . .

" To secure scholarships for deserving African students in various American Universities according to respective interests. These students after completing their studies, should return to their homeland to help in the manifold work of construction and reconstruction that will be needed there . . .

" To encourage educational and anthropological research as a means of fostering cultural understanding between Africa and America . . .

" To concentrate its present activities mainly on Nigeria until conditions warrant expansion to other parts of Africa . . .

" To subsidise a library and science laboratory in Nigeria for the promotion of general education and research . . .

" To found a centre or a hostel here in America, like the " Africa House " in London, where the African students will feel at home during their stay in the United States."

One thing is obvious from the aims of the Council as stated. There is as yet no house in America, like the WASU Hostel here in London, where African students can meet and exchange ideas and experience. Our fellow students in America are, in this respect, less fortunate than those of us who are now in Britain. We hope this gap will be filled in the near future.

Space will not permit me to say anything about the geographical distribution of African students in American and Canadian institutions. Suffice it is to say that there are African students studying in the various important American universities, such as Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Pennsylvania, Chicago, Howard, and Michigan universities and also in McGill University in Canada. The majority are reading for higher degrees in social science, such as sociology, economics, anthropology, and political science ; but there are also a few who are studying medicine, engineering, physical and biological sciences.

Perhaps in future WASU and the African Students' Association of the United States and Canada need to be in closer touch with each other than they had ever done in the past. Both organisations stand to gain by the added strength that is possible only when there is a constant exchange of

knowledge and experience. While collaboration will help to co-ordinate the activities of the two organisations and thus develop a common approach to the problems that confront Africa, it will also clear away any misconceptions or misunderstandings that usually arise wherever there is lack of a free interchange of ideas. Perhaps there is much that America can offer us.

African Public Opinion

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESS

During the discussion on the Nigerian press by the Lagos " Brains Trust," Mr. C. R. Niven, Public Relations Officer, was reported to have said that barring occasional inaccuracy of reports and shortage of staff, the Press of Nigeria was not irresponsible.

This pronouncement is fair and frank.

I say so because Mr. Niven adduced facts to substantiate his conclusion.

Now, one Mrs. Elspeth Huxley, a Kenya-born story teller (that is what novelists are really) told a tale recently in the British Press condemning the entire West African Press as " irresponsible ".

She did not adduce one evidence to justify her sweeping remarks.

Whilst Mr. Niven was scientific and objective, Mrs. Huxley was not.

Now, I want to know who is quibbling : the man who works directly with a section of the West African press and is in position to appreciate their many problems, or a tale-telling gossiper who relies on hearsay evidence to generalise and antagonise an influential element of the West African population ?

I am not through with Mrs. Huxley yet !—*West Africian Pilot*, August 22, 1944.

MRS. ELSPETH HUXLEY THE ARCH IMPERIALIST

I see from the English papers that another Huxley has attempted to stay the hands of progress in West African politics.

No longer is the eccentric professor the spearhead of attack on our just and natural aspirations to political manhood.

This time, Mrs. Gervais Huxley, the Kenya-born story teller, has attempted unconvincingly to libel the intelligentsia of West Africa.

In view of the sweeping generalisations which characterised the unscientific, inconsistent, prejudiced and illogical effusions of this victim of East African complex, I shall reserve my " block-busting " bombs for another occasion.

Suffice it to remark that I met her in London during the visit of the West African Press delegation and from her obstreperousness I deciphered her as one of our " enemies ".—*West African Pilot*, August 21, 1944.

STRANGE ATTITUDE OF JULIAN HUXLEY

West Africa has been perplexed because of the attitude taken by Julian Huxley on the future of British colonies in West Africa.

I am not.

I say so because I appreciate what environment can do to any person.

Julian Huxley was educated at Eton College and at Balliol (Oxford).

His first job was to teach zoology at his *alma mater* at Oxford between 1909 and 1911.

From 1912 to 1916 he was Assistant Professor at Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, U.S.A.

Staying in Texas for four years explains a lot (from a bi-racial standpoint) and I shall bear that in mind when I tackle his article in *The Times* about " a region of neglected assets ".—*West African Pilot*, August 22, 1944.

DIPLOMACY AND COLONIAL MANUMISSION

As far as we understand, the trusteeship system is based on a gradual training of colonial countries towards responsible self-government, on the supposition that the indigenes of these territories are unfit for the undertaking. Towards the fulfilment of this aim certain inflowing forces, such as missionaries, play a major part. But we feel it is time our trustees divorced themselves of the error of assuming that the colonies are immature for autonomy and face sober realities.

From the logical point of view, a self-determining State which avoids carnage and maintains peace, apart from seeing to the needs of its dependents is, in our opinion, fit for self-government. It is desirable not to allow the criterion for self-rule to be based on some sort of false achievements such as the power to produce instruments of destruction.

We have been told that were the peoples of the colonial Empire left to their own destinies, bloodshed, civil wars and other atrocities would ensue. At no time in the annals of the African's past has any war assumed such egregious proportions as those in Europe.

Almost every 25 years, European nations are involved in gigantic wholesale killings. Since we are told that the mission behind colonisation is one of humanitarianism designed to quell the conflict of warlike African tribes, we contend that this policy has " committed suicide ". Emancipation of those territories, " protected " from tribal wars, is overdue.—*West African Pilot*, August 22, 1944.

THE APPLE OF INDEPENDENCE

A Leftish M.P., asked what the various belligerent Allied Nations hoped to get out of the war, said : " Britain will find more lands for capital and emigration ; America more scope for dollar investments ; Russia a dominating influence over north-west and eastern Europe ; and the liberated countries a right to live their national lives and construct their national economies free from exploitation."

But, for Africans, he could find no such bright star on the horizon of hope. Not with all our sacrifices in this war, not in spite of our tremendous war effort, and the thousands of our soldiers lying buried in the sands of North Africa, in the plains of Italy, and the jungles of Burma ! We cannot see with him. We in West Africa have reached a stage when we should be trained in the shortest possible time to assume our full political and economic responsibilities. Russia did it in her colonies ; so can Britain.

Dr. Haden Guest, M.P., says : " In the populations of East and West Africa combined, there are the human population and the natural resources available to create a great black civilisation. We could do it, if we had in this British Empire, the same vision as they had in the Soviet Union. We could . . . produce the same effects in that area as the Soviet Union has produced in the European parts of the Union . . ."

West Africa would be terribly disappointed if, by the time the war is over, a five to ten-year-plan for our complete independence is not instituted by the British Government. To-day we are fighting for the freedom and independence of the Axis-dominated countries. May it never be said that we shed our precious blood and sacrificed so much to secure for others an apple we ourselves could not procure.—*West African Pilot* (Editorial), August 22, 1944.

TWO IBIBIO STUDENTS RETURN

Two Ibibio students, Messrs. James L. Nsima and Ibanga U. Akpabio, have returned to Nigeria after graduating in the United States, securing the M.A. and B.Sc. degrees respectively. Their achievements provide one more example of the potency of self-help. Mr. Nsima not only majored in the Natural and Social Sciences at Hampton Institute but combined his course of study in Organisation and Administration of Education with Journalism.

His elder colleague, who has proved that age is by no means a barrier to further learning, also obtained his degrees in identical subjects. We believe that these two men have much to contribute in common to the general progress of this country and we should expect that since the need of the moment is for qualified men, the Ibibio people would not hesitate to take advantage of their presence.

The time has come when Government should not be allowed to be the only medium of employment for qualified men. Financial support must no longer be allowed to force qualified Nigerians to enter the civil service instead of starting on some national projects. The Ibibio Union has set a worthy example in encouraging the pursuit of higher education among promising Ibibio students. But that should not be the end. It must also create the necessary conditions for adapting their talents for the good of the people.

Happily, the thinking mind of the Nigerian public is undergoing a transition for the better. We have learnt to appreciate men who are ready to prove by their examples and practical approach to problems that they have the welfare of the country at heart and we submit that no sacrifice can be too great which would provide such men with the necessary opportunities for national service. The Ibibio people have thus a patriotic duty to perform. Let us hope that they will succeed.—*West African Pilot* (Editorial), August 22, 1944.

TWO IBIBIO HEROES ARE BACK HOME

Mr. I. U. Akpabio, M.A., B.Sc. and Mr. J. L. Nsima, M.A., B.Sc., the two scholarship holders of the Ibibio Union who were sent to the United States in 1938 and 1939, have returned home.

Mr. Akapabio studied at Tuskegee Institute, Lincoln University (Pa.) and Columbia University.

Mr Nsima studied at Storer College, Hampton Institute and Columbia University.

They played an active part in the African Students' Association of the United States and Canada.

Both gentlemen took their degrees with honours in education, although Mr. Nsima also has a diploma in journalism.

It is my fervent hope that the Ibibio people will be in position to offer scope to these two merchants of light to serve our country.

I have in mind the unfortunate circumstances which led Mr. B. U. A. Attah, M.Sc., another Ibibio scholarship holder, to return to the civil service, after his specialised studies abroad.—*West African Pilot*, August 22, 1944.

A PSALM 23

By An African Labourer

The European Merchant is my shepherd,
And I am in want ;
He maketh me to lie down in cocoa farms ;
He leadeth me beside the waters of great need ;
He restoreth my doubt in the pool parts.
Yea, though I walk in the valleys of starvation,
I do not fear evil :
For thou art against me.
The general managers and profiteers frighten me.

Thou preparest a reduction in my salary
In the presence of my creditors.
Thou anointest my income with taxes ;
My expense runs over my income.
Surely unemployment and poverty will follow me
All the days of my poor existence,
And I will dwell in a rented house for ever !
Amen !

(Editor's Note.—This psalm was written by a Gold Coast soldier on active service and was passed by the military censor No. 4212. It is being reprinted here as it appeared in *The African Morning Post*, published in Accra on Saturday, September 2nd, 1944.)

Some Twentieth Century Travellers' Tales

By Kankam-Boadu, B.A.

"TRAVELLERS' TALES" is the expression generally used for the various types of stories brought home by the early European travellers. Some—for example, that of men with heads growing under their shoulders—are so fantastic that one wonders whether the adventure took place in this or another world ! In the present times, with all the available transport facilities, one would naturally expect that the age of such tales has disappeared. But it would be a mistake to say that we have nothing corresponding to " Travellers' Tales " to-day.

Generally speaking, it would appear that, though the modern " travellers' tales " differ from the " classic " ones in detail of content—being usually not so fantastic—yet it is perhaps true to say they arise from the same psychological motive on the part of the teller. It appears that the dominant motive is the desire of the teller to impress on his hearers, or readers, the idea of his having accomplished or seen something extraordinary : this is merely a submission of opinion, as questions of motive are apt to be controversial.

To some people in this country, the mere mention of Africa seems to reflect all sorts of stories. People will tell one stories in the hope either of getting a confirmation or denial of them or obtaining a new one. Very often they are disappointed, except at times when one feels sarcastic !

It is no exaggeration to say that quite a number of people believe that Africa is a continent swarming with snakes, lions, leopards, crocodiles and such like. A friend once informed me that his uncle, who is a medical practitioner in Accra, told him that in this capital town of the Gold Coast, it is the practice to carry loaded guns about for one's own self defence—not against the " natives " but against the unprovoked aggression of wild animals—(particularly snakes), which persistently parade the town. (Africans who can't afford guns presumably carry bows and arrows !) One day, the story went on, they were playing tennis when snakes issued suddenly from the bush, swallowed the balls, and disappeared. And so the play ended.

There are a hundred and one other snake stories which it would serve little purpose to relate here.

" Excessive heat " is another popular subject for story-tellers. It is so hot, one story goes, that only wood can be used for making bridges, for metal will melt under the blazing sun. There is also a story of a careless African woman who, returning from the market dropped her basket. By the time she had finished picking up the other things she had in the basket, some broken eggs, being exposed to the heat, had become cooked !

Last year a young missionary woman going out to West Africa, expressed great gratification for going to the only place in Nigeria where a piano exists ! She had been told that the heat makes it almost impossible to retain a piano for any length of time—apparently the strings often melt because of the heat.

There are equally fantastic stories about the people in Africa and how they live. Even though communities all over the world have now become the subject of scientific studies by trained specialists, the more bizarre and sensational types of stories still survive. Somebody from West Africa, for example, was once asked the population figures for the part of the country in which he worked. He replied : " They live on trees and we can't count them ".

Most of these " imaginative " stories told by travellers may be purely with an aim to impress hearers (as said before) as to the tellers apparent courage and endurance ; but little do they consider what the effect would be.

So conflicting have been these narratives that, for example, at one time the African is considered very energetic, hard-working, brilliant and hospitable, and in the same breath, lazy, docile and asinine.

How shall we find the " concord of this discord " ?

The West African Parliamentary Committee Report

THE West African Parliamentary Committee was formed in April, 1942. The first meeting, summoned at the instance of the Rev. R. Sorenson, M.P., took place on the 29th April in a Committee Room of the House of Commons, when its policy was clearly outlined.

Its aims, as laid down at the inaugural meeting were :—

(*a*) To consider current West African problems ;
(*b*) To consider matters realting to the future of West Africa ;
(*c*) To make such representations as are possible ; and
(*d*) To secure contact between bodies and persons concerned with West African democratic progress.

The Rev. R. Sorenson, was elected Chairman of the Committee which includes some other members of Parliament, some members of the Fabian

Society, Officers of the West African Students' Union and other persons interested in the affairs of West Africa. Mr. F. O. Blaize, of the West African Students' Union, is the first Secretary of the Committee.

Among those who have taken part in the proceedings of the Committee may be mentioned Mr. B. Riley, M.P.; Mr. Hardy, M.P.; Mrs. O. Crushley, M.P.; Dr. Haden-Guest, M.P.; Mr. Alexander Sloane, M.P.; Mr. Daniel Adams, M.P.; Lord Farringdon; Mr. S. O. Davies, M.P.; Mr. Dugdale, M.P.; Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P.; Dr. Rita-Hinden; Dr. A. Maja, President of the Nigerian Youth Movement; Dr. K. A. Korsah (Gold Coast); Dr. E. Taylor-Cummings (Sierra-Leone); Rev. I. O. Ransome-Kuti (Nigeria).

The wide range of subjects discussed by the Committee, and subsequently in the House of Commons, may be divided into two groups, namely :—

(*a*) Those dealing with matters of long-range policy, e.g., Colonial Charter, Internal Self-Government, Cocoa Industry, Mass Education, etc.

(*b*) Matters of Immediate importance, e.g., Wages in the Tin Mines; Royalties paid by the West African Governments to the United Africa Company; Cost of Living Awards; Appointments of Africans to the Executive Councils of the Governments in West Africa; Employment of wives of European Officials in West Africa; Conscription of School boys in Nigeria; Gold Coast Treaty with the British in 1844, etc.

As a matter of strict rule, the Committee insists on facts as a basis of discussion and of subsequent questions or statements in the House of Commons. Where facts were insufficient or doubtful, the member raising the question would be requested to find out more about the subject and to introduce it again when the facts were available.

The members of the West African Parliamentary Committee are very busy men and women, and the fact that they have consistently spared the time to discuss West African Problems at meetings which sometimes lasted for more than two hours is a testimony of their interest in West Africa, and their capacity to sacrifice time for those things which they consider important.

West Africans can show appreciation to these members of Parliament by making sure that matters being sent to the West African Parliamentary Committee are genuine and that efforts are made to collect and prove the facts, before they are submitted.

It is requested that as far as possible, matters affecting individuals or sectional interests, if they are being referred to the Committee, should, in the first instance, be submitted to local National organisations, such as the Nigerians' Youth Movement, the Gold Coast Youth Conference, the Sierra-Leone Youth League and a similar body in the Gambia. This is important. Independent enquiries by such responsible National bodies are considered indispensable in such individual matters, otherwise such matters, if submitted direct to the Secretary of the Committee, in the first instance, may be referred back to such local bodies for their views.

The National organisations throughout West Africa are urged to co-operate with the Committee. All communications intended for the Committee should be addressed to :—

The Secretary,
West African Parliamentary Committee,
c/o West African Students' Union,
1, South Villas,
Camden Square, London, N.W.1.

African Medicine and the Medicine-Man

By S. O. Egwuatu, B.Sc.

WHILE a new day dawns in West Africa and the old ways of life are being replaced by the new, I believe that it is essential for the African peoples, and for that matter any people in any part of the world to look back and see " the pit from which they have been dug ". It is such a desire that has stimulated me to put on record a few facts, scattered as they are, of the ways the ancient African peoples have attempted to rid themselves of their ailments, according to their lights before the advent of the modern scientific medical treatment in Africa.

While I cannot speak about the whole of Africa, or even the whole of Nigeria on this point, I think I can talk about my own people, the Ibo-speaking peoples who are located in the South-Eastern Provinces of Nigeria. The ideas which these people conceived about diseases, in fact their whole ideas of life and death were closely linked with their psycho-religious system.

Before the advent of Christianity they believed and worshipped God Almighty whom they called " Chukwu ". He was, of course, not often worshipped directly, but his name was constantly mentioned in prayers of everyday life, like " God help me " (" Chukwu yelum aka "), " May God Bless you " (" Chukwu gosiei ") and so on. The Ibo people revered the spirits of the dead ancestors who, though dead, were believed to be in constant communion with the living descendants. They were believed to have left behind them a high moral and spiritual code of life as a heritage to their living descendants. Therefore it was incumbent on these people to maintain and develop a high spiritual and moral tone consistent with their heritage. Thus unlawful acts like homicide, rape, stealing and immoral conduct of any kind were regarded as extremely grave offences against the Land (Ani), symbolising the spiritual ancestors and the living community. They were regarded as grave offences because they were a sort of direct affront to the spirits of the ancestors who would, in consequence, withdraw their protective influence and punish the offenders and the community collectively through diseases and epidemics.

Another belief of the Ibo people was that of Human Personality. They held that at the moment of conception the ordinary material body of man was associated with a spiritual genius which acted as his double. This " chi ", as it was called, constituted the human personality, or soul, and the individual's capabilities, his fortunes and misfortunes depended on the type of " chi " which he inherited from birth. Thus a man who was constantly ailing had a bad " chi " and a rich healthy man had a good spiritual genius, and so on. This " chi " was supposed to reside in the heart.

The Ibos also believed in re-incarnation. They maintained that a child could be re-born into another family ; and I think that explains the custom of facial marks seen among some African peoples. By this means a mother could identify her former child, since children were sometimes known to have been born with specific facial marks. Children were accredited with reasoning power and could decide to die in order to be re-born in another family if they did not like their parents. This was used to explain the high infantile mortality in some families. There are so many other superstitious beliefs regarding life and death, fortune and luck, almost identical with those in Ireland, which time will not allow me to mention. But there is this fact

which I want to emphasise and that is, that the Ibo-speaking peoples believed fundamentally that diseases and epidemics were either a direct punishment for the transgressions of the ordinary moral laws, or that they were associated with the general nature of the individual's genius.

I need hardly mention that, like people in other parts of the world, they also believed in genuine evil spirits, like the devils of Christians, and human factors with spiritual powers, like witches and wizards who were considered capable of causing diseases. There is no doubt that in a society of this type there must exist certain groups of people, who by their personality and knowledge and intelligence, would act as the spiritual guardians of the people, and as interpreters of moral conduct consonant with the traditional social customs. These were the priests ; but there must also exist another group of people, men and women, who by their knowledge of human ailments were able to cure diseases. This last group constitutes what we term the " dibias " or the Medicine Men.

The Medicine Men and their Medicine have not quite died out in West Africa as faith in some of them still persists. The term " Medicine Men " could, of course, be applied to a wide variety of people, but broadly speaking they can be divided into two major groups, the Bad and the Good Medicine Men.

One group of the bad medicine men are engaged principally in doing harm. They may be employed by men of evil to injure their enemies. These are supposed to work by witchcraft and wizardry. They can call up a person's spiritual counterpart, and have it impaled on thorns, thus causing the victim to be smitten with painful agony, or to die. They are believed to be capable of utilising an individual's personal belongings, for example his clothing or nail-parings for performing some rites with a fatal consequence to the victim.

The other group of evil medicine men are the poisoners, or " Ndi Nsi " as they are called. Their central procedure involves a medicine box in which a spiritual being is supposed to dwell. Some of the contents of this may be buried in the ground, and only the person for whom it is intended will be smitten when he or she walks over it. They may also simply point their wand on a specified individual who then dies. They claim they can injure somebody a hundred miles off by performing some rites.

Moreover, these people are believed to be able to effect direct poisoning for their knowledge of toxicology is immense, and they are certainly acquainted with many poisons unknown to modern science. They possess the knowledge of poisons the effects of which can be delayed for upwards of six months. Some of their poisons include such ingredients as the fruit of Aframomum, a forest plant, the eyelash of a sheep, lizards, ground quill of porcupine and tiger's bile. There is one of their mixtures which will send people into a deep sleep for many hours on inhalation. The people call it " Olula " and it often consists of the powdered leaves of a certain plant. Human saliva seems to have magical power in the hands of these people. It is significant to recall the important place it had in so many remedies prescribed by the Ancient Physicians. Pliny gave a long list of diseases cured by it.

The good medicine men are the people who have made a profound impression on the minds of both literate and illiterate Africans. Some European doctors working in West Africa have admitted that their crafts cannot be dismissed as mere fakes. Some of them are good physicians and surgeons and undoubtedly endowed with some supernatural powers. They are diviners and seers. In the old African society they occupied a very special position in the community. Their suggestions were highly valued

and they exercised a profound influence upon everyone. Admitting that they sometimes employed trickery in their practice in order to surround themselves with mystery, and stimulate the confidence and faith of the masses, yet when one comes to study their practices, without preconceived ideas, one is struck by a revelation in their practices of some secrets based on the powers of herbs, leaves and roots unknown to modern science, and a deep knowledge of psychological and metaphysical phenomena which is difficult for Europeans to estimate and understand, as the potency of will and thought is only just beginning to be appreciated by them.

It is difficult for me to describe clearly the various methods they employ, but in short, they utilise " faith-suggestion " and hypnotism in varying ways, under forms comprehensible perhaps only to the Africans. On the whole their practice manifests what an extraordinary power the mind has over material things.

This group of medicine men belong to special families in which the secrets of the profession have been preserved and handed down from father to son for many generations. If a father has no son, or if the son shows no aptitude for medicine, he adopts a son who from his early childhood becomes the medicine man's disciple and apprentice, gradually absorbing all of his arts in course of a novitiate lasting for many years. On the death of his foster parent this successor begins the active exercise of his ministry.

Presiding as they sometimes do over such an extensive field of action, including not only the preservation of health but the entire moral and temporal welfare of the people, they are often highly specialised. The wise man who interprets dreams has nothing to do with the one who supervises the mental deficients, the medicine man who treats contagious diseases is in a category completely different from one who makes rain.

According to Field, some medicine men specialising in snake-bites are remarkable. Cases of snake-bites, as long as they are taken in time to these specialists, are cured within a matter of days or hours, depending on the skill of the specialist. These people not only cure, but they also immunise. Immunisation is of two kinds, the first prevents the snake from biting, the second prevents the bite from doing harm. Every snake medicine contains the ingredients made of a snake's head. The theory of bite prevention is that the individual acquires a permanent smell so faint that only a snake can scent it, the snake recognising the smell of its kind will not bite ; some such medicines make the snake powerless so that it can be picked up safely. Nearly all Ibo people, at the time of birth, have a few scarifications made on the dorsum of their feet and the anti-snake poison rubbed in, the immunity thus induced lasts a lifetime.

When one comes to describe the methods they use in dealing with their patients, one is up against a very difficult proposition, as these methods vary not only with every individual patient, but also according to the nature and advancement of the particular disease. But psychological treatment forms a very important part of their methods. They invoke the spirits of the ancestors and the patient's spiritual counterpart by divination, to find out what has gone wrong with the patient's spiritual and moral life, and after that they accurately inform the patient of his various misconducts and negligences, advise modes of rectification and in some cases they give the patient his family history and may even mention the circumstances surrounding the death of his parents if dead, and sometimes mention the patient's age and name without any previous knowledge. This appears even more remarkable when it is remembered that the patient, in some cases, has come from another town many miles away. This, of course, helps to stimulate the patient's confidence in him and to build up his faith in any medicine which may subsequently be prescribed.

With regard to child-birth, a new-born babe, according to custom, must be received into the hands of the midwife, as it is a pollution to be allowed to fall on the ground or anything else. It was regarded as an abomination for a child to present feet first, and for that reason African midwifes always do a reversion in such cases. In the olden days children born with teeth or any deformity or monsters were destroyed, on the grounds that they were the incarnations of evil spirits. Twins were also got rid of, as the Ibo held the common belief that birth of twins was an indication of the disfavour of the spirits and a punishment for adultery. The mother's breasts were tattooed to save her from milk fever. But to-day, Christian teaching, education and Government laws have helped to abolish such practices. The birth of twins to-day is marked by expensive feasts and public ceremonies of happiness. A very common practice at birth in some places is the re-moulding of the head. As a rule children hardly die at birth, although many deaths may occur during the first few years of life, perhaps as a result of malaria.

The child is breast-fed usually for some years, and because of this delayed suckling a period of three years is allowed between pregnancies. In cases where the mother is unable to feed the child, either due to illness or because of any congenital abnormality, the grandmother or any other woman suckles the child. She receives medicine from a medicine man which stimulates the flow of milk.

Eight days after birth Ibo children are circumcised. If the child is weak the operation is delayed. The remarkable thing is that sepsis never occurs and the wound heals in a few days.

Having discussed at some length the medicine man and his medicine it will be appropriate at this juncture to assess what contribution they will make to the future of medicine in Africa. Though they and their work are being gradually displaced by modern scientific medical men, the present African generation will not allow their work to die without being completely assimilated and blended with the knowledge which they have gained from the study of modern medical science. There is a lot in him from which a modern educated African doctor can learn, for example, " his sound reasoning for every step he takes, the logical way in which he works from his premises, his recognition that a symptom is a manifestation of something more fundamental and not to be treated by rule of thumb, the enormous value of his herbs, his sound psycho-therapeutical technique, and above all his treatments which are based on certain supernatural concepts which form the fundamental basis of life and death ".

Cocoa Control in West Africa : An Evil Gesture

By H. O. DAVIES, B.Com.

COCOA is to-day the foundation of the economic life of the peoples of West Africa. In the peak year of 1936—1937, the Gold Coast and Nigeria produced an aggregate of 408,100 metric tons, representing a proportion of 57 per cent. of world total output and a value of approximately £17 million c.i.f. London, at the average price of £41 per ton for the year.

In the year 1936 cocoa represented 98 per cent. by value of all agricultural exports and 63 per cent. of total exports from the Gold Coast. Government revenue from cocoa is substantial and any prosperity or adversity in the industry is necessarily reflected, not only in the fortunes of the population, but also in the financial capacity of the Governments.

Another point of importance is that production is mainly by peasant effort. The area under cultivation in the Gold Coast alone in 1936, for example, was 1,500,000 acres, and the average area per farmer was 2½ acres. This suggests that as many as about 600,000 peasants are engaged in cocoa cultivation in the Gold Coast quite apart from the vast army of labourers involved. Figures for Nigeria are approximately half of those quoted for the Gold Coast.

This brief sketch, wearisome as it may be, will serve to indicate the importance of the cocoa industry in the economic life of the peoples of West Africa.

The business of buying and shipping cocoa from West Africa has always been, and still is under the sole control of European trading firms. Although in West Africa the plantation system as it is known in East Africa, Ceylon, the Malay States and the West Indies does not exist, yet the influence which the activities of these firms has on the economic life of the producers or the labourers is no less than that exercised by the planters in any of the areas where the system obtains.

There are, broadly speaking, two types of European firms buying cocoa in West Africa, that is to say, those who buy for resale in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, and those who buy for consumption in the United Kingdom (i.e., purchaser-consumers). By far the largest single firm in the first category is the United Africa Company. To the latter category belong firms like Cadbury's who buy in association with Messrs. J. S. Fry and Sons in the Gold Coast and through its subsidiary firm, the Cocoa Manufacturers, in Nigeria. Another important British purchaser-consumer is the Co-operative Wholesale Society.

America is the largest single consumer of cocoa, and literally decides the current prices. The firms in West Africa buy and store cocoa and make profits out of price fluctuations, quite apart from the normal profits of the trade.

The operation of the smaller firms and the African middlemen has always been a source of irritation to the larger combines, whose one ambition throughout the history of the cocoa industry has been to place themselves in as near as possible an economic position to that occupied by planters in other parts of the world. This means, in practice, complete domination of all sources of supply and ability to stabilise profits by dictating prices to the producers. The African entrepreneur does not fit into this scheme, and has always been regarded as a fly in the ointment marked down for destruction.

The climax of the attempt at absolute monopoly control was reached in 1938 when a buying agreement was concluded between all the purchasing firms under the leadership of both the United Africa Company and Cadbury's. The episode of that evil attempt is well-known, and does not deserve repetition. It will therefore be sufficient only to remark that the Commission of Enquiry which went out to West Africa in this connection reported, among other things, that the fears of the people that the agreement stood for exploitation of the farmers were not wholly unfounded. It recommended the extension of the Co-operative Movement in both Nigeria and the Gold Coast. The Co-operative Movement was to be a free association of producers for the collective marketing of their produce.

While accepting the principle of co-operation among themselves, the farmers have resented the idea of being integrated into Government-sponsored and Goverment-controlled Co-operative Societies. To-day only 3 per cent. of the Gold Coast farmers belong to the Government Co-operative Societies. In Nigeria, after 15 years of Government effort, the percentage is only slightly more.

In 1939, when the war broke out, an unparalleled opportunity offered itself to the firms to achieve what they had failed to do under peace-time conditions. It should be noticed that the Ministries of Food and Supplies in Britain are staffed with Unilever Officials. Moreover, the Supply Boards created both in Lagos and Accra are run by the trading firms. Defence Regulations have been poured out galore by the respective Governments and cover a multitude of sins.

Nothing can be farther from the truth than the view that the control imposed in 1939 was primarily designed to help the African farmers. It is submitted that the imposition was a clear case of killing two birds with the one stone. These birds were :—

(*a*) To put into effect under the smoke-screen of Defence Regulations, the Buying Agreement which had failed in 1938. The Association of West African Merchants at once came into being, and planned under a system of quota apportionment, the buying of cocoa. Its members were paid the sum of £2. 1s. 2d. out of the cocoa revenue in addition to a commission of 10/6 per ton of cocoa purchased, tax free. A firm like Cadbury's did very well with a subsidy from this source which, of course, it did not need.

Practically all the African middlemen were mercilessly squeezed out. They could show no shipment for 1939—a panic year when European firms alone shipped away their reserved cocoa already in storage. Thus it was not without significance that the year 1939 was chosen as the basis of allocation, and that the rigid adherence to it has remained unchanged even under the White Paper* under examination.

(*b*) The Imperial Government derived two most important benefits from the whole arrangement. In the first place, it acquired much needed dollar exchange from the sale of cocoa to America. This sale is the basis of the £3,676,000 profit shewn in the White Paper. Secondly, it purchased a substantial stock of cocoa at very low prices, and used the profits realised therefrom in subsidising local necessary goods. In 1941, the Ministry of Food in Britain raised the price of cocoa in stock to the manufacturers from £25 to £35 per ton.

The peasants were made to believe that there was no available market for their cocoa, and that the Imperial Government was buying in order to destroy crops for which there was no use. This is a matter on the genuineness of which opinion is sharply divided.

In the year 1940, the Cocoa Board, on which were Mr. John Cadbury and Mr. E. R. Tansley (Marketing Director) replaced Government as the Controlling Agent. The Head of the Economic Department of the Colonial Office, and later representatives of Co-operative Societies and other European firms interested in cocoa were also included in the Board. Viewed on the background of 1938, the personnel is highly significant.

Now to turn to the White Paper itself. It is proposed that the

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* Cmd. 6554. H.M. Stationery Office ; Price 3d.

profit of £3,676,000 acquired by selling cocoa to the United States of America should be used for setting up organisations for the fixing of prices, and buying and selling cocoa.

It is to be observed that this so-called profit which is to be used in building up the proposed organisations is the property of the peasants, and yet they are accorded the least say in the manner of its disbursement. Again, instead of Government experts advising the farmers, according to the White Paper, it is the representatives of the farmers who, in the minority, are to advise Government Officials. It is important to note that Government Officials in this connection mean men like Mr. John Cadbury and staffs of other European firms.

The odious term " trusteeship " with the implications of which everyone is very familiar in the political sphere, has again reared its ugly head, but this time in the economic field. In the Gold Coast where the Co-operative Movement is practically non-existent, a promise of an ultimate majority in the Committee to be set up is made. On the other hand, to Nigeria where Co-operation has made some advance there is no promise of a majority in the composition of the Committee. There is no indication as to what will happen after the price has been fixed and the cocoa taken from the producers. Surely, if the profits which may be realised from the sale of cocoa are considered the lawful property of the farmers, the farmers are entitled to know that the profits will be returned to them.

The White Paper is remarkably silent about the position of the European firms. But, by implication, it may be assumed that the Government intend to continue employing them as Commissioned buyers to whom the old age pension of £2 1s. 2d. per ton of cocoa as well as the commission of 10/6 will be paid. It is suggested that the whole scheme is iniquitous ; and in order to put it into operation successfully, it is feared that the Government might have to resort to the most repressive measures.

If this control is to benefit all concerned perhaps it might be well to recognise the following principles :—

(1) That the sum of £3,676,000 belongs to the people, and should be placed at the disposal of their organisations.

(2) The farmers' organisations, for example, the West African Cocoa Farmers' Committee, of whose existence the Government is well aware, should be recognised instead of being stifled out, and ought to be used as the only representative machinery for the fixing of prices and of buying and marketing cocoa. The collection and transportation of cocoa should be handled by the various farmers' organisations to be financed from the profits realised from sales.

(3) A minimum price commensurate with prime cost of production and a little profit should be guarranteed the peasant producers. A reserve fund should also be created to even out price fluctuations.

(4) The crops belong to the farmers. They are the ones to be advised on collective and profitable marketing, and not reduced to a minority on an advisory committee

(5) Research is a matter for the Agricultural Department and Produce Inspection, financed out of the public revenue.

It cannot be too well emphasised that for any scheme to succeed the spontaneous support of the farmers is absolutely indispensable. The scheme proposed in the White Paper under review can only at the best result in unconscionable exploitation of the poor African peasants. The only parties to benefit will be the big European Combines and an army of salaried controllers.

In Freedom's Cause

By Bankole Akpata

MUCH publicity is given every day to the part that the people of the Dominions are playing in the gigantic struggle against fascism. One only reads occasionally of the part the Colonial peoples, especially Africans, are taking in the common struggle.

It is not within the scope of this article to give the reasons for this apparent silence on the part of the authorities concerned; it is a humble tribute to all West Africans who have fallen, and those who are still engaged on land, sea, and in the air, in the fight for Europe's freedom.

West African troops displayed excellent gallantry and soldierly qualities of the highest order during the East African and Abyssinian campaigns, which culminated in the liquidation of the Italian Empire. Private Maiei, a West African soldier, was among the Empire troops who took part in the invasion of Sicily. He lost both legs and arms and an eye. At present he has been fitted with artificial limbs.

As I write these lines, West African troops, who are described as the finest jungle fighters in the world, are engaging the Japanese in Burma. In the air, West Africans in the RAF are fighting as pilots, observers, navigators, bombardiers, wireless operators, air gunners and mechanics on the ground. Many of these young men have taken part in some of the heaviest raids delivered by the RAF on Germany. They go through the heat of enemy fire and fighter opposition; they endure the hardship that is encountered while flying in cold and merciless winter nights. I wonder how many of these gallant fighters' pictures have appeared in British papers or on the newsreels in the cinemas? Theirs is a silent and courageous task.

Sergeant-Airgunner Amissan has been reported missing from operations in the Mediterranean theatre of war, and is now believed killed. In the Merchant Navy West African seamen sail the seven seas, braving the fury of U-boats, and the perils of relentless nature—bad weather, cold, and cheerless waves. Their courage is beyond admiration. They man that vital instrument of the war effort of Great Britain, to which all other services are secondary. They must get through much-needed food supplies for the civilian population, raw materials for the manufacture of armaments and ammunitions, and carry the men who fight to the scattered world battle fronts. Many have lost their lives through torpedoes and bombs; others have survived and still carry on. In fact, Mr. Ojo Davies has been torpedoed more than six times, and is still carrying on.

Never in the history of the human race has so much been said and written about a new world order as many statesmen and politicians have during the past five years. To borrow the words of a famous liberal in the United States, Mr. Henry Wallace: " It is to be the Century of the Common Man the world over ". It has taken the blood bath of the present global war to make the torch-bearers of western civilisation realise that the century of the Common Man is overdue. Whether they like it or not, the changes that are taking place to-day in the four corners of the earth are inexorable. Their speed may be retarded, but go on they must in their appointed course.

Mr. Winston Churchill has made it abundantly clear on more than one occasion that Britain is fighting to restore freedom and self-government to the peoples of Europe who have been forcibly deprived of their liberty by

Nazi Germany. His statement has been amplified by the President of the United States and other leaders of the various émigré governments of the countries now under Hitler's domination.

The peoples of the different Colonial Empires of Europe, the largest being the British Empire, have rallied to the side of all those who are fighting to restore and preserve freedom and self-government in Europe.

It is not surprising that Africans should rally to the cause of freedom in this crucial hour of world history. That they know what it means to be ruled and dominated cannot be disputed; hence their enthusiasm to fight for the cause of justice and liberty so that they may also share and enjoy the fruits of democracy in all its abundance.

Book Reviews

AFRICAN INTELLIGENCE. By S. Biesheuvel. (South African Institute of Race Relations. Johannesburg. 1943. Pp. 225. 7s. 6d.)

African intelligence has often been discussed by some Europeans engaged in education in Africa and even more often by those who have nothing to do with African education. Some very dogmatic pronouncements have been made on the subject. The most notorious of these pronouncements is that made in 1939 by Dr. M. L. Fick in his book entitled *The Educability of the South African Native.* Dr. Fick, a psychologist on the staff of the Bureau for Education and Social Research, after examining the results of intelligence tests which he had given to a number of South African school children, concluded that " the available objective data point to a marked inferiority on the part of the native in comparison with Europeans ", and that " the observed inferiority is permanent and innate, and not due to preventable environmental influences ".

Dr. Biesheuvel, in this book, undertakes a critical examination of Dr. Fick's method of intelligence-testing, his data and the validity of his judgment. He discusses at length the nature of intelligence, the problems involved in the determination of intelligence, and the conditions that must be satisfied before any tests of intelligence can be accepted as valid.

After a very careful examination Dr. Biesheuvel concludes that Dr. Fick's judgment must be rejected for the following reasons: (1) the conditions under which the tests were administered were unsatisfactory: they were not such as enabled the children's intelligence to express itself freely; (2) the tests were not suitable; (3) the environmental factors that affect the development and expression of latent intelligence were not given due consideration; (4) there is no reason to assume that African intelligence is necessarily of the same quality as European intelligence and therefore susceptible to the same method of testing.

This book should be read by all who are interested in education, and special attention should be paid to the elaborate analysis of environmental factors that may affect intelligence. Moreover, the distinction between test-intelligence and intelligence as generally conceived should be noted. The former is the kind of intelligence revealed by the tests; the latter is the kind of intelligence which may elude tests.

Opinions of " experts " on African intelligence are various and contradictory and on the whole tend to cancel themselves out. It is alleged by some that the intelligence of African school children reaches its maximum development too early, at the age of about 14 as compared with that of

European children, which continues to develop till the age of 15 or 16 for the majority of children and till the age of 18 and over for superior persons. Others maintain that they see no difference between the intelligence of African and of European school children.

How much truth there is in what these " experts " say about African intelligence it is impossible to say. But the concept of *African* intelligence as spoken of by them seems highly questionable. Like other generalisations about Africans, it is based on the erroneous assumption that Africans are a homogeneous people.

C. A. EKERE.

THE FUTURE OF COLONIAL PEOPLES. By Lord Hailey. (Published by the Oxford University Press. London. 1944. Pp. 63. 3s. 6d.)

SOVIET LIGHT ON THE COLONIES. By Leonard Barnes. (Published as a Penguin Special. London. 1944. Pp. 228.)

These two booklets deserve attention for three reasons : (*a*) the reputation and experience of the writers in imperial affairs are interesting in themselves ; (*b*) the forms in which the booklets were presented to the public ; and (*c*) the ideas suggested by the writers are likely to have some bearing on post-war approach of Britain to her colonial empire.

In the first place, both Lord Hailey and Mr. Leonard Barnes have a high reputation in British colonial and imperial affairs. The former has had considerable practical experience in the Indian Civil Service, has served on many royal commissions of inquiry and, as a member of the Colonial Advisory Committee, his opinions have far-reaching effect on the policy and general attitude of the Colonial Office. Besides Lord Lugard, Lord Hailey is perhaps the most outstanding colonial theorist that Britain has produced in the present age.

Mr. Barnes has also had many years of experience as an official in the Colonial Office, where he helped in dealing with the affairs of Ceylon, Mauritius, St. Helena, the West Indies, the East African Dependencies, and the High Commission Territories in South Africa. He has lived in South and East Africa as a settler for a number of years, has investigated social conditions in those areas, and, before the war, he travelled extensively in the Soviet Union.

In the second place, Lord Hailey's *Future of Colonial Peoples*, as we have it now, was in fact a speech that the writer made before an American audience when he visited the United States in 1943. It was a speech intended for the education of American public opinion, which was then becoming increasingly critical of British performance in her colonial dependencies. Leonard Barnes, on the other hand, writes to inform his British public that if they wish to discharge their obligation to the colonial peoples then Britain may be well advised to draw a lesson from the record of Soviet achievement, in the former Tsarist colonies, during the past twenty-five years.

Both Lord Hailey and Mr. Barnes wrote in defence of the British cause : the former as a Conservative philosopher and the latter as a self-critical realist who has a predilection for Soviet institutions. In his own words, Mr. Barnes says that his booklet " seeks to defend the good name of Britain in the eyes of our allies. But it does so in an unorthodox fashion . . . by showing that a forward-looking school of thought exists among us, keenly aware of past shortcomings and eager for reconstruction at a higher level of human association."

Thirdly, the ideas advanced by the two writers may be taken to represent the prevailing attitude of Britain towards her colonial empire : Lord Hailey

declares before his American audience his sincere conviction " that the interest of the dependencies at large would be best served by making an experiment in the system of regional councils and commissions ". This is the official attitude of the British Government to-day.

Mr. Barnes agrees with Lord Hailey's statement that " there is to-day need for a much more radical programme of advance " in colonial territories. In his own opinion, however, the " radical programme of advance " may well be the application of Soviet methods in the interest of more efficient colonial administration. This represents the unofficial attitude of current British public opinion.

Exactly where the colonial peoples themselves fit into these two systems of ideas both Lord Hailey and Leonard Barnes have made abundantly clear. The aspirations of the colonial peoples and their ability to plan for their own future were never at all considered by Lord Hailey, whose sole concern is the preservation of imperialism at whatever cost. This point is quite significant. Leonard Barnes, on the other hand, as a progressive, visualises African " Soviets " in which Africans will play an immense part in the determination of their destiny.

An African who wants to inform himself on " the shape of things to come " in the colonies after the war cannot afford to underestimate the importance of these two booklets. We strongly advise their reading and that they should form a basis for more useful and constructive thinking by Africans and other colonial peoples themselves.

AKO ADJEI.

THE LION AND THE OIL-PALM, with a Prize Essay : THE CLASH OF CULTURES. By Dr. E. Udo Udoma. (Printed at the University Press. Dublin. 1943. Pp. 36. 1s.)

The title of this booklet is at once philosophical, enigmatic, and intriguing. The writer has the rare ability of keeping the reader in a state of suspended animation, as to the import of the title, until the latter has come to the end of the first part.

The booklet is divided into two parts. Part I, entitled *The Lion and the Oil-Palm*, was an inaugural address which the writer delivered as President of the University Philosophical Society, Dublin, during the academic year, 1942–43. Part II, *The Clash of Cultures*, is a prize essay presented and won in a competition at the same University.

In *The Lion and the Oil-Palm* Dr. Udoma examines the current theories of British colonial administration with the searching mind of a discerning critic. His criticism of British colonial policy is frank and relentless but also without bitterness. He points out where theory has been inconsistent with actual practice ; but he does this by respectfully inviting the living authorities to speak for themselves. This is the work and the attitude of a scholar.

For example, Sir Donald Cameron was reported to have said : " The aim of Indirect Rule is to graft our higher civilisation (meaning British) upon the soundly rooted native stock, stock that had its foundations in the minds and hearts and thoughts of the people (Africans) and therefore one on which we can build ". Dr. Meek also writes : " When Indirect Rule was introduced in Northern Nigeria, the British Government found in existence a highly advanced system of government, with numerous provinces, each administered by a native governor with his own council, executive, army, police, treasury, and judiciary ".

On the other hand, another British writer of authority says *inter alia*, ". . . we have lately come to value our representative democracy . . and Africa is not a ready soil for democracy ".

Such is the kind of inconsistencies that Dr. Udoma is interested in pointing out and his conclusions are drawn from the writings of a large number of authorities whose theories he set out to examine.

However, Dr. Udoma believes that the British Lion has twisted its old tail so tightly around the oil-palm tree of West Africa that the two " are from henceforth inseparable ". Separation of West Africa from Britain is " not only undesirable, it is unthinkable ". The colonial peoples are entitled " to take their place as equals within the British Commonwealth of Nations ".

The second part of the booklet is a sociological treatise. *The Clash of Cultures* attempts to explain the nature and trend of social change in its world setting. It is an excellent piece of scholarship.

African art is going through a period of transformation as a result of the influx of new ideas, principles, and standards. Dr. Udoma regrets the trend of this change and is even pessimistic of the future. But that is the very essence of social change. What is going on in Africa to-day is that a new civilisation is developing: a civilisation that may as well be termed a *tertium quid*.

To anybody who wants to know what Africans themselves feel and think and say about their present status in international affairs, or about their traditional cultures, perhaps there is not a more concise work. The booklet is written in a fluent language and affords an interesting reading.

AKO ADJEI

National Scholarships in West Africa

IT is a pleasing sign of the times that more and more students from West Africa are being offered Scholarships by the West African Governments to study social science and linguistics in England. Scholarships on a more generous scale than are being offered to-day have been long overdue.

Most of the present holders are good chaps, and some of them are very keen. We would nevertheless, criticise the present methods of awards on the ground that even the Scholars themselves, the Government and most West Africans would agree with us that nothing but the best can secure for West Africa the political, economic and cultural stability which ought to result from such liberal expenditure of public revenue.

It is our considered view and recommendation that future Scholarships should be awarded on the merit of competitive public examinations, conducted by competent Board of Examiners, the majority of whose members should be Africans. There is a large army of brainy young people in West Africa. It is a foolish mistake to think that all the brains of West Africa are to be found within the four walls of Government Offices.

If the Governments, which rightly or wrongly claim to be trustees for the taxpayers of West Africa, intend to lay a solid foundation for a happy and stable West Africa of the future, it is of the utmost importance that the right material must be used from the very start.

We sincerely hope that these printed words will catch the eye of the Colonial Secretary and all in authority in West Africa, and that steps will be taken to correct this somewhat glaring defect in an otherwise excellent scheme.

The WASU Study Group: Report

IN his annual report to the General Meeting last year, the former Leader of the Study Group remarked that the best study that any student could pursue was the study of his own country. That was a significant remark, and, in that statement, the out-going Leader expressed succinctly the broad principles that underlie all activities of the Study Group.

However, for the benefit of any of our readers who do not know what we mean by the Study Group and why it exists, I may state that it is one of the functional organisations within the West African Students' Union. The Social Committee is another. The Group exists for the purpose of studying the manifold problems that confront the peoples of Africa in their relations with the outside world. The aim is to approach such problems with as much scientific objectivity as it is practicable for a scholar, or any group of scholars, to attain. We believe that a clear knowledge of the facts involved in any given situation are an essential prerequisite to useful and constructive thinking.

To achieve this purpose, the Study Group plans discussions, lectures, debates, and informal meetings. It also conducts researches on different topics, and enquires into problems that at any time may be engaging the attention of WASU. It is only when the facts in any particular matter have been carefully ascertained that a method of solution is suggested.

The Group meets fortnightly at the WASU Hostel in Camden Square and admission is open to members and their friends, but all people who are interested in African affairs are also welcome.

Since WASU legitimately claims to represent the peoples of West Africa, we do our best to be in constant touch with local opinion. Here, the Study Group plays an important part. Through newspapers, periodicals, and other correspondence from the various countries in West Africa, we get to know the trend of thought and attitude of the African peoples on any current question that affects their national well-being. Our method of approach to African affairs is quite significant, especially since people who are not well informed of the confidence that WASU enjoys in West Africa are likely to be tempted to make light of our pronouncements and resolutions.

Since the beginning of the current academic year, the following is a summary account of the activities of the Study Group:

The term opened with an address by the new Study Group Leader, Mr. Ako Adjei, M.Sc. (Columbia), who is now a Student of Law of the Inner Temple. His subject was: "A Survey of African Literature". At a subsequent meeting, Mr. H. Oladipo Davies, B.Com. (London), led a discussion on the subject: "Post-War Marketing of West African Cocoa: A Policy of Control by Government". This was a study of the White Paper published by the Imperial Government of Britain (Cmd. 6554 of 1944), stating a policy of government control of the marketing of West African cocoa (and eventually other produce) after the war. Mr. Davies is the Acting Secretary-General and Warden of WASU and a Student of Law of the Middle Temple. The paper he read has been published elsewhere in this magazine.

The subject of higher education was also discussed by the Study Group during the past term. This took the form of a debate on the subject: "Resolved: That the Proposed West African University be located in Sierra Leone". The following were the participants: Mr. J. E. Appiah, Student of Law of the Middle Temple, and Rev. E. A. Odusanwo, Student of Education at Oak Hill College; Leader and Seconder of the Proposition,

respectively ; and Mr. M. C. Peterside, Student of Medicine of King's College, London ; and Mr. W. Beoku Betts, Student of Law of the Middle Temple, Leader and Seconder of the Opposition, respectively. The Rev. Ransome Kuti, M.A., Principal of the Abeokuta Grammar School, Nigeria, and Member of the Royal Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, was chairman. No decision was taken on the subject.

The first of a series of lectures on the political history of West Africa was delivered by Mr. N. O. A. Morgan, Student of Law of the Middle Temple, and former Manager of *The Nigerian Daily Service*. His subject was : " The Political History of Nigeria ". The Study Group was fortunate in having as a visitor Dr. Edwin W. Smith, former President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and author of many books on Africa, including *Aggrey of Africa* and *The Golden Stool*. Dr. Smith had an informal talk with the members and friends who were present.

Dr. E. Udo Udoma, B.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Student of Law of Gray's Inn, delivered the last lecture of the term. His subject was : " Law and Administration in West Africa : A Critique of Modern Colonial Theories and Practices ". Dr. Udoma obtained the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Dublin, Ireland, in the autumn of last year and wrote his doctoral dissertation in the field of law and public administration. He is also Vice-President of WASU and author of *The Lion and the Oil-Palm*.

The second term opened with an address by Mr. T. Abiodun Bankole, President of the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria, who arrived recently as Nigerian representative to the Trade Union World Conference to be held in London next month.

Mr. Bankole remarked that he was surprised to find that many of the people he had met since he arrived in London knew little or nothing of Nigeria. He then went on to inform the members of the problems of the average worker in Nigeria and also the history of the trade unions. There were about 500,000 organised workers in Nigeria, he said, and the Trade Union Congress which was founded in 1942 now had 85 constituent member-unions. Mr. Bankole observed that trade unionism had a great future in Nigeria and in West Africa as a whole.

Speaking of the Trade Union World Conference that he had come to England to attend, Mr. Bankole said, " I hope to get something concrete out of this conference—a concrete proof of the good intentions of the British people to the people of Nigeria. If I failed to get a concrete proof, then I should regard the conference as a failure, and I would curse the day on which I left Nigeria and embarked on such a fruitless venture ".

To-day many problems confront the peoples of West Africa as never before in our history. African young men and women are beginning to address themselves seriously to an understanding of the nature and extent of these problems with a view to finding means for their solution. The members of WASU have committed themselves to the scholarly ideal of ever searching for the truth in any given situation. We shall never desist from our noble purpose. Participation in the activities of the Study Group is an important part of the liberal education that an African student receives in Britain.

AKO ADJEI,
Study Group Leader.

MARY SLESSOR

(1848—1914)

This is one of a series of biographical notes produced by The United Africa Company Limited to call attention to the valuable work of some interesting personalities who have done their utmost to help the West African peoples.

What was the secret of this Scottish woman who, before she was thirty, was spreading a new conception of motherhood in districts about Calabar, fighting and checking taboos and customs as strict as anything the world has known, and so continuing for nearly forty years until the tired heart, unlike the conquering spirit, ceased ?

Mary Slessor was born in 1848 and died in her beloved Nigeria in the first year of the Four Years' War. Largely a feminine counterpart of Livingstone in her Scottish parentage, poor in money, rich in charity, a factory worker, reading while working, consumed with missionary zeal, yet from incredibly meagre resources making provision for needy relatives; friend of honourable commerce, finally, like Livingstone, reaching the sixth but not completing the seventh decade.

What led races embedded in age-old conservatism to accept her teaching, traders and local Government—to their eternal credit—to give her unwavering support ?

Part of the answer is sacred as the soul's secrets; part, resistless energy, good humour and common sense.

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3 April 1945

My dear Mr. Solanke:

As I have told you before the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the League of Coloured Peoples in London are interested in calling a Pan African Congress after the war. Recently George Padmore has written of a meeting in London which proposed a similar congress. I have written him asking for details especially as to the auspices under whom this meeting was held. I suppose it was chiefly promoted by the colored delegates to the Labor Conference.

20-19-54

I am writing you again on the subject to ask for information and also to enlist the cooperation of WASU. in this proposed congress. I think it would be most unfortunate if we let Smuts and the South Africans steal our name. I do not think that at present we can fix an exact date for our Congress but I am sure that a date could be set at say "six months after the close of the present war".

May I hear from you with information and suggestions?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. L. Solanke
Secretary-General and Warden
WASU
WASU House
1 South Villas, Camden Square
London, N. W. 1, England

11 April 1945

My dear Mr. Solanke:

I am rushing another letter to you despite the fact that you have hardly had time to answer my last letter. Since writing I have been in receipt of direct communication from the colored labor leaders who met in Manchester in February. I have also talked with the executive head of the International Labor Office with headquarters in Montreal.

40-80-2

I took up yesterday with the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People the matter of the Pan African Congress. From all these sources I am persuaded that we ought to call a Pan African Congress in Paris in September. The world labor organization is going to meet there in September and the International Labor Office. The Pan African Congress should, of course, have no organic connection with these organizations but if we met at or near the same time we would have a chance to have direct representation from Africa and the Caribbean which would be impossible under other circumstances.

Moreover, I think you will be convinced on reflection that the intellectual leaders of the Negro throughout the world must in the future make close alliance and work in cooperation with the leaders of labor. If Europe has consented more and more to cooperate with organized labor, Africa cannot neglect this necessary extension of democracy. Our problems of race are not simply philanthropic; they are primarily economic and political: the problem of earning a living among the poorest people in the world, the problem of education, of health and of political autonomy, either within or without the empires. Here in the United States we have achieved cooperation between the intelligentsia and labor. For a long time the university men fought against this and the labor leaders, on the other hand, distrusted higher education. We see now that only in union can progress be made.

I trust, therefore, your organization, WASU, the Coloured League of London and the London Missionary Society will be willing to join with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a call for a Fifth Pan African Congress to be held in Paris in September.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is prepared to assume a considerable proportion of the expense and a committee on that subject will come to definite conclusions within a few days.

Another reason which compels me to hurry and make definite the call for this meeting is the threat of Jans Smut to call a Pan African Congress which virtually would be confined to the whites of South Africa, Tanganyika and Kenya. I want to forestall any use of this name in a movement which would disfranchize the great mass of Africans and their descendents.

Will you let me hear from you at your earliest convenience and give me frankly your reaction to points made in this letter?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Ladipo Solanke
Secretary-General and Warden, WASU
WASU House, 1 South Villas, Camden Square
London, N. W. 1
England

The West African Students' Union,
1, South Villas, Camden Square,
London, N.W.1.
24th July, 1945.

Dr. W.E.B.Du Bois,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
69, Fifth Avenue,
New York City, New York.

21-6-80

My dear Dr. Du Bois :

Re : Pan-African Congress

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters dated the 3rd and the 11th of April, 1945, respectively, and to inform you that the Executive Committee of the West African Students' Union have given careful consideration to the several points which you raised.

2. We have been unable to forward our observations to you at an earlier date, since the proposition you have made regarding a Pan-African Congress is an important matter and demands the most serious and comprehensive deliberation that we can give to any question affecting the future of Africa and the welfare of peoples of African descent throughout the world. The views we express represent the approach of West African students here in Great Britain and Ireland to the proposition that you have put before us. We have no doubt that your good friend, Mr. Solanke, our Secretary-General and Warden, who is out at present on a short mission in West Africa on behalf of our Union, shares our views. However, in an important matter like this, we consider that full consultation with responsible political leaders and organisations, as well as with the intelligentsia, in the respective African States is essential if the proper objectives of the proposed Congress are to be achieved. We believe that the suggestion will be welcomed by all sections of progressive and enlightened opinion in our common Mother-Continent and have no doubt that your Association is already in direct touch with African opinion at home. Therefore, in the circumstance, since as students we have no pretentions to such African representation as we consider necessary in this important matter of far-raching consequences, at present we can only say that our Union would be willing to participate in the Congress when once we have been able to ascertain the views of responsible men of affairs in Africa on this useful proposition.

(more)

3. The idea of a Congress of African nationals and all peoples of African descent throughout the world is both useful and timely. Perhaps it is even long over due. But we observe that four of such Pan-African Congresses had been held in the past, all within recent memory, and that the one at present under discussion will be the fifth. It is unfortunate that all these important conferences should have been held outside Africa but in European capitals. This point is significant and should deserve our careful attention.

16

4. We notice also that you would want our Pan-African Congress to be held in ample time to forestall the Pan-African Conference which General Smuts is planning to convene in the near future. As you indicated, he will certainly invite the small but influential European minorities in East Africa to represent the governments of their resepctive States. The Africans will be left in the pan as usual. The aim of the Smuts Conference will be to achieve a greater measure of political solidarity and a more effective cooperation in other shperes between the States concerned. This appears to us to be an important reason why it is all the more necessary that this time our fifth Congress should not be held in Europe, as you have already suggested. Perhaps one of the countries in Africa would be the best place where we should meet. Our Executive Committee are certainly not in favour of this or any future Pan-African Congress being held anywhere in Europe. We do rather suggest the Republic of Liberia as perhaps an ideal choice. All considerations seem to make that country the most favourable place for our Fifth Pan-African Congress. And, especially, at a time like this when Liberia is planning to celebrate the centenary of the founding of the Republic two years hence, the holding of our Congress there seems most desirable. We have good reason to believe that the Government of Liberia would welcome this idea and would give us the encouragement and diplomatic assistance that might be necessary to ensure success. Moreover, it will be possible to have a wider and more effective representation of different sections of progressive African opinion when the Congress is held in Liberia than would be possible in France nor anywhere else in Europe. It is also likely that we might not succeed in frustrating the ends of General Smuts' proposed African Conference if we held our Congress in Europe.

21-6-81

17

(more)

5. It appears from our suggestion that there is urgent need for reconsidering the principles on which any future Pan-African Congresses are to be held. We favour the view that, in the present as well as in the future, independent States in Africa and in the Caribbean area be approached with the idea with a view to asking the governments of those States to lend a larger measure of support as conveners. Representatives of African States and territories in the West Indies that have not yet attained their national independence and international recognition, as well as representatives of the major national organisations of our Negro brethren in the United States and Canada, will be invited by the "League of Independent Black Nations" to share in the burden of planning and to participate fully and actively in the deliberations of the Conference, with due regard to their present status in international affairs. The application of this principle would mean that the governments of the Republic of Liberia, the Republic of Haiti, and the Kingdom of Ethiopia will have to be called upon to assist in the present instance.

21-6-82

6. This, in our opinion, seems to be the most realistic approach to the matter under discussion that we are able to suggest. The problems of black peoples throughout the world are in the main a question of politics. And our experience in the four previous Pan-African Congresses, guided by the trend of current international affairs, leads us to believe that closer collaboration with the independent black Nations, as well as with the representatives of the countries and peoples not yet free, is necessary in all our long-distance planning in the future.

7. It is clear from our observations that our Executive Committee would favour postponement of the proposed date of the Congress from September this year to a date nearer to the national centenary celebrations in Liberia in 1947, assuming that the Congress would meet in that country instead of France. We could well imagine the great amount of ground work and other diplomatic arrangement that our proposals would entail. But we have no doubt that your Association is placed in an advantageous position to undertake the task.

(more)

8. Besides information and particulars that you may have already on your files, we have pleasure in forwarding the addresses of the following political, labour, and other national progressive organisations in West Africa which might be interested in a Pan-Africa Congress along the lines you have proposed :

I. NIGERIA :

The Secretary-General,
The Nigerian Youth Movement,
Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa.

The Secretary-General,
The Trades Union Congress of Nigeria,
Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa.

Mr.Nnamdi Azikiwe,
Secretary-General,
The National Council of Nigeria,
Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa.

His Highness,
The Alake of Abeokuta,
Abeokuta, Nigeria, West Africa.

21-6-83

The Secretary-General,
The Nigerian Teachers' Union,
Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa.

II. GOLD COAST :

Dr. J.B.Danquah,
Secretary-General,
The Gold Coast Youth Conference,
Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa.

The Secretary,
The Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs,
Dodowa, Gold Coast, West Africa.

Mr.Joseph Annan,
Secretary-General,
Trades Union Congress,
Sekondi, Gold Coast, W.Africa.

The Secretary,
Ashanti Confederacy Council,
Kumasi, Ashanti, Gold Coast, West Africa.

The Secretary-General,
Gold Coast Teachers' Union,
Accra, Gold Coast, W.Africa.

III. SIERRA LEONE :

Mr.Wallace Johnson,
Secretary-General,
Sierra Leone Youth League,
Freetown, Sierra Leone, W.A.

The Secretary-General,
Trades Union Congress,
Freetown, Sierra Leone, W.A.

Secretary-General, The Sierra Leone Teachers' Union,
Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.

IV. GAMBIA :

The Secretary-General, Trades Union Congress, Bathurst, Gambia.

9. We should be pleased to hear from you again on this matter and our Union would do their best to cooperate with your Association in any measure for which we are capable.

I am,

Very truly yours,

Acting Secretary-General.

21-6-12

September 14, 1945

The Acting Secretary General
West African Students Union
1 South Villas
Camden Square
London, N.W. 1

Gentlemen:

I have your kind letter of July 24, 1945. In reply, I beg to say that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has asked me to attend the projected Pan African Congress which is called to meet October 15th to 21st in London.

The Association, however, definitely agrees with you in regarding this meeting as preliminary to a real Pan African Congress of delegates to take place in 1946 or 1947 and my credentials authorize my affiliation with the movement only on condition that such a Congress is called and arranged for. In that case, this organization will be glad to be affiliated and prepared to give some financial support.

You probably know that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has some 400,000 paid members and is the largest organization of its kind working among the 13 or 14 million Americans of Negro descent. We have been a little hesitant in cooperating with the present movement because, as you know, the committee has gone ahead without very much consultation with us and consequently, we do not feel that we are among the sponsoring bodies. At the same time, difficulties of time and space were great and we realize that it was not possible to have as much consultation and arrangement as would have been desirable. The main object is, of course, to unite persons of African descent for the freedom and autonomy of the peoples of Africa and if this meeting proves to be a step in that direction, we are only too eager to take part.

I may find some difficulties in getting transportation to England and in getting a British visa. I am writing Mr. Creech-Jones and Mr. Laski both with whom I am acquainted to ask their good office. Anything that your organization can do to help will be appreciated. Also, I shall want good hotel accomodations, comfortable even if costly. I shall be glad to have your recommendation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

UNiversity 4-2800

[1945?]

20-4-28

H. P. OSBORNE

FIELD AUDITOR

Life Ins. Co.

UNITED MUTUAL ~~BENEFIT ASS'N.~~

360 WEST 125th STREET NEW YORK CITY

W. A. DOMINGO
HONORARY PRESIDENT

West Indies National Council

114 WEST 131ST STREET
NEW YORK CITY

EDGECOMBE 4-2464

DR. C. A. PETIONI
CHAIRMAN

H. P. OSBORNE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 6
1 9 4 5.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I hasten to thank you for your communication of recent date dealing with a proposal for a conference on the colonial question as well as for your invitation to participate in it.

It is my understanding that you do not intend to limit the scope of the conference to Africa and the West Indies. If you do not intend this I feel certain that the West Indies National Council of which Dr. Charles A. Petioni is the Chairman, could offer much aid since a series of discussions growing out of a conference of representatives of colonial organizations in this city were held under the auspices of the Council in January of 1944.

I think that your plan is a practical one with technical organizational aspects, but very timely.

I am certain that the West Indies National Council would lend every support in the planning of the conference.

Sincerely yours,

H. P. Osborne

H. P. OSBORNE

22-4-25

7 March 1945

20-4-26

My dear Mr. Osborne:

I am enclosing a proposed invitation for our Colonial Conference and the statement of the kind of reports we are seeking. We should like representatives from each of the West Indian colonies; Could you send us a list of persons whom you think would cooperate with us best? I should be glad to have you consult with Mr. Petioni.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. H. P. Osborne
West Indies National Council
114 West 131st Street
New York City

8 March 1945

20-4-27

Dear Mr. Osborne:

Continuing my letter of yesterday, we need for the Conference native representatives from the following West India Islands and South America: Bermuda, Guiana, Honduras, Bahamas, Barbados, Jamaica, Leward Islands, Trinidad, Granada, St. Vincent and St. Lucia. Will you help us secure them?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. H. P. Osborne
West Indies National Council
114 West 131st Street
New York City

[WEST INDIES NATIONAL COUNCIL]

HERMAN P. OSBORNE
2007 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY
UNIVERSITY 4-8528 2800

March 14
1 9 4 5.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Herewith please find the information you are seeking from me and I would suggest that you do not hesitate to call on me whenever you find it necessary to do so.

I also take this opportunity to acknowledge your invitation to the Conference.

From British Guiana, in South America, I can suggest the following persons:-

Att'y. Joseph C. Morris
209 west 125 Street, N. Y. C

Mr. Cecil Holmes, Secretary
United Mutual Life Ins, Co
360 west 125 Street, N. Y. C

Eustace H. Bruyning, M.D.
253 west 128 Street, N. Y. C

Godfrey Nurse, M. D.
180 west 135 Street, N. Y. C

From Jamaica: Adolph W. Roberts
c/o Rovere
68 Montague Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Samuel Patterson
143 west 125 Street, N.Y.C

20-4-28

Jamaica:continued-- A. M.Wendell Malliet
209 west 125 Street, N. Y. C

Rev. Ethelred Brown
2298 Seventh Avenue, N. Y. C
c/o Jamaica Progressive League

Lucien Brown, M.D.
2460 Seventh Avenue, N. Y. C

From Trinidad: Dr. Cahrles A. Petioni, M.D.
114 west 131 Street, N. Y. C

Dr. Walter Merrick, M.D.
1845 Seventh Avenue, N. Y. C

Mr. Eric Williams, Professor
at Howard University Dep't of
Social Science
Washington, D. C.

Cyril Ollivieree, M.D.
225 west 146 Street, N. Y. C

S. A. Sidat-Singh, M.D.
211 west 135 Street, N. Y. C

From Barbados: Richard B. Moore
143 west 125 Street, N. Y. C

Mabel K. Staupers
1790 Broadway, N. Y. C

Reginal Pierrepointe
2 East 129 Street, N. Y. C

Rev. E. E. Durant
228 west 131 Street, N. Y. C

W. Herbert Seale
562 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C

20-4-29

20-4-30

From Antigua: A. A. Austin
209 west 125 Street, N. Y. C

WHO THE FOLLOWING ARE ORGANIZATION PEOPLE WHO ARE CLOSE TO WHAT IS GOING ON:-

Mutual Society of French Colonials:-

Alfred Gumps
401 west 149 Street, N. Y. C

Geo H. W. Dudley-Counsellor-at-Law
209 west 125 Street, N. Y. C

St. Lucia United Ass'n:

Fred Cadet
115 west 45 Street, N. Y. C

St. Vincent Ben:Ass'n:

Carlile Lewis
230 west 111 Street, N. Y. C

St.Vincent Ben:Soc:

Patrick McMorris
582 St. Nicholas Avenue, N. Y. C

Sons & Daughters of Barbados:

Miss. Irene Harewood
683 Lenox Avenue, N. Y. C

Trinidad Ben:Ass'n:

Mrs. Daisy Gray--60 St.Nicholas Ave

20-4-31

Trinidad:Again (Cyril Philips
(2349-8th.Avenue, N. Y. C

Dr. Arnold B. Donawa
2384 Seventh Avenue, N. Y. C

Montserat Ben:Soc:

Mrs. Helena Benta
157 west 132 Street, N. Y. C

St. Vincent-again

Donald Crichton-Att'y
240 Broadway, N. Y. C

St. Kitts:

Att'y Hope R. Stevens
209 west 125 Street, N. Y. C

Nevis:

Att'y Thomas B. Dyer
277 Broadway, N. Y. C

Leeward Islands: Charles A. Collins
308 Lenox Avenue, N. Y. C

HON: Hulan Jack
45 west 110 Street, N. Y. C

British Virgin Islands:

Miss. Albena George
1 East 130 Street, N. Y. C

Dominica Ben:Soc:
Mr. A. Richards
101 west 140 Street, N. Y. C

20-4-32

Bermuda Ben:Soc:
Miss. D. Teagell
102 west 119 Street, N.Y.C
& Mrs Chittick,Dolorme
48 west 119 Street, N.Y.C

British Guiana Ben:Ass'n:
Donald Yearwood
241 west 123 Street,N.Y.C

American Virgin Is.Ben:Soc:
George DeGraff
483 Lenox Avenue,N.Y.C

Antillean League of N.Y.:
Miss. Ada Mench
30 west 129 Street,N.Y.C

Grenada Ben:Soc:
Mrs. Ena StLouis
2041 - 5th.Avenue, N.Y.C

Antillean Society:
J.R.Hazell
44 west 136 Street, N.Y.C

Bermuda Ben:Ass'n:
Mrs. Lucretia Scott
406 west 146 Street,N.Y.C

N. P. Thorne

21 March 1945

My dear Mr. Osborne:

I thank you for your letter of March 14, but you have suggested so many names that it is difficult for me to select the proper persons. We do not want a large attendance at this Conference nor long speeches. We want a few carefully documented concise reports from people who know present conditions.

Can you not then suggest from British Guiana, Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbadoes and Antigua and one each from the smaller islands, one person who is well-qualified to give the report and who has either been a recent resident or is exceptionally well-informed. For instance Dr. Nurse is a distinguished son of British Guiana but he has not lived there for twenty or thirty years. On the other hand, Mr. Eric Williams I should certainly want to invite as representing Trinidad as he is a distinguished student.

May I then trouble you again to help me?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. H. P. Osborne
West Indies National Council
114 West 131st Street
New York City

27 March 1945

My dear Mr. Petioni:

I would be very glad if you and Mr. Osborne will cooperate in a report on the West Indies island for our Colonial Conference April sixth. I am writing to Mr. Osborne.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Charles A. Petioni
West Indies National Council
114 West 131st Street
New York City, N. Y.

20-4-127

27 March 1945

My dear Mr. Osborne:

I would be very glad if you and Mr. Petioni will cooperate in a report on the West Indies island for our Colonial Conference April sixth. I am writing to Mr. Petioni.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. H. P. Osborne
West Indies National Council
114 West 131st Street
New York City

April 14 1945

20-4-138

1. Colonialism must go for the reason that it has caused poverty, illiteracy and disease which affect not only the colonies but also the world and threaten world peace.

2. There should be an international body established to oversee the transition of peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as colonial peoples themselves may desire.

3. That on such an international body the colonial peoples themselves shall have effective representation.

4. That the primary object of this international body shall be to improve the economic and social condition of the colonial peoples.

The West Indies National Council is not in favor items 3 + 4. They object to any degree of control or direction by any kind of International Body.

114 W 131 St

This is to be emphasized in any report made of the conference.

April 14, 1945

[WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE]

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

INSTITUTE, W. VA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

6 February 1945

JOHN W. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

20-14-33

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Dr. Fred J. Kelly, Chief Division of Higher Education, United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C., and/or Dr. Ambrose Caliver of this same office will be able to supply you with the history of the steps which led to the creation of the Colored Auxiliary Body which reports the accreditation of colleges for Negroes to the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

I am delighted that you are in excellent health. I hope to see you when I am again in New York City.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

4178-A

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At Seattle Washington

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By J T Lynch

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

4178-A

[WESTERN UNION]

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Received from WEB Du Bois $1 29

One + 29/100 Dollars in payment of:

☐ Account for the month of _____ 19

☐ Telegraphic Money Order

☐ Telegram or Cable

☐ Deposit on Collect Telegram
Returnable after 24 hours

☐ Account No. _____
For Remittance

To Mrs Ethel R. Nance

At Seattle Washington

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

MONEY ORDER CHARGES PAID $ _____

By J T Lynch

20 March 1945

20-15-32

My dear Mrs. White:

I was out of town when your husband died and did not hear of it until this morning. I hasten to send on behalf of myself and Mrs. Du Bois our deepest condolence in your great loss. I remember George White as one of my most interesting students in my early days at Atlanta University.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. George White
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

5008 Vincennes
Chicago 15, Ill.
March 2, 1945

Dear Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Will you send me two of your picture
one for me and my teacher I would
be very delighted if you would send
me one of your picture and a skat
of your life please.

20-19-46

My name is
Helen White
5008 Vincennes ave
Chicago 15, Illinois

13 March 1945

20-19-47

My dear Miss White:

I am enclosing a picture. You will find my biography in Dusk of Dawn published by Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Helen White
5008 Vincennes Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

DAVIS-WHITE-DRAKE
INCORPORATED
2578 EAST 55th STREET
CLEVELAND 4, OHIO

January 17, 1945

Request for information

21-6-03

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dubois:

It has occurred to me that a Book of the Month Club, having as its chief objective increased reading of books by Negro authors, as well as books about Negroes by other authors should be successful. It seems to me that such a project would not only increase the sales of books already thus written, but that it also would encourage new writers about Negroes.

I wish you would write me and tell me frankly what your opinion is regarding this proposal. I will appreciate having any suggestion or ideas you may have bearing on the makeup of such a club.

If you and others to whom I have written think well of the idea, it is very likely that I shall attempt to promote a Book of the Month Club that will make it more profitable for authors to write about our own people.

Very truly yours,

Luther R. White

Luther R. White

OUR NEW ADDRESS
508 NINTH-CHESTER BLDG.
CLEVELAND, 14, OHIO

23 Janua ry 1945

21-9-94

My dear Sir:

Mr. James W. Johnson and myself together with the editors of Viking Press and representatives of the Book of the Month Club went pretty thoroughly into the matter of a Negro Book of the Month Club some twenty years ago. Our conclusion then was that there did not seem to be the prospect of collecting enough revenue to operate such a group successfully.

How far in the last two decades this condition has changed, I am not sure. The circulation of Negro weekly newspapers has greatly increased. With that Negroes buy more books but still not very many. My own books have been sold to Negroes in very small numbers.

I have several times lately explored the matter of doing something in an organized way to induce a larger sale of books and encourage Negro authors. One individual was willing to furnish some money to this end but nothing was actually done. There is, as you know, a national committee to reward good newspaper writing. They might be induced to expand their purpose. The National Baptist Publishing Company was very eager a few years ago to help in some such project. What the project needs to succeed is careful organization and sufficient contributed funds and then a very thoughtfully arranged campaign with an intelligently guided editorial policy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Luther R. White
508 Ninth-Chester Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

[Who's Who]

28628 NOV-5'45

FROM WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA. - 1944-1945 Edition.

DU BOIS, William Edward Burghardt, Editor and author, born Great Barrington, Mass. Feb. 23rd 1868, of Negro descent; Son, Alfred and Mary (Burghardt) Du Bois. Educated B.A. Fisk University 1888; B.A. Harvard 1890; M.A. Harvard 1891; Ph.D. Harvard 1895; LL.D. Atlanta University 1938; LL.D. Harvard University 1930; Litt.D. (Fisk) 1938, L.H.D. Wilberforce University 1940; Post Graduate Studies University of Berlin; M. Nina Gomer, May 12th 1896; children - Burghardt Gomer (dec) Nina Yolande. Professor Economics & History at Atlanta University, 1896-1910; Director Publications, National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, Editor "The Crisis Magazine" 1910-1932; Head Department of Sociology, Atlanta University since 1932; Editor of Atlanta University Studies 1897-1911; Fellow American Association for the Advancement of Science; Founder of the Pan-African Congress.

40-88-9

Author:- "The Suppression of the Slave Trade" 1896; "The Philadelphia Negro" 1899; "The Souls of Black Folk" 1903; "John Brown" 1909; "Quest of Silver Fleece" 1911; "The Negro" 1915; "Dark Waters" 1920; "The Gift of Black Folk" 1924; "Dark Princess" 1928; "Black Reconstruction" 1935; "Black Folk - Then & Now" 1939; "Dusk to Dawn" 1940; "Color & Democracy" 1945.

[WIESCHHIFF]

7 March 1945

20-4-62

My dear Mr. Wieschhoff:

Enclosed is an invitation for our Colonial Conference and a statement of the kind of reports which we are expecting. I wish very much that you could attend this conference and would be glad to know if you can.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. H. A. Wieschhoff
Committee on African Studies
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia

[WIESCHHOFF]

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA
4

Committee on African Studies

March 9, 1945

20-4-63

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:-

I am very glad to have an invitation to attend the Colonial Conference on April 6th. I shall try my best to attend, since no doubt it is very opportune to take such action in view of the forthcoming international event which we all hope will deal with the colonial question.

Very sincerely yours

H. A. Wieschhoff

H. A. Wieschhoff

TELEPHONE: MONUMENT 2-5110
The People's VOICE
210 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK
ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR. . . . Editor-in-Chief

FEBRUARY
14th 1
9
4
5

20-4-112

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Pardon my failure to reply earlier to your letter of January 8th.

The proposed conference on colonies strikes me as being highly desirable and timely. I hope it goes through and that, in addition to colonial representatives, you will invite appropriate officials from our own State Department.

Very truly yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

Doxey A. Wilkerson
Executive Editor

D
A
WILKERSON
M
L

TELEPHONE: MONUMENT 2-5110
The People's VOICE
210 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK
ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR. . . . Editor-in-Chief

20-4-113

FEBRUARY
27th 1
9
4
5

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thanks for your invitation to the Colonial Conference planning committee meeting on March 3rd. Saturday morning is a difficult time for me to get away from the office, but I shall try to be there.

Very truly yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson per m L.
Doxey A. Wilkerson
Executive Editor

D
A
WILKERSON
M
L

Chancellor Williams
5000 Sheriff Road, Northeast
Washington 19, D. C.

April 12, 1945

20-19-6

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

The enclosed article is to be published in booklet form. Because it has the sole aim of improving race relations in the United States, I am asking for your criticism in advance of publication.

Your judgement will be used as a guide in modifying or revising the work before it is published. This means that the author is more interested in finding the soundest views on the question than he is in presenting his own opinions. It seems to me that those of us who really wish to serve our generation should proceed with certain questions in some such manner before "breaking into print".

As there is a publisher's deadline to be met, your early reply will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Chancellor Williams

Chancellor Williams

23 April 1945

20-19-8

My dear Sir:

Your letter and manuscript addressed to Dr. Du Bois at Atlanta University has just arrived in New York. Dr. Du Bois, as one of the consultants to the American Delegation, is now on his way to San Francisco. The date of his return to New York is unknown. Since you say in your letter that a "deadline must be met" will you please inform me whether to retain the manuscript until his return or shall I return it to you.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Mr. Chancellor Williams
5000 Sheriff Road Northeast
Washington 19, D. C.

31 August 1945

20-19-9

My dear Mr. Williams:

I regret to say that I have not had a chance to look over this manuscript and I am afraid I shall not have in the near future. I am, therefore, returning it to you with sincere regret.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Chancellor Williams
5000 Sheriff Road Northeast
Washington 19, D. C.

[WILLIAMS] 2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14 Maryland
February 18th, 1945

20-5-25

Dear Grandpa,

On Monday grandmother had a serious fall which tore the ligaments between the spine and hip, no broken bones. She is now resting comfortably in the hospital. She is much better now but she is still in a lot of pain. Mother and I are doing as well as can be expected.

P.S. She is in Provident Hosp. under Dr Higgins care.

Your loving family,
Yolande and
Du Bois

[DuBois Williams]

ST. FRANCES' ACADEMY
Oblate Sisters of Providence
501 East Chase Street
Baltimore 2, Maryland

Office of the Principal

LExington 5794

March 1st, 1945

Assistant Director of Research
W. a. a. C. P.
New York 2, New York

20-5-21

Dear Miss Diggs,

On behalf of my class, the Eighth Grade, I would like a small donation for our Annual Penny Bazaar which will be given on Easter Tuesday for the benefit of our school. My Grandmother is a little better.

We thank you kindly for your whole-hearted cooperation. Please send the donation to.

Sister Mary Providentia
Saint Frances Convent
501 Chase Street
Baltimore 2, Maryland

Very truly yours,
DuBois (and the Eighth Grade)

2 March 1945

28-5-23

My dear Du Bois:

I am very proud of the way you are helping Grandmother and Mother. I hope you will do all you can to keep things going nicely while Grandmother is ill.

You asked me something about a donation for the school. Let me know just what it is that you wish.

Yours with love,

P. S. Won't you keep a careful account of what you and your Mother spend for food especially in restaurants? Put down the date, place and the amount paid. This will help your Mother and me keep our finances straight.

Miss Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

6 March 1945

Dear Du Bois:

20-5-22

It was so nice to have a letter from you. May I congratulate you upon its excellent wording and the artistic arrangement on the page. I am glad to know your Grandmother is improving. Your Grandfather has asked me to send you one dollar for him and I am enclosing fifty cents for myself.

With best wishes and the hope for a most successful Annual Penny Bazaar, I am

Sincerely,

Irene Diggs

Miss Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

27 March 1945

Dear Du Bois:

Please take up the matter of the massaging of your Grandmother with Mr. Burgess. It is very important and I want you to do it and I shall be disappointed if you do not. When you do it, let me know how often you have massaged her and I will arrange to have you receive at least part compensation as nurse.

Please try to be thoughtful and careful with Grandmother. She has had a hard time.

Yours with love,

Miss Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco, California
May 9, 1945

Miss DuBois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, 14, Maryland

Dear DuBois:

You do not quite deserve this letter because you have not written me, but I have to write it.

20-5-26

Last night was a great experience. The Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius, had invited the Consultants to a reception but I did not receive the phone call and did not go. Besides I had more important duties. Mr. White had invited Helen Hayes, who is perhaps the greatest actress on the American stage today, and Madame Pandit, the sister of the great Indian leader, Lehru, and Mr. Singh, the sick Indian leader in America, to have dinner with us at Mardikian's. Now, Mardikian's is one of the most celebrated restaurants, not only in San Francisco, but in the United States. Recently a speech in Congress was devoted to it which I enclose. We all met outside the restaurant at 6:30 sharp, and not only was the restaurant full but the foyer was full, and the stairs leading to the street were full, and there was a line out in the street. As Mardikian's doesn't reserve tables I was afraid we were out of luck. But we pushed down the stairs and the head waiter immediately told us our table was ready. It was a table for five right in the middle of the dining room, and as Helen Hayes said, "under the spot light". Naturally everybody stared. Madame Pandit is a very beautiful woman and of course everybody recognized Helen Hayes. Then the proprietor of the Restaurant, Mr. George Mardikian, came out in his white cap and white suit looking exactly like this, and welcomed us.

He said he was honored to have us present. He brought out his autograph book and asked us to sign it, and then he said that the dinner was all prepared and he hoped we would like it.

It is a little difficult to describe the dinner. Of course, there was twice as much as we could eat. First came pickles and pickled peppers and large ripe olives and green olives. And then came pilaff stuffed in green

peppers. And then a pancake with some glorious mixture on it which was rolled up and you bit off the end. Oh yes, I forgot to say that at the beginning there was a big square unleavened bread which Mr. Mardikian passed to all of us and asked that we break bread with him. Then we had the great Armenian dish, shish kebab which I first tasted in Constantine. After that came what I called Turkish coffee but Mr. Mardikian insisted was really Armenian coffee. It is made with the grounds. ith that came some delicious sweet cakes which most of the folks were unable to eat being too full but I managed one - there were nuts in it. Before we got to that Miss Hayes had to leave for her play in the theater. Mr. White went with her and looked in at the reception at the Secretary of State's. The rest of us staid and smoked and talked while the poor hungry people were still crowding the stairs. At a little after 8 we got up, paid the bill, left a tip, and walked slowly over to the theater.

20-5-22

Miss Hayes had reserved four tickets. We took three and went in. The seats were in the center aisle in about the fifth row - very lovely seats - and there we saw Miss Hayes play "Harriet". "Harriet" is the story of Uncle Tom's Cabin, and how it was written. I wonder if you have read it. In case you haven't, I am ordering a copy sent to you. Read it immediately. It is fascinating. The play was beautifully done and we enjoyed every bit of it. After the play we walked out and down the stair and up a little narrow stair and came to Miss Hayes' dressing room. She was in a kimona with her hair down but she received us very graciously and was pleased that we had enjoyed the play. We met the manager and Edna Thomas, a colored woman whom I have known for years, who had a part in the play.

Then we put Mrs. Pandit and Mr. Singh in a taxi, and went back to the hotel and happily to bed.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

[WILLIAMS]

2301 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland
May 12th, 1945

5-25-02

Dear Grandpa,

May is a busy month for us at school therefore I haven't had much time for letter-writing. Dr. George Washington Carver, (the book) came the other day, thank you very much it is very interesting. I got your letter today about you having dinner with Helen Hayes. To show everything has a funny side I see that you were mistaken for General Jan Smuts. I would have loved to see "Harriet"

starring Helen Hayes. We are going to have a May procession on May 20th 1945. Mammie had a very bad cold but it has almost gone now. I hope you are in good health.

With love and prayers,

Du Bois

[WILLIAMS]

20-5-20

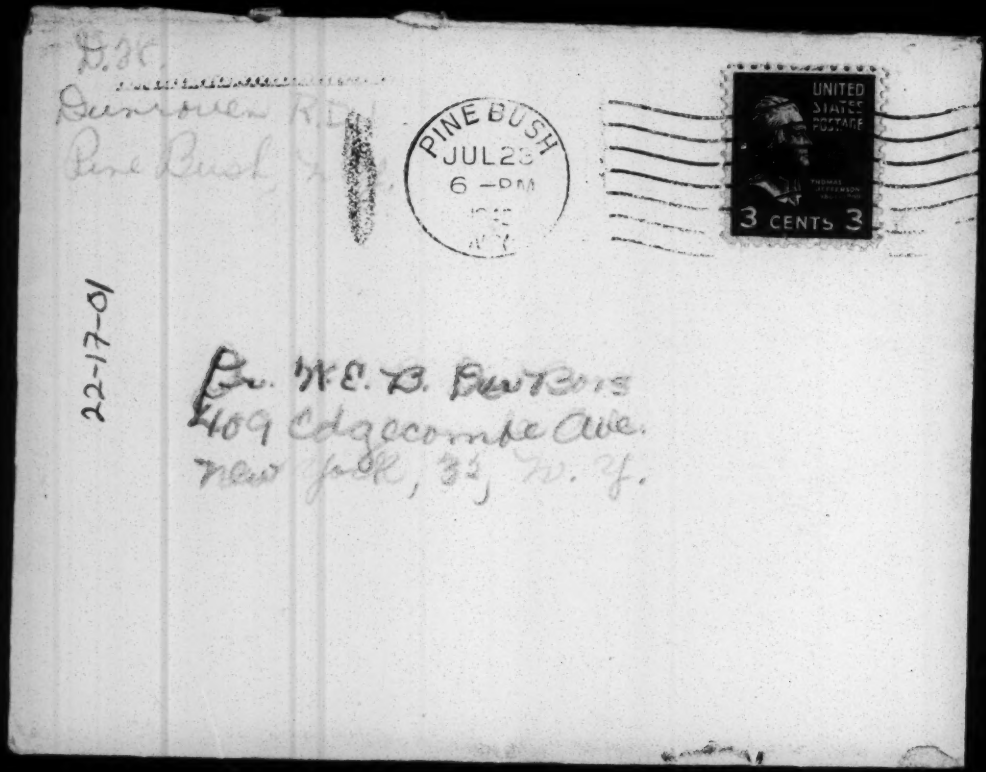
2301 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland
May 20rd, 1945

Dear Grandpa,

In your last letter to Grandma you said you would be here on June 10th. I would very much appreciate it if you would come either early on June 10th or on June 9th because on June 10th we have our graduation epercises in the afternoon. I hope you are taking good care of

yourself. I will see you soon I hope.

Your most devoted
Grandchild
Du Bois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UNITED STATES POSTAGE
3 CENTS 3

22-1702

MONDAY

July 23rd, 43

Dear Grandpa,

Thank you for the letter it was encouraging for all of us. Only we have another plan preceding your thoughtful one for a ~~theatre~~ party. Since we came up with Joy and the bus we all would like to go home alone on the last leaving on Sept, 1st about 3.00 P.M.

I hope you & the family will agree to this plan. I know Joy is reliable enough because she is taking her 8 year old niece who lives with her along too. Everything will be alright. I will write later & let you know all about the time. Please send an answer write away because if I won't be allowed to go some other arrangements must be made. It has rained for

8 days straight here. This time we have 50 children for this 2nd 3 weeks, for the 1st 3 weeks, we had 37.

There is alot of confusion & commotion around now but not among us just certain other people make it so. However we all have decided to stick it out a little longer. I can't wait till I get away from here.

The water is very high where we swim now & where the

babies used to swim
it is almost to
deep for me, however
Barbara + I walked
up against the very
swift current and
then was carried back
down about 20 mi an
hour car rate +
mildred caught us.
you know up here
the air is fresh + appetizing
and the work + exercise
is terrific we all pile
our plates high for dinner
+ by supper time we are empty.

For supper we have a donut and then go to bed

Hungary.

22-17-03

(5)

For the evening when they have a snack Mildred Dusks as of to bed with a sarcastic "Goodnight." And at dinner Mrs. Johnson make her old sarcastic remarks about as being (perk-oinks) but she really means it.

For breakfast we usually have imitation Harmony really its cream of wheat. And on a whole the meals are pretty good but give me one of grandma's I guess you think we're crazy talking about the food as we do up here but its nothing but the truth.

Please tell grandma that I enjoy her letters a lot & can't wait between letters for her to get another one.

I definetely don't want to come here next summer. Joy is definetly not coming because she's going to summer school Barbara doesn't want to come either & I don't think she will. We do hope that everyone will agree to the plan because we're looking forward to it with bigt hopes. And if you agree please try & make mommy see the light. Don't forget to answer

write away. (8)

Please send my mystery books & some others like you did last year some nice books for Jay to read because she has lessons & nice taking me places, you know we are in a nice cozy room together now. Well that ends my first letter for today.

Love & Kisses,

Du Bois

PINE BUSH
JUL 24
4 PM
19[illegible]
N.Y.

Dr. W. C. B. DuBois
[illegible] Edgecombe Ave.
New York 32, N.Y.

22-17-38

[1945]

22-17-40

July 23rd

Dear Grandpa,

I wrote a letter to you yesterday never dreaming what was going to happen today. Really, dear grandpa I don't want to make trouble for the folks at home honest I don't but as you said in your letters all things have a limit and I think this situation has

its limit & over. I have
a plan that will make
it easy for everybody
around because you
see I'm trying to be
considerate of everybody.
Simply write and
tell Mildred that since
Grandma isn't feeling
very well would she
please let me come
home for the rest of
the summer. Don't
tell her it's because
I'm unhappy because
I can't stand the

things they'll say &
poke at me behind
my back. I would
really like to come
home and take care
of Grandma & I
wouldn't be a
responsibility to her
because I have
learned alot about
life
and how to take
And how to care
Care of myself up
responsibility and my duties
here and I truly
can't stay another
week. I am enclosing
a letter which I
wrote

when I first came here and they started picking on me but the Girls Barbara & Joy talked me out of it. Please write Mildred what I told you to soon. And don't think it's a lyor or excuse because I honestly do want to help & take care of Grandma.

Your most unhappy grand-daughter

Du Bois

[July, 1945]

22-17-39

Dear Grandpa,

Glad come up right away. I must go home. Don't think I'm playing, I'm very serious. Everything will be explained when you come. If you don't come soon I will find some other way to go. Call Mildred and tell that you are

coming and why. I
can't bare it here
another minute.
I will not tell
mildred untill you
call that I have
written you this
letter. Please Hurry!

Your most Unhappy
Grandaughter
Dee Bee

(Williams)

20-14-63

July 30, 1945

My dear DuBois:

I am sure from your letters that you are having a rather difficult time but you must remember that the reason is not altogether at Dunroven. Mildred and Mrs. Johnson must be having an even harder time to take care of so many little children with so little help and such difficulty in getting food. After all, my dear, you must remember that neither your vacation, nor your life, are simply for your amusement and happiness. Other people have to be taken into account. And when you find the task harder than you expected, and even uncomfortable, nevertheless, having set your hand to the plow you must just be brave and steadfast, and stick to the job. I think this is what Sister Providencia would tell you if you could talk to her.

Moreover, think of the distress and unhappiness you would cause if you left camp now. Grandmother is just beginning to get some rest. If you really want to help her, as I know you do, and as you have written, the very best help would be to let her alone just now without having to worry about entertaining you, or keeping house, or preparing food. Of course if you come from camp the whole family would have to go back immediately to Baltimore. We could not stay in New York.

Then, too, your mother is just preparing to come up here and spend two weeks by herself at the Hotel Theresa. I have told you before how very hard and taxing her work of school teaching us. I do not think either you or her mother always realizes this. Finally, you must remember that Grandfather has his own troubles, and that they would be added to if you did not make the best of the opportunity for service which you have. Grandmother and I will try to come up next Sunday, August 5th, if she is feeling well enough. If not, I will come alone. I hope by that time you will have made up your mind to go through with your work.

You must not make plans for me to entertain your companions. If their parents want them to go theaters and other things of the sort, the parents will pay for it. I am not able to pay for more than your entertainment, and not always for that.

So far as the ride on the boat is concerned, that will depend entirely on what Mildred and your mother will say.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

Miss DuBois Williams
Dunroven, R.F.D.
Pine Bush, New York

31-13-101

[August, 1945]

Dear Grandpa,

I received your letter and am sticking it out as best I can but it has gotten to the point where we are having a silent fight. We don't speak to them and they don't speak to us. But I guess we'll last untill

Sept. 1st.

Thanks for arranging
a theatre party for
us we appreciate it
very much. Did
You find out when
school opens yet?
If you at any time
see some Old Comfort
Taffy please send us
some to brighten the
next 2 weeks.

(3)

I'm so glad that the war is over & can hardly retain myself. Well I must close now so I can get some rest before this afternoon—"

Lovingly yours,

Ted Fox

(T. F.)

Miss DuBois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

29th October 1945

Dear DuBois,

I was most unhappy to have to leave without bidding you goodby but I had to catch that train so I got up next moring at 4:30, caught a cab in the twilight and with bags and typewriter went down to the office on 42nd Street; there the limousine took us to the airport. The plane looked rather small and 16 of us were packed into it. We sailed over New York and Boston, starting a 8 o'clock in the morning and had tea in Newfoundland. We left at twilight, sailing above the clouds and between Aurora Borealis and the half moon. Very early in the morning, we landed on the river Shannon in Ireland not far from Limerick. We had slept in berths like those on a sleeping car and had a nice night's rest. After breakfast, we took a British plane and landed in London about 4:30. I spent that night at Liberty Club which is a Red Cross Hostel. Next morning, I went down to the American Embassy to make preliminary arrangements for passage home. Then I took the train fro anchester where they had decided to hold the Congress because of the crowds in London and lack of food and accomodation. In Manchester, I stayed with Dr. Suany and his wife. They have three children, Sheila who is 15; Jeanne who is your age and Sanghar who is 5 1/2. They were very nice to me, indeed. I enjoyed the stay of 6 days. The Congress was interesting and well-attended and I acted as chairman of the sessions.

Then on the 22nd, I rode back to London ona crowded

20-5-28

train and there I am staying with Dr. Clarke, a West-Indian physician near High Barnett where grandmother used to stay while your mother was at Bedale's. It is very nice there but the London weather is atrocious. I have been sightseeing a little. I saw Big Ben and the Houses of Parliament and went to Westminister Abbey. I shall see more as soon as the weather lets. me. I have been to the theatre once and twice to the movies. On Sundays, numbers of interesting people called at the house. I hope you are doing careful work with your studies and also minding what you eat. I trust the clarinet has come.

Yours with much love,

7 March 1945

20-4-64

My dear Mr. Williams:

Enclosed is a proposed invitation which we are going to send out for a Colonial Conference. Mr. Logan is interested in the meeting. I would be very glad indeed if you could attend and I would like to have any advice you can give me concerning persons to be invited or other matters. Let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Eric Williams
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

CABLES: COLONIES WASHINGTON (PREFIXED CARIB)

TELEPHONE:

AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE
OF THE
CARIBBEAN RESEARCH COUNCIL

ANGLO-AMERICAN CARIBBEAN COMMISSION
810-18TH STREET, N. W.—WASHINGTON, D. C.

IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE THE FOLLOWING REFERENCE

March 26, 1945

Colonial Conference

Dr. W.E.B.Du Bois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

20-6-7

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

It was not possible for me to reply sooner to your letter and invitation of March 7 last, as I was awaiting news from Canada as to just what date I was expected to keep a speaking engagement tentatively arranged many months ago. As it is I am expected in Montreal on April 4, and so it will therefore be impossible for me to attend the Conference. Whether, in my present position, it would have been possible for me in any case to have participated is another question.

With regard to your request for suggestions as to persons who may be invited, I suggest, as far as the West Indies are concerned, the following organisations:
American-Caribbean Association for West Indian affairs
West Indies National Council
Jamaica Progressive League
Jamaican Associates, Inc.

The first three organisations are in New York, the fourth in Boston.

Yours sincerely

Eric Williams

Eric Williams.

P.S. I should be grateful if you will address any further correspondence on this subject to me at Howard University.

2 April 1945

20-4-65

My dear Mr. Williams:

Mr. Reddick of the Schomburg Collection has a manuscript of your article concerning colonies. Since you will not be able to be at our Colonial Conference April sixth, I wonder if you would mind have this manuscript read in part. Mr. Reddick is willing if you are. I trust we may have your consent.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Eric Williams
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Emma Lee

31 August 1945

20-23-46

My dear Mabelle:

Could you find a room for a young friend of our family during the next school year. She is Miss Margie Groves and is an assistant librarian in one of the branches of the New York Public Library. Her family lives in Boston and have long been friends of mine. Her brother is a Lieutenant in armed forces in the Pacific. She lived last year in Brooklyn but that is too far away. If you could possibly secure her a room my obligations to you would be increased to something more than which they already are.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Mabelle White Williams
Young Women's Christian Association
179 West 137th Street
New York City

(Williams)

72 West Point Rd.,
Bldg. 17
San Francisco, Calif.
Dec. 14, 1945

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Kind sir, I just finished reading your book "Darkwater". I thought it very true, worded genuinely, wonderfully and explicit except the last Chapter "The Comet". Was this a parable of what would be the relations, were such a catastrophe to happen. I am sorry and ashamed to be such a bumpkin, but since I enjoyed it so much, and always read your column in the Defender, I said it would be better to understand clearly, which I did not. I am a married woman of twenty-five with eleventh-grade education, but was never taught very much Negro history in school. I have a

21-6-129

library card and decided to avail myself to some of this literature and naturally thought of you as the first author.

Sincerely yours,
Ruth N. Williams
(Mrs.)

21-6-130

P.S.

Also I obtained the book "America's Greatest Problem: The Negro, as a balance to my idea of a black man's thoughts to a fair-minded white and was horrified and shocked. Could you please tell me if all this Mr. R. W. Shufeldt, M.D. possess? truth. To my mind a person would have to possess intense hate not to find one good thing about a

persons are raced. There are
pictures here that we
could evolved from
ages. of Course Ive read
before were supposed
to be more odorous
thangany other race.
Also our heads are inferiorally
shaped, long, our brain
forgs at maturity, and
that Negroes sexual organs
are larger and therefore
more demandalous and
ruthless than Caucasians?
There is a comparision of
page 103 of a Negro sexually
to a bull ape toward a
menstrual gial. Do we
really have straining
periods of "sex madness"
I have never been aware
of such feelings!! Is there
truly in Africa near
Sierra Leone, a secret
clan Cadre Human
Leopards, who lay and
sacrifice barbarically
other blacks or what
have you?

21-6-131

You are a learned and well read and taught man in all fields, it can't be true that Negroes main ambition, objective, and greatest desire is the violation of white women, bestially. Does "States Rights", mean foremost the right to lynch a person, nominally Negro undisturbed, because the main carriers of malaria and tuberculosis, as well as syphillis. All this I read, but I shall not believe it until one of my race, & Custus says o.k. I wish you'd accept this letter as very personal from me to you, & I am not perturbed. Again I write ——

21-6-132

Sincerely yours,
Ruth K. Williams

20-14-56

4 January 1945

My dear Yolande:

I have just written a letter, a copy of which is enclosed, to Sam Rose. Please call him up and see that these things are done. I want to renew my car license in Maryland. Enclosed is my Georgia license. Can you attend to his or get Sam to do so.

With the payment that I am making today there is only about $350 balance due on the complete payment of the mortgage. This makes it all the more imperative that you get your financial situation in order. You must have a checking account in a Baltimore bank and pay your bills by check and not by cash and pay for the things that you want on delivery and not on time. I do not think you realize what an extraordinary amount you have wasted on interest and other payments by buying on time. That is simply throwing money away.

According to our budget plans you ought to have $261 in the bank now. I am afraid you haven't but for goodness sake start with January and deposit every month. If you must have a minimum balance, and they will probably require that, get that in there and keep it there. It is really money saved. I am seriously alarmed at what is going to happen to you when I die if you do not get more precise and careful business methods. You have greatly improved since I began impressing this upon you but you must now take final and decisive steps. Once you are alone with an unmortgaged house on your hands, you will come to disaster unless you stop buying on time and have a bank account.

Love to the family,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

20-14-65

22 January 1945

My dear Yolande:

Won't you please write me:

1. about the application of Du Bois to the Northfield School

2. about the condition of my car

3. about my car license.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

[January 4, 1945]

Thursday

19-30-45

Dearest Pop,

So sorry to have delayed this mate so long. I have called Earl but have'nt written him because the ice situation here in the park is so hard on

when ye pay your
car tax [illegible]
[illegible] and a
[illegible]
[illegible] letter
[illegible] Thursday
[illegible] except for DuBois'
[illegible] like I have
terms examines this
week as well

my nerves that I
don't get across
town because I have
to get in before dark
This ~~[illegible]~~ on me
I have to go thru'
the [illegible] is
really getting me
down. The license
is expire in March

have her write to us
soon as she's thru
with all that. So
far her marks are
O.K. very good.
Except for the
weather - everything
seems O.K. fine
here. See you in
February.

Love,
Yolande

20-14-57

16 February 1945

Dear Yolande:

I wish you would find your copy of the budget which I made out last year and send it to me so I can make a new one. Mine is lost in the files which have not yet been unpacked. Add to this your exact salary, the amount that is withheld for pension and the amount withheld for income tax.

I assume that at present your income amounts to $190 a month for twelve months. Of this suppose you deposit $80 in the bank and pay your Mother $50. This will make a total of $130 which will give you $60 for other expenses. Your other expenses will be approximately the following:

$20 for the automobile
30 on debts
10 miscellaneous

You have $280 in the bank and you will add to this
160 for February and March and
240 from you April, May and June checks making a

total of 680. Out of this you will be able to pay the following:

taxes on house and extra lot	$200
insurance	38
two months summer board	100
auto insurance	40
	$378

In addition to this you can spend for clothes $200 and save $100. Think this over carefully and write me criticizing it.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

20-14-58

2 March 1945

Dear Yolande:

Enclosed is my check for $115.05 for the March house expenses. Added to this is the $5.75 telephone bill and $4.20 water bill. I enclose the memos and have sent the checks directly. I trust

1. that you will deposit the $200 immediately and get a check book and have a checking account. All bills that you possibly can pay by check, pay that way. It will save you carrying cash around and help you to keep track of your expenses and give you a receipt for everything you have paid out.

2. You had when your Mother went to the hospital about $70 for the house which I have restored to you by cash and checks. In addition to this there is, I think you told me, about $48 in the bank. To this you will add the enclosed check. This ought to give you with your own $50 contribution more than enough to run the house and have a surplus at the end of the month.

I know what a strain is put upon you but we must be very thankful th t your Mother's accident was no worse than it is. I shall talk to Dr. Higgins over the telephone within a day or so and if everything seems to be going well, I shall go on for the Texas lectures but will keep in close touch with you while I am away.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

P. S. Try hard to get someone to help you in the house work at least part-time, say to do the washing or get dinner or even to clean-up once a week.

20-14-59

13 March 1945

Dear Yolande:

I know how busy you are but again I want to ask if you have made application to Northfield. You must remember that there are long waiting lists and if we expect to enter Du Bois in 1946, we must apply as soon as possible.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

29 March 1945

Dear Yolande:

I am selling my car to Sam Rose. I have decided that it is too expensive to keep it idle and as I shall get $550, I think I had rather have the money than the car. He will give you the blankets and the two aluminum trays and also the New York license plate. Save the license plate. I may need to have it sent me here.

Also Gregory as the gasoline coupons. If you can use them he may allow you to.

Yours with love,

I-98

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

4 April 1945

My dear Yolande:

Enclosed are the tax bills. The total amount is $198.66. This should be paid between June first and August first to avoid penalty. If I were you, I should pay it by check July first. Put them in some special place where you will know just where they are and pay them on time.

Yours with love,

41-08

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

10 April 1945

Dear Yolande:

I have just paid the insurance policy for three years on the home for $7,000. It will have to be renewed April 8, 1948 so this will be out of the way until three years hence.

Will you please write and tell me whether you have applied for entrance of Du Bois into Northfield?

With love to your Mother and you and Du Bois

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

Yolande DeBos Williams

[May, 1945]

Sunday

Dearest Papa –

We have just returned from the Mother's day exercises at the convent & have consumed a very small chicken given D me by one of my pupils. Every one is well.

I've been writing this letter for a week but my annual production comes off next Friday so ye know I'm as busy as a hen on a hot griddle. I'll be glad when it is over.

Everyone, at school & at home is very interested in the news we get from

31-13-74

Don't forget to snatch as many mementos etc as ya have time for!!!

We think we spied ya in a picture of the conference in "Life". Ya can tell us if we're right when ya get home. In a panarama picture of San Francisco "the Sir Francis Drake" stands out very plainly. I pray ya enjoy being there.

you. Mr. Davis chuckled about the General Smuts episode. He says it will give him great joy to tease you about it.

My history classes have been my actions on the background leading up to the conference and I have, perforce, become very wise from Casablanca right on thru' Yalta, Dumbarton Oaks, to San Francisco. The kids are very thrilled at my further being out there.

the place is doing fine and the grass grows 90 miles an hour.

Noah was down for the weekend & we went to see him. He looks very well.

Du Bois is doing nicely, the sisters seem very pleased with her. She's taller than ever!

We're looking forward to hearing all about it.

Lots of love —
Yolande.

P.S. I'm still losing weight!!

Yolande

GOLDEN MASQUE GUILD

—OF THE—

DUNBAR HIGH SCHOOL

PRESENTS

THE ANNUAL SPRING ENTERTAINMENT

32-4-16

Friday, May 18th

"Youth in The Brave New World A'Coming"

DRAMA———DANCES———MUSIC

Dunbar High School Auditorium

8:15 P.M.

JAMES PARRISH, PIANIST

Carrington L. Davis, Principal **Vivian E. Cook, Vice-Principal**

"YOUTH IN THE BRAVE NEW WORLD A'COMING"

A Carnival of Youth in the Post War World

PROGRAM

Music ..... Dunbar High School Glee Clubs
Mistress of Ceremonies ..... Irma Price

I. Tableau ..... "Liberty Shines Again on the Darker Races"
Latin America China
Africa Colored America

Statue of Liberty ..... Bernice Strickland

Soloist ..... Loretta Griner

II. A Mystery—Comedy

"THE WHITE PHANTOM"

Mrs. Blake—a society matron ..... Florine Allen
Mrs. Frazier—the same ..... Marguerite Roberts
Marion Blake ..... Cynthia White
Curtis Frazier ..... Jerome Butler
Eleven—A Maid ..... Odessa Knight
Ethan Sharp—real estate man ..... Titus Myers
Jerry Nolan— a policeman ..... John Westcott
The Phantom ..... ?

III. A Patriotic Drama.

"I PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE"

Roger Walter—a business man ..... Alvin Matthews
Gloria Walter—his wife ..... Marion Idlitt
Patricia Walter—a daughter ..... Bernice Cox
Chester Walter—son ..... Charles Hux
Frieda Schultz—German maid ..... Zelma Pettigrew
Karl Von Abend—German Agent..... Wayne Wheeler
Ethel Coyne—school teacher ..... Lillie Gilliard
Marion Moresby—of the F.B.I. ..... Jessie Holmes

PROGRAM

IV. Dances and Songs.

Dancers of Latin America

Julia Nicholson ..... Delores Brown
Evelyn Kendrick ..... Joyce Kinney
Dorothy Wilmore ..... Doris Lightfoot
Bernice Trogden ..... Josephine Alston

Solo Dancers—Dorothy Northrop, James Butler

Soloist ..... Titus Myers

Dancers of Africa

Lelia Moody — Ruth Reddick
Lorena Sanders — Ella Jones
Lucille Womack — Doris Lightfoot
Marie Pride — Delores Smith
Marguerite Roberts

Solo Dancer ..... Mckevett Seymour

Drums ..... Clifton Brown

Dancers of China—Dunbar Junior Players

Geraldine Redd — Emma Blackwell
Betty Smith — Sedonia Livingstone
Alice King — Drusilla Johnson

Boys and Girls at Home—A Waltz

Josephine Alston — Linwood Blue
Lorraine Holcombe — Jerome Butler
Delores Brown — McKevett Seymour
Beatrice Trogden — Booker Brown
Doris Pierce — Titus Myers
Mary Childs — Alvin Matthews

Solo Dancers

Dorothy Northrop ..... Ralph Ross

Evelyn Kendrick
Soloists

Freda Jones — Thomas McIntosh

"GOLDEN MASQUE GUILD"

Officers—

Odessa Knight ..... President
Marion Idlitt ..... Vice-President
Dorothy Northrop ..... Secretary
Ralph Ross ..... Treasurer

Sponsors—

Mrs. Y. DuBois-Williams ..... Chairman
Mrs. Ethel T. Payne
Miss Audrey Hill ..... Director of Dancing
Mrs. Mildred Seaborne ..... Make-up
Mrs. Mary R. Parker ..... Director of Junior Players
Director of Dunbar Glee Clubs ..... Miss Mildred Williams
Chairman of Costumes ..... Miss Inez Griffin
Mrs. Helen Murray, Mrs. Alma Parker

Scenery

Mrs. Ruth Johnson — Mr. Alonza Lancaster
Advertising ..... Mrs. Lena Dickerson
Business Manager ..... Mr. James R. Howard

Properties

Wilbert Jiggetts — Howard Jackson
John Simms — Benjamin Lewis
Ushers ..... E.K.A.

20-14-60

43

TELEGRAM

July 3, 1945

Mrs. Yolanda Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Md.

Talk with Margaret regarding the possibility of her finding you a good stopping place in or near New York for the month of August. I will be glad to pay the expense of a room. Also please have one of my electric fans packed up and sent to me by Railway express. Please do this immediately.

WEBD

19-41-02

July 12, 1945

My dear Yolande:

I have written the Hotel Theresa asking them to reserve a room for you for two weeks, beginning August 6th. Of course I do not know whether or not they can make the reservation but Mr. Scott has promised to try. If you do not get a reservation there I can let you have my apartment where you ought to be comfortable, or of course you can stay with Margaret, provided naturally you insist on paying rent. If you can make no other satisfactory provisions I will come to Baltimore and stay there as long as you are away. This will not be a great sacrifice because travel to Maine and food will be difficult. At any rate you must get away for two or three weeks and get rest and change. You are going to be the only wage earner in the family in a short time and you should keep your health and strength.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mrs. Yolande DuBois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

20-14-02

July 20, 1945

My dear Yolande:

I thought I would be down to Baltimore again the 23rd but probably shall stop by the 26th when I come from a lecture at Greensboro. Meantime I want to impress it upon you how necessary it is for you to have complete change of atmosphere and surroundings for at least two or three weeks, if not a month. You probably have forgotten how much you benefitted by your trip to New York last year, and how surprised you were at how much you enjoyed it. Your tendency is to sit down in one place and take what comes without any effort at change of outlook and experience. You ought, therefore, to plan to spend two weeks in New York.

Write me about your financial status, what balance you have in the bank, and on hand. You owe me $22.00 for the radio repairs and I on the other hand have promised to help you with vacation expense and will, but I want to know first exactly how you stand. Please sit down and write me right off.

We had a very nice comfortable trip to New York in a parlor car. Porters took care of the baggage and we got uptown in a cab and I left your mother at the desk with her baggage beside her, and with her room paid for two weeks. I hope you are not lonesome.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mrs. Yolande DuBois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

P. S. You see I have reservations for you at the Theresa from August 5th to August 18th. Let Mr. Scott know immediately whether you will or will not take up this reservation. I shall pay for the room if you do.

20-14-04

July 30, 1945

My dear Yolande:

I have notified Mr. Scott of your change in reservation to August 6-20. I have paid him $25.00 on account and asked him to send me a bill for the balance.

Enclosed is a check for $25.00 for the St. Francis Academy.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

Mrs. Yolande DuBois Williams
230a Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

20-14-67

August 6, 1945

Mrs. Yolande DuBois Williams
Hotel Theresa
125th Street & 7th Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Mrs. Williams:

Dr. DuBois has gone to camp and asked me to tell you he has paid $36.00 on your room rent. If the rent is more than this the bill for the balance is to be sent to him. He has told Mr. Scott this so you do not need to pay it.

He wishes you a happy vacation.

Very sincerely yours,

Ethel Ray Nance

6 September 1945

My dear Yolande:

20-5-34

Your Mother and Du Bois arrive in Baltimore Monday, September tenth, at 1:42 p. m., Pennsylvania Station. Can you arrange for somebody to take them out?

Du Bois has had her teeth attended to. Dr. Beekman found that she had four or five serious cavities. He wondered that she had not had tooth ache. It is a great mistake to let her go more than a year without dental examination. She ought to go to a dentist every six months as her teeth seem to resemble yours.

Nina has also neglected her teeth for years. Dr. Beekman says that it is going to take plenty of time to attend to them. I have advised her to begin treatment before she leaves and then go to Baltimore and return to New York once a week or once in ten days until the whole thing is finished up. She promises to do this. I hope you will cooperate and make it easy.

I will send you a note of what you owe on the Wanamaker bill. Du Bois has been having a very nice time. We go to see Oklahoma tonight.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

[c. OCTOBER]

Monday

Dearest Popa -

just a line to let ya know that we are getting along alright Mama continues to improve & seems quite cheerful. We have another night nurse who seems quite

20-5-32

office & of course
that makes her more
comfortable.

Du Bois has her
clarinet & seems very
delighted with it.

The best of luck
to you - your work
with the Congress.

Lots of love from
all of us -

Yolanda

Mrs. Yolande DuBois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, 13, Maryland

29th October 1945

20-5-39

Dear Yolande,

I hope you have received my letter and cablegram. I am still awaiting transportation and will hardly leave before November 15th. I wired you so that you would know the situation. I am told that most of the airmail letters coming in now go by boat and boats are few and far between. I have not had a word from America since I came and am naturally a little worried. Let me know how Mother is and all about yourself and DuBois and the home. If necessary, ~~cable~~ Cable me. I am quite well, except of course, I have been through one of those wretched London colds with which you are acquainted. Tell your mother, I am staying in New Barnett which is just this side of High Barnett. Hotel accomodation is almost impossible to find without giving long notice ahead. Fortunately, Dr. Clarke, a West Indian physician, has a lovely home and has invited me to stay with him until I return. I have hot water, fire in my room and every attention. It would be ideal if it were a better season of the year and my mind were easier on matters at home.

Yours with love,

W.E.B.D

P.S. Fill out stubs of Checks & keep them carefully!

10-5-48

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
Def. = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

1945 NOV 25 PM 1 27

The time in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

BRA651 NL PD=BALTIMORE MD 25

DR LOUIS T WRIGHT=

F2 218 WEST 139 ST NYK=

MOTHER AND I LEAVE BALTIMORE 1245 TUESDAY ARRIVE NEW YORK 4 PM PENN STATION DRAWING ROOM CAR 321 THANKS A LOT =YOLANDE.

Yolande Williams

1245 4 PM 321.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

72 years old

Quarrying & ll

320
175
145
70
2170

---------- 20 West 40th Street

28 November 1945

20-14-51

Dear Yolande:

I sent you before I left for Europe four checks for Provident Hospital Numbers 248, 249, 250 and 251 for $42 each. At the same time I sent you in the name of Virginia Pratt four checks for $56 each Numbers 252, 253, 254 and 255 and four blank checks for the night nurse Numbers 256, 257, 258 and 259 for $56 each. Have you used these checks and if not will you return them. Until you return them to me I cannot make out any further checks nor can I balance my bank account.

Also with regard to the house expense. Of course you will not need the whole $125 because that would include your Mother's board and personal expense. You will be responsible for your own board and I am responsible for Du Bois' board and clothes and for the general house expense: lighting, heat and telephone. I should think that ninety dollars would be a fair contribution for me to make each month because the fact that I must pay $190 to the hospital in New York.

What is the bank balance in your Mother's checking account in the Baltimore National Bank. Send me their last statement with cancelled checks.

Please attend to this immediately. There is no excuse for you not answering business letters. As I have written, and as you know, I did not get a single communication from you in all the six weeks I was away with your Mother dangerously ill. This is inexcusable. Mrs. Trotman wrote and wrote and got no reply. I shall not write you again until I get an answer from this letter in detail.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

[November 29, 1945]

Yolande Alexis Bois William Thursday Night

Dearest Pop

20-5-36

I got back safely - caught the 10 oc P.M. I got - at 1 45 a.m. Fortunately I got a seat tho' the train was crowded. Sam brought my car & the stakes

Everything seems to be alright on this end. De Bois home. She has a heard cold but no fever. I

all the checks yr left were used. I didn't have those stubs. The stubs of three checks were returned & yr 2 unused checks of those yr sent fr London. The checks fr London came in time for me to pay the bills no more than a week late. Just before I left I paid the

home closed her & filled
her full of orange juice
& nose drops. Her appetite
is fine & she feels
as frisky as usual.
She received your letter
from Iceland & says
she will drop ye a
line at once. She wrote
to Grandmother today
So did I. What is the
room number & is the
address any more than
Gunhill Road?

nurses for the rest
for 2 weeks - the last
two.

You took the bank
book for Bath - when you
were here & the check book.
The statements must be
come. The uncle I left
with Dr. Diggs or you must
have taken it before you left
because the most recent one
here is dated Sept. I have
forwarded it - a separate
envelope. Mama said
she had $100.00 extra
in her account here

but that it was to
recorded on the check
stubs. It should still
be there if you check
the statement.

20-5-37

I am sure we can
manage on $90.00
plus my $50.00

I was sorry not
to get a line from Mrs
Graham. I told Irene
to please call her &
Margaret as I really

not to lonesome. I know she misses D. Bird

She likes a little vanilla ice-cream every night & also a box of Luden's cough drops by her bed. I think they could keep her supplied with these?

D-d she get her soap, tooth brush, tooth paste & talcum powder?

had to make that train getting home every night at 8 P.M. and after having school work to do left me practice for time to very tired.

Does this answer all questions?

I must manage to get ahead comfortably as is

Ma I'el get D her
love & Irene.

Lots of love -

Yolande.

P.S D. Bons sends her love

Y.

********** 20 West 40th Street

5 December 1945

20-5-43

Dear Yolande:

Will you send your Mother immediately addressed to Montefiore Hospital
Gunhill Road and Bainbridge Avenue
an old pair of common sense shoes with low heels and some stockings. She wants shows but cannot wear the new high heel shoes which you sent.

I think we had better plan for you and Du Bois to come to New York over the holidays and occupy my apartment while I go down to Baltimore and stay in the house.

Mother is slowly improving. Yesterday with the aid of a supporting mechanism she took six steps. She has received your letter and Du Bois'.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

[1945]

Monday
Dec 10th

Dearest Pops -

The shoes & slacks
have been sent - also Mama's
slacks back. The shoes
however are exactly the
same style & model as
the new ones she has
with the same heel. The
only difference being
that they are old. Her
other shoes have a higher
heel - these shoes that
she does & wear much.

20-5 JO 1

now I'll go to bed.

When the snow lets up I'll write again about the X-mas plans. I think it would be nice for you to be there for X-mas day. The house will be OK. for a few days as everyone - the park is home during the holidays.

Lots of love,

Yolande.

(over)

Maybe yr or Irene cd take one shoe down to Wanamakers & get her size in a flat-heeled shoe. She cd use a old pair of DeBois' bec DeBois wears 7½ & Mac wears 5.!!

Oh her snoring today & as usual I'm scared to death about the dreaming actuality and nervous as a witch.

[4]

P.S Dorothy says Noah tried to get you several times. I hope he has contacted you by now as he wants to go up & see Mama.

V.

11 December 1945

Dear Yolande:

If you intend to spend Christmas in New York you ought to be planning it now. Both you and Du Bois ought to be here during the Christmas season in order to be with your Mother. There is no possibility of your getting any place to stay except in my apartment. Therefore, I must know immediately what to plan for. You ought if possible to leave Baltimore the twenty-first or twenty-second and return the second or third.

Please let me hear from you immediately. It isn't a good plan to have Du Bois left alone in the Convent over the holiday season.

Have you sent your Mother's shoes?

Yours with love,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

20 West 40th Street

14 December 1945

Dear Yolande:

Your letter evidently crossed mine. As I have said travel conditions are going to be bad and it will be impossible to obtain rooms in New York. Therefore please remember

20-5-45

1. to let me know exactly the train upon which you will be leaving Baltimore. Take an early train. The ten and eleven o'clock train will be crowded. I will leave New York at the same time that you leave Baltimore so that the house will not be left alone.

2. In the same way let me know the train upon which you are going to leave New York.

3. Please, if possible, get a new ribbon for your typewriter. I shall want to use it while I am there. Do not forget this.

4. Stock up with what food you can before you leave.

5. Leave the keys to the car in the house if the car is left in the garage. Perhaps you would rather leave them with Sam. I shall only use the car in case the driving is perfectly safe.

6. Enclosed is a check for fifty dollars which will cover the extra expense of your trip: $15.70 will secure roundtrip tickets leaving $34.30 for extra expense.

It will not be possible for me to plan to make a trip to New York for Christmas day. It would be both costly and crowded.

Please do not spend any money on presents for me. We are under a great deal of expense now and interchange of present within the family is entirely unnecessary.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

Yolande Du Bois Williams

Mon. night
[December 17, 1945]

Dearest Papa —

I've been down to the B. & O. to get our tickets. It was my intention to start early monday morning but I could get 2 seats on the "Royal Blue" — leaving here at 4 23 P.M. Monday Run that is late but that's the only

20-5-46

y seat. We're supposed
to get - N.Y. at 8 20
that night. I think
y-d rather come
down a c morning
train - If so we can
meet y- before we
leave. The "Royal
Blue" leaves New York
every morning between
8 & 9 I think. Perhaps
y- could get a seat
on it. It must
get to Bath about

train I could get
seats. The P. enn. R.R.
was hopeless - no
reservations possible
at all. On the "Royal
Blue" you don't pay
for a chair. The
coach seats are reserved.
Our tickets - to N.Y. &
return were $18.06
so I figured since
it was only coach
fare I'd better take
that train & be sure

1 30 or 2 00 P. M.

I'm hoping to get all your instructions carried out before I leave. I am presuming you have a key to the front door I'll leave a note which I hope will answer all questions in case we don't see you

I'm writing Mama a note to tell her we'll see her Xmas day. Cover you have

a plant or some flowers
or something - her room.
I / I'd have been able to get
up earlier I could
have gotten them. As
it is everything is
left until the last
minute because I
have my Xmas play
on Friday which keeps
me tied with
rehearsals until
then. Luv - Rose

20-5-02

fixed & a leak in the radiator checked. I presume we'll take a taxi up to 409 & you'll let me know where the keys are.

As you know it has been very cold & snowy here. Now the streets are clear but Monticello Ave. & the driveway are still quite slippery. Thursday night we

will take the car at the
station. It has some
work to be done on it
but he says he can
deliver it to you if
when you want it.
If we meet you —
you can drop us at
home & take
it — & Sam have
the required work done.
Same time have it be
recapped - the heater

got jammed up — that crime by Herring. Ran park among about 100 cars — all skidding. We got out within an hour! I was scared to death but didn't get a scratch.

Now I'll run & mail this. Let me write you're

Lots of love,

Yolande.

1624 CRESCENT PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

January 26,1945

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As Mr. Mark Ethridge arranged for me to speak before the Convention of the Central Region of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association in Detroit on January 27th, I feel I ought to send you a statement of what I say. I hope it meets with your approval.

20-19-18

Yours sincerely,

Agnes E. Meyer
(Mrs. Eugene Meyer)

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director
Department of Special Research
Color and Democracy Colonies and Peace
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

31 January 1945

20-19-19

My dear Madam:

I think your speech at Detroit was interesting and to the point. I am sure it was appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Eugene Meyer
1624 Crescent Place Northwest
Washington 9, D. C.

[WENDELL WILLKIE]

1624 CRESCENT PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

February 9, 1945

20-14-31

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

My speech explaining the reasons for the Wendell L. Willkie Awards, of which I sent you a copy, was well received.

You might like to see the letter I received from Mr. Stanley, Central Vice President of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association.

The Negro publishers have appointed the following committee to cooperate with us in working out some suggestions which were made at the conference and any other problems that may come up:

Mr. Louis E. Martin, Michigan Chronicle, Detroit
Mr. Roscoe J. Dunjee, Oklahoma Black Dispatch
Mr. P. L. Prattis, Pittsburgh Courier
Mr. Frank L. Stanley, Louisville Defender

For example, they hope that each member of the journalistic committee will select one or two Negro publishers or editors in his vicinity to help make the regional selections.

As soon as the membership of the regional committees has been decided, I shall send you the names of the men on each committee.

Yours sincerely,

Agnes E. Meyer
(Mrs. Eugene Meyer)

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Director of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

NEGRO NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

Office of
CENTRAL VICE PRESIDENT
418 S. Fifth St.
Louisville 1, Ky.

January 31, 1945

Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer
1624 Crescent Place n.w.
Washington 9, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Meyer:

We are particularly grateful to you for your appearance at our meeting in Detroit. Your message was very inspiring and most informative, and I sincerely believe that every publisher fully understands the very noble purpose of the Wendell Willkie Awards. Comments all over have been very favorable, and many requests have come in for a copy of your electrifying speech. I am telephoning Mr. Ethridge today to inform him of the splendid job you did.

I have talked with Mr. Sengstacke by long distance and he promises to appoint the coordinating committee immediately. You should receive the names in the very near future.

Let me add my personal thanks to you for accepting our invitation. Should we be in a position to offer you any assistance at any time, do not hesitate to call upon us.

Very truly yours,

(signed) Frank L. Stanley

Central Vice President

20-14

[WENDELL WILLKIE AWARDS]

1624 CRESCENT PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

December 5, 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

20-14-30

Immediately after Dr. Douglas Freeman's return from his trip around the world, he came to Washington to confer with me, in the absence of Mr. Mark Ethridge, on the details of the Wendell L. Willkie Awards for meritorious work in the Negro press.

1. There will be a first prize of $500, which will be given for any form of newspaper publication, whether news, editorial or feature article that shows knowledge, thoroughness, clarity, fairness, and skill in presentation, and that contributes to the common understanding of all Americans.

2. There will be a second prize of $250 for the best example of sound news reporting. This, however, does not disqualify news reporting for the first prize, if it happens to be the most outstanding piece of work.

3. Articles are eligible which were published in the calendar year January 1 to December 31, 1945.

4. These articles must be submitted to the local chairmen before February 1, 1945.

5. The chairman of the local committees will submit the best five articles from each region to the national chairman, Mr. Mark Ethridge.

6. There will then be a meeting at the earliest possible date of as many of the members of the honorary committee and of the local committee chairmen as find it convenient to attend. Each local chairman will invite one of his Negro advisors to attend this final judging.

7. The prizes will be given at a dinner in Washington during Negro newspaper week on a date and at a place to be designated. Outstanding citizens and members of the white and Negro press will be invited to attend. There will be only two speeches at the dinner by leaders of the white and Negro press.

Yours sincerely,

Agnes E. Meyer
(Mrs. Eugene Meyer)

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Honorary Committee
Wendell L. Willkie Awards

[Willkie Memorial Bldg.]

106-06 Thirty-second Avenue
Corona Long Island, N. Y.

20-19-40

January 10th, 1945

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Following up my telephone call of a few weeks ago. We have proceeded to secure persons who would permit the use of their names as members of a committee for a plaque or bust of Wendell Willkie to be placed in the proposed Willkie Memorial Building and to be done by the distinguished sculptor Richmond Barthé. Dr. Ruth Foster, Psychiatrist, Analyst and Neurologist, is the spearhead person who has given much time and thought to the organization of this committee. Dr. Harry Stack Sullivan and I have been helping her in the initial stages. Preliminary and informal clearances have been made with the Building Fund and with Mr. Richmond Barthé. Some other persons who have consented to be committee members are: Dr. Hortense Powdermaker, Dr. L.D. Reddick, Dr. Ashley Montague, Judge Chas E. Toney, Dr. Henry Allen Moe, Judge Jerome Frank, Dr. Chas S. Johnson, Hon. Thomas McCall, Mr. L. Hollingsworth Wood, Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn, Bishop Henry K. Sherrill and Dr. Emmanual Libman. In addition to these there are some fifteen other persons who see the symbolic and dramatic significance of such an undertaking and who are on the list of those who have consented. As I told you by telephone I hope very much that you will agree to be a member of this committee. With esteem and continued good wishes I am

Sincerely,

Herbert King

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

17 January 1945

50-19-41

My dear Mr. King:

I should be very glad to be a member of the committee which you mentioned in your letter of January tenth.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Herbert King
106-06 Thirty-second Avenue
Corona Long Island, New York

January 21st

RUTH FOSTER, M. D.
110 EAST 67TH STREET
NEW YORK 28, N. Y.
—
SACRAMENTO 2-5809

Request to sponsor

My dear Dr Du Bois-

I believe Herbert Kuig had written to you about the Memorial Head of Willkie to be done by Mr Richmond Barthé & presented perhaps to Freedom House by an Interracial group? I hesitated to approach you, myself, knowing how-beset you must be with such requests- but it would be an honor, if you would permit your name to be used as sponsor.

Dr Harry Stack Sullivan is greatly interested in the project, & wished to be remembered to you - if you recalled him-

Thank you for the delightful & stimulating lecture, yesterday afternoon-

20-1-42

at the Schomberg Auditorium-
When you spoke of the original meeting of the N.A.A.C.P. I caught a sudden flash of memory from my childhood- of hearing Mr. Moorfield Storey- describe it to my father- & of being astonished & impressed, by some rare note of enthusiasm - which, ~~for one~~, colored the voice of one- whom I regarded, (at the time) as a formidable, icily brilliant figure, devoid of any human feelings- whatsoever-! He must have been a friend of yours- & probably there- as council- wasn't he? We were neighbors on The Fenway- in Boston-

Do not trouble to answer this note- as Mr. King will have your reply- for me-
Looking forward to hearing you speak soon again- & wishing it had not taken me so many years- to get back to the N.A.A.C.P.

Very sincerely,
Ruth Foster.

106-06 Thirty-second Avenue
Corona Long Island, N. Y.

20-19-38

January 31, 1945

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Thanks much for yours of , January seventeenth. I have advised Dr. Ruth Foster to add your name to the list of committee members for a Willkie bust by Barthé. She was over-joyed as am I. You will hear from her subsequently.

Very sincerely yours,

Herbert King

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

[Wilson Co.]

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EMP

March 30, 1945

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WILSON LIBRARY BULLETIN

20-14-32

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

At the request of Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes I am enclosing a list of the periodicals to which we have sent review copies of the Encyclopedia of the Negro. He asks you to look this list over and see if you have any other additions to suggest. The list is as follows:

American Library Association Booklist
Library Journal) One copy for both
Publishers' Weekly)
*Crisis
Opportunity
*Journal of Negro Education
Phylon
Negro Digest
Journal of Negro History
Library Quarterly
Survey Graphic
New York Times
New York Herald Tribune
New York World Telegram
New York Sun
Christian Science Monitor
Nation
New Republic
Commonweal
Christian Century
*America
Subscription Books Bulletin
*Army Library Services
New York Age
*Chicago Defender
*Norfolk Journal and Guide
*Pittsburgh Courier
*Associated Negro Press

Very truly yours

THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY

E. M. Phelps

E. M. Phelps
Secretary

* Requested

EMP:FU

3 April 1945

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me with bill and author's discount four copies of the prefatory volume of the Negro Encyclopedia.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-14

Miss E. M. Phelps
The H. W. Wilson Company
950 University Avenue
New York 52, N. Y.

1/28/25.

20-20-76

Prof. W E B Du Bois
Dept Sociology
Atlanta University

Dear Sir:—

Please refer me to those books which in your opinion fairly cover the history of negro contribution to the USA, and world civilization.

Howard Fast's book "Freedom Road" has awakened my interest and I know of none who should be better able to help me.

Yours truly

Morley Wolfe
210 Riverside Drive
Nyack (25) N.Y.

W. E. B. DuBois
Prof. of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

13 March 1945

26-92-77

My dear Sir:

I am sorry to be so late in answering your letter of January 28. The letter went to Atlanta and then was forwarded here as I am no longer there. This accounts for only part of the delay. I should recommend the following books:

Johnson, THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
Myrdal, THE AMERICAN DILEMMA
Johnson, James Weldon, ALONG THIS WAY
poems by Countee Cullen.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Morley Wolfe
210 Riverside Drive
New York City 25

[World Trade Union Conference]

WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

DECLARATION

ON THE TRADE UNION ATTITUDE TO THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

1. The millions of working people represented at this Conference by accredited Delegations from forty national Trade Union organisations in the United Nations, and fifteen international Trade Union bodies, have maintained a steadfast purpose through the long struggle now drawing to its close.

2. In furtherance of that unfaltering purpose, this World Conference has considered the tasks still waiting to be done by the armed forces and the working people of the United Nations to accomplish the complete destruction of German militarism and Fascist tyranny, and also the measures to be taken for the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

3. This World Conference, having given consideration to the social and economic problems of the peace, deems it essential that responsible and qualified representatives of the Trade Union Movement shall be associated with the peace settlement in all its phases.

20-2.

4. By a continuation of the close collaboration and decisive action of Governments and peoples which have brought the United Nations in sight of victory, this World Conference believes that the aims which the working people have held steadily in view will be achieved.

5. The people of the United Nations will not relax their efforts in this final stage of the fight against aggression. They will shrink from no sacrifice that is necessary to bring about the unconditional surrender and capitulation of the common enemy, realising that any form of appeasement or compromise will be injurious to the cause of the freedom-loving nations by lulling them into a sense of false security and lessening their vigilance against the danger that aggression will be renewed.

6. In the confident hope that victory will bring permanent peace, this World Conference pays homage to all who have fought and suffered in the fight for freedom. The Trade Union Movement will hold in everlasting honour those who have fallen in battle, by land and sea and in the air, and those who have suffered martyrdom at the hands of a cruel enemy. The Conference pays its heartfelt tribute also to all who have served in the armed forces of the United Nations; in the Mercantile Marine; in the Resistance Movements in occupied countries; in the Civil Defence organisation; in productive industry, and in the transport and distributive services. By their valour and endurance, on the battlefields and in every form of war service, and by their heroic sacrifices, man and women alike have won the right to demand that the victory of the United Nations shall lead to the creation of a world organisation capable of ensuring a stable and enduring peace. The war has been fought by the working people, and peace cannot be organised without their co-operation and effective participation in the counsels of the peace-making Governments.

7. This World Conference therefore welcomes the historic Declaration made by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the President of the United States, and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, following their Conference in the Crimea. In that Declaration this World Conference finds the assurance that the sacrifices and sufferings of the working people will not have been made in vain.

8. In full agreement with the inflexible determination expressed by the heads of the three Allied Powers at the Crimea Conference to destroy German militarism and Nazism, we do not doubt that the Occupying Authorities will take all necessary measures to disarm Germany and disband all her armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff; remove or destroy all German military equipment; and eliminate or bring under Allied control all German industry that can be used for war purposes. But vital Trade Union interests are involved in the process of disarming and demilitarising Germany.

9. We direct attention specifically to the fact that measures must be taken —

(1) to bring justice to all war criminals and those guilty of Nazi atrocities;

(2) to liquidate the whole Nazi system and to dissolve all Nazi organisations with the complete confiscation of their funds and property;

(3) to place under the control of the United Nations not only German heavy industry but the German transport system, the banking system, and land and property owned by German trusts and cartels, and by financial magnates and Junkers;

(4) for the utilisation within the limits imposed by effective demilitarisation of German industrial and all other resources for the rehabilitation of all countries the Germans have devastated and plundered; and

(5) for the setting up of machinery to secure the full compensation from Germany for the damage it has caused to the Allied countries, with priority to those that have suffered most.

In the Allied occupation and control of Germany, the countries that have been directly injured by German invasion and occupation and have effectively opposed the occupation should have representation.

10. On all these matters we consider it essential that the voice of the Trade Unions shall be heard and heeded by the Occupying Authorities.

11. Further, we consider that the Trade Union Movement should be consulted about the arrangements to be made to secure, by the use of German materials and German manpower, the restoration by Germany of all that has been destroyed in countries against which she has waged war. In the view of this World Conference the employment of German labour if used in restoration work must be placed under international supervision with Trade Union

participation, in the determination of labour standards in a way that will not reduce the standards of other workers. Such labour must not be allowed to degenerate into slave labour.

12. Connected with such necessary organisation of the German workers is the task of liquidating completely and irrevocably the German "Labour Front" and establishing under international Trade Union supervision a democratic Trade Union Movement in Germany as speedily as possible during the period of occupation.

13. This World Conference insists that Trade Union funds and property taken from the workers by the Nazis must be recovered and placed at the disposal of the Trade Unions of those countries from which the funds and property were taken, to be used in rebuilding free and democratic Trade Union organisations.

14. Concerned with the stern punishment of all war criminals, high and low, this World Conference believes that Trade Union help and counsel will be necessary to ensure, without the spirit of vengeance, that none of the guilty shall escape due punishment. No right of asylum shall be invoked for the protection of war criminals.

15. Moreover, this World Conference is convinced that the Trade Union Movement can render indispensable assistance in the reconstruction of the whole system of education in Germany, whereby the young generation of Germans will be purged of the infection of militarism and Nazism, and a radically different educational programme, with revised text books, can be brought into operation, and all teachers and lecturers who have supported Nazism shall be expelled from German schools and universities.

20-2

16. The Trade Union Movement likewise seeks the opportunity to assist in the organisation and conduct of anti-Fascist propaganda, in the cleansing of Fascism from German literature, and the arts, and in the use of German theatres, cinemas, radio and press, for the inculcation of democratic ideals and of racial and religious equality which have been derided and set at naught in the Fascist ideology.

17. From the Crimea Conference have come binding guarantees that the Allied Governments will forthwith enter upon the task of establishing a general international organisation to maintain peace and security.

18. This World Conference rejoices in the declared purpose of the Allied Governments to give effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, by recognising and defending the right of all people to choose the form of Government under which they will live. The resolve of the Allied Governments to secure the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to the peoples who have seen their democratic institutions ruthlessly uprooted, and jointly to assist the people in every liberated country to create the conditions in which stable and representative Governments, resting upon the free consent of the people, can come into existence, will have the support of the Trade Union Movement.

19. This World Conference unanimously acclaims the decision of the three Allied Governments to summon a Conference of United Nations at San Francisco to prepare the Charter of an international organisation in accordance with

the general principles formulated at Dumbarton Oaks. We fully endorse their decision to bring the Government of China and the Provisional Government of France into association with them in this great enterprise.

20. The Trade Union Movement will look to the San Francisco Conference to set the seal of final agreement upon the policy which the leaders of the three Great Powers have consistently pursued since they framed the Atlantic Charter, and reaffirmed and amplified at the Moscow and Teheran Conferences, in which their unity of purpose was strengthened. In those historic meetings, the desire of the peoples of all countries, great or small, for collaboration and active participation on the part of their Governments in the sacred task of ridding the world of tyranny, slavery, oppression, and racial and religious intolerance, found expression; and this World Conference is profoundly convinced that with the coming of Peace the freedom-loving peoples over all the earth will give their support and countenance only to those Governments that will co-operate in framing and maintaining the Charter.

21. This World Conference, indeed, considers it to be the duty of the Governments of the United Nations to deny recognition to States whose political and economic systems are opposed to the principles embodied in the Declarations made at the Atlantic meeting and the Conferences of Moscow and Teheran. The struggle for the uprooting of militarism and Fascism, which has involved the working people in uncountable sacrifices, is an integral part of their struggle for a stable and lasting peace, and of their fight to remove the last vestiges of militarism and Fascism, and to exterminate all covert and overt "fifth column" influences in all countries.

20-2

22. This World Conference urges most strongly the speedy establishment of the Dumbarton Oaks plan for the constitution of a general Assembly of all peace-loving nations, with equal rights. Only when such an Assembly is in being can such questions as general disarmament, regulation of armaments, and other essentials of security be adequately dealt with.

23. Among these essentials this World Conference attaches supreme importance to removal of the economic causes of war. The Trade Union Movement cannot forget that one of the basic causes of war is the scramble for markets by monopolising interests.

24. This World Conference therefore considers it to be one of the earliest obligations of the Assembly presently to be established to investigate and put a term to the activities of international cartels and monopolies which militate against the public interest under whatever guise they may function.

25. In the view of this World Conference, it is likewise necessary to bring to an end the system of colonies, dependencies and subject countries as spheres of economic exploitation, and to facilitate immediately the development of free Trade Unions in those countries. In the coming peace, the foundations must be laid with all possible speed, and in accordance with Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter, of a world order in which non-self-governing communities and nations can attain the status of free nations that will enable them to govern themselves and to develop their own institutions of free citizenship.

26. This World Conference is of opinion too that after the war, thoroughgoing remedies must be found, through international action, for the wrongs inflicted on the Jewish people. Their protection against oppression, discrimination and spoilation in any country must be the responsibility of the new International Authority. The Jewish people must be enabled to continue the rebuilding of Palestine as their National Home, so successfully begun by immigration, agricultural resettlement and industrial development, respecting the legitimate interests of other national groups and giving equality of rights and opportunities to all its inhabitants.

27. This World Conference has taken note of the fact that the plan of world organisation outlined at Dumbarton Oaks includes the setting up of a Security Council vested with power to maintain peace; that it is proposed to appoint permanent representatives of Ministerial status and experience at the headquarters of the International Organisation; and that a Military Staff Committee is also to be established composed of Chiefs of Staff of the States with permanent members, to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to its military requirements and for the strategic direction of armed forces placed at its disposal. This World Conference welcomes this as evidence of the determination of the three Allied Governments to enforce peace and maintain security.

28. This World Conference is especially hopeful that the proposal in the Dumbarton Oaks plan to set up an Economic and Social Council to make recommendations on international economic, social and other humanitarian problems, will be implemented as speedily as possible. The Trade Union Movement has a particular obligation to assist the development of this organ of the new international body, and demands representation in all its stages.

29. This World Conference urges the use of this instrument for the initiation of great schemes of international economic reconstruction, embodying the principles of public control and administration, and applying them particularly to the great river systems in which the interests of many nations are inextricably involved.

30. Finally, this World Conference, having regard to the constitution, aims and functions of the new World Organisation, considers it to be of vital importance that the Trade Union Movement shall be closely and continuously connected with its activities, and especially with the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. On behalf of the Trade Union Movement, this World Conference therefore urges that provision shall be made for effective Trade Union representation in the Assembly of the International Organisation, and that qualified and responsible representatives of the Trade Union Movement shall be associated with both the Security Council and the Social and Economic Council.

31. This World Conference, in furtherance of this objective, resolves to seek from the three Allied Governments an undertaking that accredited representatives of the Trade Union Movement will be received into their councils at the forthcoming San Francisco Conference, in an advisory and consultative capacity.

32. This World Conference recalls the Declaration made by the Deputy Prime Minister of Great Britain, in his address to the delegations here

assembled, that the great machinery of consultation built up by the Trade Unions through many years has been a factor of vital importance in the winning of the war. This World Conference feels that such recognition of the assistance and advice made available by the Trade Union Movement in every phase of war activity, confirmed by similar statements from other Allied statesmen, warrants the expectation that this collaboration will continue as the United Nations turn to the task of carrying through the great change-over from war to peace, and set their hands to the rebuilding of a world in ruins, and the renovation and renewal of the life of all mankind in freedom and security.

33. It is the view of the Trade Union Movements of those members of the United Nations which are at war with Japan that the principles outlined above, as applying to the peace settlement to be imposed on Germany, are equally applicable to Japan, and, in particular, that the Mikado shall not be allowed to escape his responsibility for the acts of Japanese militarism, that the Japanese Empire shall be replaced by a democratic republic, and that the terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be rigidly applied in regard to those territories which Japan has seized in the course of her campaigns of aggression.

20-2

NOT FOR RELEASE

REPORT OF THE CIO DELEGATES

TO THE WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

I N T R O D U C T I O N

On February 6, 1945 the World Trade Union Conference opened its sessions in the council chambers of the London County Council in London, England.

Never before in history has there been so representative, so all-inclusive a gathering of the leaders of the organized labor movements of the world.

The delegates attending the Conference came from 35 countries and represented more than 60 million organized workers. They came from the great powers, from the small nations and from the colonial and dependent countries. They came from both hemispheres and from Iceland to South Africa. They were men of every race, color and creed. Indians and Chinese from the Far East, Arabs and Jews from Palestine, Negroes from Africa and the Carribean, Catholics, Protestants, Mohammedans and Hindus - all were represented. They were men of widely varying political views. Soviet delegates sat side by side with the leaders of the Christian trade unions of Europe.

Here was a true parliament of world labor, gathered to take common counsel and united in the determination to work and act together upon the crucial problems of war and peace which face the workers and all the common people of the earth.

The delegates spoke many different languages. They had had no previous opportunity of exchanging views. Yet they quickly established a unity of thought, purpose and action.

The Conference was confronted with two paramount tasks: First, to define the common objectives of the trade union movements of the world and to adopt a program of practical measures for their achievement; and second, to establish an all-inclusive, democratic, powerful international labor federation capable of taking prompt, vigorous and effective action to implement this program and carry it into effect.

The Conference accomplished both of these great tasks. After twelve days of full and free discussion, it adopted a program which squarely meets the burning issues facing all freedom-loving people in these critical days. It is a detailed, practical, realistic program which fully measures up to labor's responsibility of progressive leadership in the great tasks of winning the war and winning the peace.

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Moreover, before the Conference adjourned on February 17th, it laid the basis for a strong and united world labor federation. It agreed to convene a constitutional convention in September of this year at Paris for the purpose of perfecting this permanent organization, and established committees to carry on its work and implement its decisions in the interim.

One of the most significant aspects of the Conference is the fact that its decisions were ma e with complete unanimity. Not a dissenting vote marred the complete and perfect accord which the delegates reached on every fundamental issue.

The historic work of the World Trade Union Conference must become the subject of study and discussion by every trade unionist and progressive in the United States. For never before has so powerful an instrument been created to express the will of the workers

of the world and work for the attainment of the great objectives which they share with all forward-looking men and women: Speedy victory in the war, the establishment of an enduring peace and the assurance of a secure and more abundant life for all the people.

It is the purpose of the CIO delegates to the Conference, in presenting this report, to provide the members of CIo and the American people with an accurate and official account of the work and achievements of this most significant gathering of world labor.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE CONFERENCE

The Conference was convened as the culmination of preliminary efforts extending over a period of several years. The CIO, under the leadership of President Murray, played an outstanding role in initiating and carrying forward the measures which ultimately led to the call for the Conference.

20-2

At its 1941 Convention, the CIO instructed its executive officers to "make contact with representatives of the free democratic trade union movement throughout the world so as to ensure the closest possible cooperation of organized workers in all countries in the present struggle against Hitler". At Conventions in 1942 and again in 1943, resolutions were unanimously adopted calling for the creation of an all-embracing international labor body and urging the convening of a world labor conference for that purpose. In 1942, President Murray made formal representations to the officers of the British Trades Union Congress, suggesting that such a conference be convened. Consultation and discussion with representatives of the British Trades Union Congress followed. At the same time, the question of convening a world conference was under consideration by the Soviet and British

trade unions and was the subject of discussion at meetings of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee.

These discussions culminated in a resolution to convene a world labor conference which was adopted by the British Trades Union Congress at its annual assembly in Southport in 1943. Pursuant to that resolution, the General Council of the British TUC issued a call in November, 1943, to a World Trade Union Conference scheduled to be held in London in June 1944. Because of military considerations incident to the Allied invasion of Western Europe, the Conference had to be postponed and was finally called for February 6, 1945.

20-8

To make the necessary preparations for the Conference, a Preparatory Committee was established, consisting of representatives of the British Trades Union Congress, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR and the trade unions of the United States. The American Federation of Labor, the Railway Brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers and the CIO were invited to send representatives to the meeting of the Preparatory Committee. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor refused to name representatives, as it likewise refused to send delegates to the February Conference. The United Mine Workers failed to reply to the invitation. The Railway Brotherhoods, while regretting their inability to have representatives attend the meeting of the Preparatory Committee, advised the British Trades Union Congress of their intention to participate in the work of the Conference. President Murray appointed Presidents Hillman, Thomas and Rieve to represent the CIO on the Preparatory Committee.

The Preparatory Committee met in London on December 4, 1944.

Secretary-Treasurer Carey and Vice-Presidents Fitzgerald, Haywood and Green.

With the courtesy of the London County Council, the Conference was held in its spacious and beautiful chambers.

All of the technical arrangements for the Conference were made and the Conference secretariat supplied by the British Trades Union Congress. We of the CIO delegation, as well as the whole world trade union movement owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to the British Trades Union Congress and its officers for the excellence of the arrangements which they made and for their warm hospitality to us in London. It was their initiative and devoted effort which made the success of the Conference possible.

20-7

The Conference recognized four official languages, English, French, Russian and Spanish. In addition, other languages were spoken by the delegates, including Dutch, Swedish and Greek. A staff of interpreters was provided, and after each major speech, the delegates split up into language groups in the various committee rooms of the County Council Building to hear the translations. Extemporaneous discussion from the floor was translated on the spot. While the language barrier might appear to interpose serious difficulties to the smooth and efficient functioning of the Conference, the fact is that the arrangements for translation were so efficiently made that language differences proved no serious obstacle.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE CONFERENCE

A total of 59 trade union organizations were represented by delegates at the Conference as originally constituted. These included 28 trade union centers from countries that are members of

the United Nations, 10 organizations from British mandated territories and crown colonies, 6 trade union organizations of neutral countries (Iceland, Ireland, Spain, and Sweden), the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Latin American Confederation of Labor, and 13 international trade secretariats. These organizations, comprising more than 60 million organized workers, were represented by a total of 204 delegates and observers.

Spain, listed as neutral, was represented by 3 trade union centers in exile. Pursuant to a decision of the Preparatory Committee, no invitation was extended to the trade unions of Argentina.

Under the procedure adopted by the Conference, the neutral countries sat as observers only, without right to vote or participate in the discussion, during the deliberations of the Conference on all matters connected with the prosecution of the war and the peace settlements.

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Invitations originally extended by the British Trades Union Congress did not include any of the ex-enemy countries. The question of inviting the trade union organizations of Italy, Finaldn, Bulgaria and Rumania and of extending an invitation to the Polish trade unions formed under the Lublin Government gave rise to a controversy in the early sessions of the Conference. This controversy was resolved by unanimous agreement in accordance with a compromise proposal presented by Vice-President Thomas. Pursuant to that proposal, invitations were issued to the ex-enemy countries to present their credentials for consideration and action by the Credentials Committee or the Conference Committee which was established to continue the work of the Conference after its adjournment.

Representatives of the trade unions of Italy, Bulgaria and

Finland arrived in London and presented their credentials which were accepted. They were thereupon seated as members of the Conference Committee. The Committee also agreed to seat a Runamian representative, subject only to the verification of his credentials when presented. It also decided to seat a representative of the trade unions in Poland as soon as these unions had designated their representative for this purpose. Places were also held open for delegates from Denmark and Luxembourg, when designated.

The delegates representing the Railway Brotherhoods found it impossible to attend the Conference but sent a cable expressing their regret and their hope to participate in future meetings.

From this summary of the composition of the Conference, it is clear that substantially every trade union organization of consequence among the free nations of the world was represented with the sole exception of the American Federation of Labor, whose Executive Council has obstinately and persistently refused to participate in this great world labor movement. Nevertheless, the Conference made it plain that it was leaving the door open to the AFL and will welcome its participation whenever the Executive Council reverses its stubborn stand.

Appendix 1 to this report contains a complete list of the countries and organizations represented at the Conference.

OFFICERS AND ADDRESSES OF WELCOME

The Conference appointed three presidents: George Isaacs, M.P., Chairman of the British Trades Union Congress; V. V. Kuznetzov, Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR; and Vice-President Thomas, Chairman of the CIO delegation. It also

appointed three vice-presidents; Louis Saillant, Secretary of the French C.G.T.; V. Lombardo Toledano, General Secretary of the Confederation of Latin American Trade Unions; and Chu Hsueh Fan, Chairman of the Chinese Association of Labor. The Presidents and Vice-Presidents presided over sessions of the Conference in rotation.

The Conference designated Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, as Secretary . The secretariat, including all stenographic and clerical assistance, was supplied by the Trades Union Congress.

The Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Secretary served as ex-officio members of all committees. They had the privilege and pleasure of being received by the King and Queen during the course of the Conference.

20-2

The Conference was opened with an address of welcome on behalf of the British Trades Union Congress by Mr. Isaacs and on behalf of the London County Council by Dr. Somerville Hastings, its chairman. Prime Minister Churchill had accepted an invitation to address the delegates, but was unable to appear, because of his attendance at the Crimea Conference. In his absence, the Hon. Clement Atlee, Deputy Prime Minister, delivered an address.

The announcement of the results of the historic Crimea Conference was made during the sessions as the Committee on the Peace Settlements was completing its report which very closely paralleled the Yalta decisions. The Conference took cognizance of the significance of this event by authorizing telegrams to President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin, hailing their achievements and pledging full support in carrying out their decisions. "We pledge", the telegram read in part, "to guard and protect the unity

of the United Nations in war and in peace and to work together unceasingly to secure our great common objectives, speedy victory and an enduring peace." Prior to the adjournment of the Conference, a grateful acknowledgement of this telegram was received from Prime Minister Churchill.

PROCEDURE AND AGENDA

At the opening of the Conference, a Committee on Standing Orders and a Committee on Credentials were appointed. It was the function of the Standing Orders Committee to make recommendations on all important matters of procedure and, in general, to be the governing committee of the Conference. The Credentials Committee had the duty of passing on the credentials of all delegates. In accordance with the Conference procedure, each committee selected from among its members a chairman who presided at the committee sessions and a reporter who presented the committee reports to the full Conference.

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The original Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee was F. Wollstonecroft, of the British Trades Union Congress, and the reporter was Ernest Thornton of Australia. Vice-president Fitzgerald was the CIO member, and later the chairman of this important committee which, among other matters was called upon to deal with the difficult question of the seating of ex-enemy countries. Vice-president Green was Chairman of the Credentials Committee and A. Carillo of Mexico was the reporter.

The Conference also adopted a procedure for voting. It was recognized by all that an international conference of this character could not make its decisions by a mere majority vote. Unity and true democracy required that all decisions have general acceptance by delegates from the great preponderance

of the countries represented, both large and small. Accordingly, the Conference rules provided that decisions should be made only by the general consent of the delegates. The rules further provided that a roll call vote should be taken on the request of any three or more delegations. Upon a roll call, general consent required the affirmative vote of at least two-thirds of the national delegations, provided that no proposition would be rejected unless the dissentients represented at least one-third of the national delegations and comprised at least one-third of the total membership of the national organizations. In this way, the rules of the Conference prevented any one or more of the large organizations from dominating by weight of number and assured full democracy in the making of all decisions.

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It is significant that the Conference acted on all matters with such unanimity that the foregoing procedure was never required. At no time was a request for a roll call made by any delegation, and all matters were decided by general consent without the necessity of voting. Indeed, each final committee report was adopted by the unanimous vote of all of the delegates, without any dissent whatsoever.

Pursuant to the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee and the Standing Orders Committee, the Conference approved the following agenda:

1. Furtherance of the Allied War Effort.
2. The Trade Union Attitude toward the Peace Settlements.
3. Immediate Trade Union Demands and Problems of Post-War Reconstruction.
4. Basis for a World Trade Union Federation.

The rules of the Conference were designed to insure full and free discussion of these important subjects.

Each item on the agenda was introduced by speakers from countries nominated by the Conference. The introducers were allowed one half hour to make their reports.

Following the introductory reports on each item, the subject matter was thrown open for free discussion by the Conference, each delegate being permitted to speak for ten minutes. At the close of debate, the Conference appointed a committee which proceeded to meet for further discussion and the preparation of a report. After the presentation of the Committee report to the Conference, further discussion took place, during which the delegates were given full opportunity to propose amendments. At the conclusion of this discussion, and after action on any proposed amendments, the Conference proceeded to act on the report.

As the result of this procedure, each committee had before it the views of all of the delegations when it retired to prepare its report and unlimited debate was permitted on the report itself.

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FURTHERANCE OF THE ALLIED WAR EFFORT

This point on the agenda was introduced to the Conference with reports by Vice-President Robinson for the CIO, V. V. Kuznetsov for the Soviet Union, A Deacon for Britain and Chu Hsueh Fan for China. Discussion from the floor followed, at the conclusion of which a committee was appointed consisting of Vice-President Robinson representing the CIO and representatives of the Soviet Union, France, China and Great Britain. Vice-President Robinson was designated as the chairman and reporter of this committee.

The report of the Committee, as amended and unanimously adopted by the Conference, is set out in full as Appendix 2.

The report reviews the victorious progress of the war against the enemy. It notes the tremendous contribution to the common struggle made by the people, and particularly the workers, of each of the United Nations. It calls upon the workers not to pause or slacken their efforts as victory approaches, but to work with even greater energy and application and to combat every attempt to curtail the output of war material and armaments. The report salutes the heroic armed forces of the United Nations on behalf of the Conference and pledges that the

60 million workers represented there will work unceasingly until the day of victory to supply the armed forces with all their needs.

The report calls for assistance to the liberated countries in raising and equipping armed forces so that they may have the means of participating fully in carrying the war to the enemy. It also calls upon the nations at war with Japan for maximum possible assistance, in theform of arms and munitions, to the heroic Chinese people.

Recognizing that the full mobilization of the workers for the war effort is inseparable from the defense of their vital economic needs, the report calls for the maintenance of wage levels consistent with adequate living standards, equal pay for equal work, improved housing and social insurance, the proper rationing of food supplies and the strict enforcement of collective agreements and government orders for the protection of workers.

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The report calls for the immediate establishment of the freedoms of speech press, assembly, religion, political association and the right to organize labor unions in the liberated countries; the formation of governments in these countries which have the support of the people, and assistance to them in the form of foodstuffs, supplies and raw materials.

The report calls upon the governments of the United Nations to reconsider their relations with Franco Spain, Argentina and all other fascist countries which, under the pretense of neutrality, are rendering aid and assistance to our enemies. It also asks that vigorous steps be taken to prevent neutral nations, like Sweden and Switzerland, from continuing to supply material to Hitler Germany.

The report concludes with a declaration that the unity of the United Nations is the foundation for our victory in the war and with a pledge by the Conference to use its every effort to preserve and strengthen this unity and to conduct a determined struggle against those forces which seek to weaken it.

At the suggestion of the Committee, the Conference dispatched the following telegram to the Supreme Commanders of the forces of the United Nations

in each theatre of the war:

"The delegates to the World Trade Union Conference, representing 60,000,000 organized workers from 35 countries, send their warm fraternal greetings to you and to the officers and men under your command. We are meeting in London to unite the efforts of the workers we represent for victory in the war, for a lasting peace, and for a world which shall be worthy of the sacrifices of the men and women who have fought and bled and died to defend our freedom. Our first thoughts at this Conference go out to the glorious armed forces of the United Nations whose banners carry the hope of all progressive mankind and whose magnificant achievements in every theatre and on every front have assured the victory of our cause. We have called upon the 60,000,000 workers whom we represent not for a moment to pause or slacken their efforts as victory approaches, but to work with even greater energy and application, dedicating themselves to the single task of increasing production to supply the fronts. In their name we pledge to work unceasingly to supply the forces you command with all their needs until the day when the enemy lays down his arms in full and final defeat."

THE TRADE UNION ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

This point on the agenda was introduced with a detailed analytical report by Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress.

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A prolonged discussion of the whole matter of the peace settlements followed, in which Secretary-Treasurer Carey participated on behalf of CIO.

At the conclusion of the discussion, a committee was appointed consisting of Secretary-Treasurer Carey and representatives from the USSR, Great Britain, China, France, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, India, Czechoslovakia, South Africa, Mexico and Palestine.

Secretary-Treasurer Carey was designated as Chairman of the Committee and A. Gazier of France as reporter.

The Committee report sets forth a detailed and comprehensive program, both economic and political, for an enduring peace. The report, as amended and unanimously adopted by the Conference, is set out in full as Appendix 3.

The report first addresses itself to the post-war treatment of Germany. It hails and fully approves the decisions of the Crimea Conference for the destruction of Nazism and German Militarism and the complete eradication of Fascism. It

directs attention to the following specific measures that must be taken:

(1) To bring to justice all war criminals and those guilty of Nazi atrocities;

(2) To liquidate the whole Nazi system and to dissolve all Nazi organizations with the complete confiscation of their funds and property;

(3) To place under the control of the United Nations not only German heavy industry but the German transport system, the banking system, and land and property owned by German trusts and cartels, and by financial magnates and Junkers;

(4) For the utilization, within the limits imposed by effective demilitarization, of German industrial and all other resources for the rehabilitation of all countries the Germans have devastated and plundered;

(5) For the setting up of machinery to secure the full compensation from Germany for the damage it has caused to the Allied countries, with priority to those that have suffered most;

(6) To liquidate complete and irrevocably the German "Labor Front" and establish, under international trade union supervision, a democratic trade union movement in Germany as speedily as possible during the period of occupation.

The report asks that if German labor is used to restore the damage wrought by the German armies, it be placed under international supervision with trade union participation, so as not to reduce the standards of other workers, and to prevent its degeneration into slave labor.

It urges that the international trade union movement be fully consulted in connection with all phases of the treatment of Germany and in particular that its services be used in the reconstruction of the whole system of German

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education and in the organization and conduct of anti-fascist propaganda in Germany.

The Conference called for the enforcement of all the foregoing principles in the case of Japan, by the countries at war against her, and demanded the rigid application of the Cairo Declaration to those territories which Japan has seized in the course of her campaigns of aggression.

The Conference acclaimed and fully endorsed the Crimea decision to convene a United Nations conference at San Francisco for the establishment of an international organization to maintain peace in accordance with the proposals formulated at Dumbarton Oaks. The report resolved, on behalf of the Conference, to seek representation at the forthcoming San Francisco Conference "in an advisory and consultative capacity". It urged that provision be made for adequate trade union representation in the Assembly of the new international organization and that representatives of the trade union movement should be associated with both the proposed Security Council and the proposed Social and Economic Council.

The report hailed the declared purpose of the Allied governments to give effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter by recognizing and defending the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live.

The report, attaching supreme importance to the removal of the economic causes of war, urged that the international organization, when established, should investigate and put a term to the activities of international cartels and monopolies which militate against the public interest.

The report emphasized the view of the Conference that it is necessary to bring an end to the system of colonies, dependencies and subject countries as spheres of economic exploitation and that, in the coming peace, the foundations must be laid of a world order in which non-self-governing

communities and nations can attain the status of free nations. It also urged that thorough-going remedies must be found, through international action, for the wrongs inflicted on the Jewish people who must be enabled to continue the rebuilding of Palestine as their national home, respecting the legitimate interests of other national groups.

POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION AND IMMEDIATE TRADE UNION DEMANDS

This point on the agenda was introduced with a report by C. M. Gallie of the British Trades Union Congress. Vice-presidents Curran and Haywood participated in the discussion which followed.

At the conclusion of the discussion, a Committee was appointed, consisting of Vice-president Haywood representing the CIO and representatives of the Soviet Union, France, China, New Zealand, Latin America, Great Britain, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone.

Vice-President Haywood was designated as Chairman of the Committee and C. M. Gallie as reporter.

The report of the Committee, as amended and unanimously adopted by the Conference, is set forth in full as Appendix 4.

The report first addresses itself to the immediate tasks of relief to the people of the liberated countries and those which have been direct victims of Nazi persecution. In particular, it asks that UNRRA be endowed with more effective powers to expendite relief where urgently needed. In addition, it calls for effective measures to insure the planned repatriation of the deported or exiled populations of the liberated countries and for adequate provision for their maintenance and reinstatement into industry.

The report calls for a full program for the protection of veterans, including free medical aid and adequate sickness benefits for the whole period of their disablement, free training to requalify them for industrial employment, and life benefits for the permanently disabled.

The report declares that a postwar world must be created which will be worthy of all who have fought and toiled to save democracy and civilization from destruction. In such a world, it insists, working people everywhere are entitled to live in peace and serenity, without fear of unemployment and penury, and under conditions in keeping with their dignity as human beings.

The report declares the principle that, in the postwar period, governments must accept and take steps to implement their full responsibility for insuring that there are suitable jobs at adequate rates of pay for all able-bodied men and women who require them.

In this connection, the report urges a series of measures including the adoption of policies to insure that the purchasing power of the workers shall rise steadily with increasing productivity, the maintenance of controls over prices to avoid inflation and the planning in the public interest of proper financial and fiscal policies. It demands the speedy and universal introduction of the 40-hour week without loss of pay, without prejudice to the claim for a shorter working week by trade unions in countries where economic development makes this possible. It also calls for a guaranteed annual vacation with full pay of at least two weeks duration and for full pay for all holidays.

The report urges a single comprehensive system of social insurance in each country, financed mainly by governments and employers, with benefits sufficient to guarantee a normal existence for all working people who are unable to work as a result of unemployment, accident, sickness, or old age. It demands a comprehensive system of medical and rehabilitation services, free for all who require them. Recognizing that the welfare of children must be a primary concern of all governments, the report calls for the payment of family allowances under all social security programs and for the provision of kindergartens, nurseries and ample child welfare facilities. It insists that trade

union participation should be accorded in the administration of all social insurance and social welfare systems.

The report recognizes that the realization of the goal of full production and full employment with real security for all the people depends upon the establishment of effective international cooperation in the economic as well as in the political field. It therefore calls for measures to assure world-wide economic cooperation through international instruments to promote a steady expansion of foreign trade, with long-term loans for the economic and industrial development of colonial territories and backward countries.

The report concludes by proclaiming the following charter of basic trade union and workers' rights:

(a) Workpeople shall be free to organize themselves in trade unions and to engage freely in all normal trade union activities, including that of collective bargaining.

(b) Workpeople shall be free to establish co-operatives and any other mutual aid organizations.

(c) There shall be freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion, and political association.

(d) Every form of political, economic or social discrimination based on race, color, creed or sex shall be eliminated, and in this sense equal pay for equal work shall be established. In cases where young people are performing adult work, they shall receive the adult rate of pay.

(e) There shall be equality of educational and vocational opportunities for all people.

(f) There shall be suitable employment available at adequate rates of pay for all requiring work.

(g) There shall be adequate protection in all the circumstances of life where this is required to guarantee social and economic security to every citizen.

BASIS FOR A WORLD TRADE UNION FEDERATION

This item of the agenda presented perhaps the most important and also the most difficult problem with which the Conference was called upon to deal. It was recognized by all that no program adopted by the Conference -- however excellent -- can realize itself, but must be implemented by an organization capable of uniting and mobilizing the organized workers of the world for its effectuation. Therefore, the outstanding task of the Conference was the task of organization -- the creation of a single, powerful and effective world trade union federation capable of speaking and acting with authority on behalf of the great mass of the workers of the world.

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The CIO, at its 1944 convention, took a clear and unequivocal stand upon this question. Its resolution on international labor unity called for the immediate creation of "a new single, powerful international labor body that shall include all the nations of free countries on a basis of equality, excluding none, and relegating none to a secondary place".

At the Conference, President Hillman was designated to make the introductory report on this point of the agenda. He placed the CIO position before the Conference. On behalf of the CIO he proposed that the Conference immediately create a new world labor organization, subject to ratification by the trade union bodies represented at the Conference, and that pending a constitutional convention to set up a permanent organization, a committee be appointed to carry forward the work of the Conference and implement its decisions.

In the early sessions of the Conference, this position of CIO appeared to be in conflict with that taken by some of the other delegations, particularly the British Trades Union Congress. This apparent conflict gave rise to speculation by the enemies of labor -- and even by some of its friends -- that the Conference would never be able to come to an agreement on the vital question of organizing a single united international labor federation.

However, as the Conference progressed and the delegations had an opportunity for full discussion and exchange of views, it became apparent that what had at first seemed to be a fundamental difference was in fact only a divergency of opinion on methods, with full agreement on objectives. A sense of the urgency of action on the vital organizational problem was shared by all of the delegations. Differences related solely to the form which such action should take.

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Following President Hillman's address to the Conference, Sir Walter Citrine on behalf of the British Trades Union Congress, presented constructive proposals to reconcile whatever differences existed. These proposals, together with those submitted by President Hillman, formed the basis for the action subsequently taken by the unanimous vote of the Conference.

At the conclusion of the discussion, a committee was appointed consisting of President Hillman, representing the CIO, and representatives of India, Australia, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, the International Federation of Trade Unions, Latin America, Northern Rhodesia and USSR. Representatives of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, the International Transport Workers Federation, the British Crown Colonies, and Canada were called in as consultative members of the Committee in order to secure a full expression of views. Sir Walter Citrine was designated as Chairman of this committee and President Hillman as reporter.

The report of the Committee as amended and unanimously adopted by the Conference is set out in full as Appendix 5.

The report declares that the Conference is convinced of the vital importance to world labor of uniting, in one world federation, the trade union bodies of freedom loving nations, irrespective of difference of race or creed, or of political, religious or philosophical distinctions. The report, therefore, records the earnest desire and firm resolve of the Conference to work for the creation of a powerful, democratic world trade union federation at the earliest practical date.

To implement this purpose the Conference, in conformity with the report of the Committee, took the following action:

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(1) It established a World Trade Union Conference Committee (consisting of 45 members as finally constituted) fully representative of the composition of the Conference. Presidents Murray, Hillman and Thomas are the CIO representatives on this Committee. The composition of the committee is set forth in Appendix 6.

(2) It empowered this committee, among other things:

(a) To implement the decisions of the Conference, make collective representations to national governments and international agencies, and to insure trade union representation at the coming peace conference and at all preparatory commissions and conferences.

(b) To prepare a draft constitution for the World Trade Union Federation and circulate it among the constituent trade union bodies.

(c) To establish a headquarters in Paris.

(d) To designate an Administrative Committee clothed with full power to act between sessions of the Conference Committee.

(3) It decided to convene a constitutional convention for the purpose of adopting a constitution and setting up the permanent organization of the World Trade Union Federation.

Having completed its work by adopting a program, laying the basis for a permanent organization and making provision for the immediate continuation of its work, the Conference adjourned.

Immediately after the adjournment of the full conference, the World Trade Union Conference Committee went into session and met for five days

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THE WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

The Committee fixed the constitutional convention for September 1945 in Paris.

It designated an Administrative Committee of 13, consisting of two representatives each from Great Britain France, the USSR, the USA and Latin America and one representative each from China, the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Trade Secretariats. The United States members are President Murray and President Hillman, with President Thomas as an alternate.

A meeting of the Administrative Committee was set for April 10 in Washington, D.C. At that time the Committee will consider and approve a draft constitution, now in preparation, for circulation among the constituent organizations for their comment and suggestions. From Washington, the Administrative Committee will proceed to San Francisco where it will present the position of the world trade union movement to the United Nations Conference scheduled for April 25th.

Secretary Saillant of the French C. G. T. was designated as the Secretary of the Conference Committee and in charge of the Paris headquarters.

The Conference Committee also considered the question of the ratification of the decisions of the Conference by the constituent organizations represented in London. Upon a canvass of the members of the committee, all of the delegations, with the exception of the British, stated that they were authorized to and did ratify these decisions without referring them back to the organizations which they represented. The delegates were able to take this position because they found that all of the Conference decisions fully corresponded to the official policies of their organizations. The British delegation submitted the Conference decisions to the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress a few days later, and Sir Walter Citrine thereafter reported that all of the decisions were ratified by the Council. The Conference decisions were also fully approved and confirmed by the Executive Board of the CIO at its meeting on March 10th after the Board had received a full report of the London proceedings from the CIO delegation.

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MANIFESTO

Pursuant to the authority conferred on it by the full conference, the World Trade Union Conference Committee adopted a manifesto which is set out in full as Appendix 7.

[1945]

WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

DECLARATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE FURTHERANCE OF THE ALLIED WAR EFFORT

(The Committee consisted of Mr. Reid Robinson (USA), Mr. E. I. Sidorenko and Mme. E. G. Shulga* (USSR), Mr. M. Dupuy and Mr. J. Brodier* (France), Mr. Chu Hsueh Fan and Mr. H. T. Liu* (China), Mr. A. Deakin and Mr. L Fawcett* (Great Britain). In response to a request from the British Crown Colonies, the Committee AGREED that Mr. T. A. Bankole should be co-opted to the Committee. Mr. Reid Robinson was appointed Chairman and Rapporteur. Mr. E. P. Harries was in attendance from the Secretariat, * denotes substitute member.)

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1. This historic conference meets at a moment which is witnessing the triumph of the armed forces of the United Nations in every theatre. In Europe we are witnessing the last convulsions of the Hitlerite regime under the hammerblows that are being struck against it. The mighty Red Army has launched one of the greatest and most sustained military offensives of all time, has struck into the heart of Germany and is now battering at the last defenses that lie before Berlin. In the West, the Anglo-American armies have beaten back Runstedt's counter-offensive and are launching a co-ordinated blow against the very heart of German industry.

2. The allies are inexorably tightening the ring of fire and steel they have forged round the Wehrmacht. We hail the announcement that Prime Minister Churchill, Marshal Stalin and President Roosevelt have reached full agreement on the measures required to finish off Germany. The Soviet blow from the East, augmented by the Anglo-American blow from the West, both carried forward with relentless determination, will be the decisive and final offensive which wrests unconditional surrender from the German state and ends the war in Europe.

3. In the Far East, the armed forces of the countries which are at war against Japan have stemmed the tide of repeated offensives of the Japanese on the mainland of China, are completing the liberation of the Philippines, and are clearing Burma of the Japs. They have re-opened the Burma Road, and, from sea and air, are carrying the war to the China Coast and to the Japanese homeland itself. Final victory against Japan is assured. The war against her must be prosecuted with the same vigor by those nations at war with her as the war in Europe until unconditional surrender is wrested from her as well.

4. The dawn of the day of mankind's deliverance from the aggressors is already brightening the horizon. But every hour by which that dawn is delayed costs of the lives of thousands of our finest young men in the Armed Forces and causes the degradation, mass torture and slaughter of hundreds of thousands of people in the occupied lands and of those people transported to enemy countries. The task before us is to finish off the enemy at the first moment that lies within the power of a united and determined people.

5. The people of each of the United Nations have made their contribution in blood and suffering to the common cause. Each has written a new chapter in the history of human courage and love of freedom. The British, today and in the year when they stood alone against the rain of death from the skies; the Russians, who absorbed the full weight of Hitler's armies and have driven them back across 2,000 miles of scorched and blackened land; the Chinese, who for eight long and terrible years, almost with their bare hands, have gallantly resisted the mechanized might of Japan; the people of the United States, who have wrought a miracle of production, equipped their own armed forces and furnished vital munitions and supplies to their allies; the French, the Belgians, the Norwegians, the Danes, the Greeks, the Czechs, the Dutch, the Yugoslavs, the Poles, the Italian partisans, the people of all the occupied lands who carried on their heroic struggle against Gestaop terror and the collaborationist traitors and who have participated with such magnificant heroism in their own liberation; the people of the British Commonwealth, of Latin America and of the Colonial countries — all have performed their wartime tasks with energy, skill and devotion.

6. This list is long; each chapter is bright with glory. History will record that all have given to the fullest in accordance with the demands made upon them in the fight against Fascism. The workers of the United Nations have borne the main burden of the war against the enemy. They have given their lives in millions on the battlefield. Under the leadership of the Trade Unions, they have toiled tirelessly at their tasks in shop and factory to supply the front with all its needs, and, in the occupied lands, the workers have been in the forefront of the Resistance Movement to liberate themselves and their countrymen from the brute oppressors. The World Trade Union Conference hails the achievements of these heroic workers of the United Nations. We call upon them as victory approaches not for a moment to pause or slacken their efforts but to work with even greater energy and application, thus dedicating themselves to the single task of increasing production and combatting every attempt to curtail the output of war materials and armaments or to relax the all-out mobilization which speedy victory requires.

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7. We salute the heroic armed forces of the United Nations whose courage and determination have won the undying gratitude of all freedom-loving people. On behalf of the sixty million workers whom we represent, we pledge that we shall work unceasingly to supply the armed forces of the United Nations with their needs until the day when the enemy lays down his arms in final defeat. We further pledge to fight for the protection of the rights of the men and women in the armed services and to safeguard their interests as they return to civil life.

8. To speed the day of victory, the World Trade Union Conference calls for all necessary assistance required to raise and fully equip armed forces in the liberated countries, so that they too may have the means to participate fully in carrying the war to the enemy. We call also upon the people of the countries at war with Japan for the maximum possible assistance in the form of arms and munitions to the heroic Chinese people in furtherance of their struggle against the Japanese invader.

9. Full mobilization of the workers is inseparable from the defense of their vital economic needs. The Trade Unions must, therefore, fight to establish and maintain wage levels consistent with adequate living standards; equal pay for equal work without discrimination because of nationality, race or sex, or against minority groups; better housing and social insurance, the proper rationing of food supplies, and the strict enforcement of all collective agreements and government orders and decrees for the protection of workers.

10. We call for the application of policies in liberated countries and territories which will mobilize the full support of their people in the war effort. These policies must include (a) the immediate establishment of the freedoms of speech, press, assembly, religion, political association, and the right to organize labor unions; (b) the formation of governments which have the support of the people; and (c) the provision of foodstuffs, supplies and raw materials to meet the needs of the people and thus enable the full utilization of the manpower and productive facilities in these areas.

11. We call upon the governments of our countries to reconsider economic and other relations with Franco Spain and Argentina and all other Fascist countries which, under the pretense of neutrality, are rendering aid and assistance to our enemies. We further call upon our governments to take prompt and vigorous steps to prevent any neutral nations, such as Sweden, and Switzerland, from continuing to supply Hitler's Germany with food and raw material, and to exact from them guarantees against giving refuge to war criminals.

12. The World Trade Union Conference recognizes that the unity of the United Nations is the foundation for our victory in the war, and that the enemy is prolonging the struggle with the sole hope of splitting that unity and retrieving a "diplomatic" triumph from military defeat. We, therefore, pledge our every effort to preserve and strengthen this essential unity and to conduct a determined struggle against these forces within our own lands which seek to weaken our unity and sow seeds of distrust and suspicion amongst us. The surest guarantee that the bonds which unite us will remain firmly forged is the unity of the United Nations. Meeting here in London on a basis of firm friendship and complete equality, we must act to strengthen that unity and to now give it such organizational form as will guarantee to the freedom loving people of our nations the speediest possible victory in the war, and to establish a just and enduring peace which alone is worthy of the effort and sacrifice by which their liberation was achieved.

REID ROBINSON (Chairman and Rapporteur)

[1945]

WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

DECLARATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION AND IMMEDIATE TRADE UNION DEMANDS

(The Committee consisted of Mr. A. Haywood (USA), Mr. M. Ross* (USA), Mr. L. V. Markov and Mme A. S. Malkova* (USSR), Mr. G. Tessier and Mr. E.Henaff* (France), Mr. Pang Kam-Yau (China), Mr. J. Fox (New Zealand), Mr. V. L. Toledano (Latin America), and Mr. C. N. Gallie (Great Britain). In response to a request from the British Crown Colonies, the Committee AGREED that Mr. J. Annan (Gold Coast) and Mr. Wallace Johnson (Sierra Leone) should be co-opted to the Committee. Mr. A.Haywood was appointed Chairman and Mr. C. N. Gallie was appointed Rapporteur. Mr. A. Flanders and Mr. L.O'Donnell were in attendance from the Secretariat. *denotes substitute member)

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1. Recent momentous events on both the Eastern and Western battlefronts have brough feelings of pride and joy at the great achievements of Allied land, sea, and air power which has secured the liberation of many of those countries whose populations have so long been the direct victims of Nazi occupation and persecution.

2. The victorious advance of the armies of the United Nations has revealed to the world the scale of exploitation and devastation to which they have been subjected by the enemy. Without exception they have been stripped of their rolling stock, food supplies and other goods, accompanied by the wholesale deportation of skilled manpower.

3. Complete disruption of the economic and social life of the liberated countries necessitates the provision of immediate relief. Whilst we welcome the work already done by UNRRA in this direction, that organization, because of the lack of adequate supplies and its narrowly restricted powers has been unable to cater fully for the absolutely essential needs of the liberated peoples.

4. This World Trade Union Conference, therefore, calls upon the Governments of the United Nations to do all within their power to provide relief on an increasing scale to the liberated countries. UNRRA, which should operate in consultation with appropriate bona fide Trade Unions, should be endowed with more effective powers than it has at present in order to expedite relief where it is most urgently needed. We fully support the resolution adopted by UNRRA "that no time shall relief and rehabilitation supplies be used as a political weapon, and no discrimination shall be made in the distribution of relief supplies because of race, creed or political belief."

5. Effective measures will also be necessary to ensure the planned repatriation of the populations of the liberated countries, numbering tens of millions, who have been deported or exiled on account of their trade union or anti-Fascist activities or for the purpose of supplementing Germany's manpower. The governments concerned should make adequate provision for their maintenance and reinstatement in industry.

6. In all countries, including Colonial territories, it is essential that the change-over from war to peace production is planned in such a way as to provide for the distribution in industry of the millions of demobilized servicemen, repatriated prisoners of war and workers forcibly driven into Germany.

7. This Conference demands that all governments establish an adequate measure of public control and direction with the participation of trade unions, to carry into effect this process of industrial reconversion. Sufficient control must also be exercised over prices so as to avoid inflation and a speculative profit boom such as occurred at the end of the last war.

8. Governments will have a special responsibility to all who spared neither their strength nor their lives in the struggle to secure victory over Fascism. Free medical aid and adequate sickness benefits should be granted to disabled servicemen and their dependants for the whole period of their disablement as well as free training to requalify them for industrial employment. Those who have been permanently disabled should be granted life benefits ensuring a normal life for them and their families.

9. The problems of permanent economic reconstruction must be faced in the same spirit as those of the transition period. The working classes have made untold sacrifices in the cause of human freedom during the present war. A postwar world must be created which will be worthy of all who have fought and toiled to save democracy and civilization from destruction.

10. In that world working people everywhere desire and are entitled to live in peace and security, without fear of unemployment and penury, and under conditions in keeping with their dignity as human beings. This World Trade Union Conference, therefore, asserts their right to be free of all forms of economic servitude and to earn by their labour an income adequate for their needs and requirement and commensurate with their skill and effort.

11. Governments must accept unreservedly the full responsibility for ensuring that in their countries and dependencies there are suitable jobs at adequate rates of pay for all able-bodied men and women who require them. They must take all steps necessary permanently to implement this responsibility, including the planning in the public interest of large scale investments. They must puruse appropriate financial and fiscal policies to ensure that the purchasing power of the workers, who constitute the main body of the consumers, rises steadily with increasing productivity.

12. Work for welfare -- which will be our common objective when normal peace conditions return -- will mean the establishment of high standards of housing and nutrition such as will provide the material basis for the health and happiness of every citizen. In the years immediately following the end of hositlities the speediest reconstruction of the homes destroyed during the war and the development of housing construction on a scale sufficient to provide ample living accomodation for all people must be a paramount aim of government policy. Similarly, there must be established sufficient control over the prices and distribution of food, clothing and other goods in wide consumers' demand to ensure that the needs of the people are met, and to this end there must be trade union and public

participation in all such controls. Furthermore, encouragement should be given to the development of producers' and consumers' cooperatives to assist in this task.

13. This Conference further emphasizes that increasing production fully justifies, and indeed demands, the extension of the leisure hours of working people. Accordingly, it demands the speedy and universal introduction of a maximum working week of forty hours without loss of pay. This demand is made without prejudice to the claim for a shorter working week by trade unions in countries where economic development makes this possible and desirable. Every worker should be guaranteed an annual holiday or vacation at full pay of at least two weeks' duration with appropriate arrangements for casual workers. All public holidays should be paid for.

14. Social security is another essential foundation stone of every civilized society. However well national economies may be organized there will always be some men and women who are unable to draw adequate incomes from work. It is, therefore, essential that a single and comprehensive system of state social insurance should be established in every country. This system of social insurance must guarantee a normal existance for all working people whenever they are unable to secure this by their own labor, as a result of unemployment, temporary or permanent loss of the capacity for work, old age, industrial accident, sickness and the like. Provision should also be made for comprehensive medical and rehabilitation services free for all who need them. The health and safety of work people must be properly safeguarded by legislation which also provides for adequate supervision to secure its enforcement. Preventative measures must be undertaken by the government to dininish sickness and fatal accidents to a minimum. Governments should provide sanatoriums and rest homes for workers without charge. They should provide adequate grants paid periodically to families who have lost their breadwinners and to orphans until their coming of age. The welfare of children must be one of the primary concerns of all governments, and therefore protected by the payment of family allowances and by the provision of kindergartens, nurseries and ample child welfare facilities. Finally, this Conference emphatically demands that there should be trade union participation in the control and management of all such social insurance and social welfare schemes.

20-2

15. In considering the problems of postwar reconstruction this Conference is acutely aware that in many countries, and their dependencies, the control of industry by private monopolies has became a menace to industrial expansion, the democratic way of life and to national security. It, therefore, calls upon governments to take action appropriate to the political and economic conditions prevailing in their country, to safeguard the public against monopoly exploitation. This may take the form of legislation to prevent the formation of monopoly, to control and regulate it where it exists, or to eliminate it completely by the transference of the industries in question to public ownership.

16. This Conference is conscious of the fact that many of the above objects and demands require for their realization the establishment of public bodies for the planning, direction or control of economic life. It insists that in all such bodies adequate provision should be made for the participation of trade unions as the guardians of the interest of working people.

17. Whilst all these objectives and demands will be pursued wholeheartedly by the trade union movements in each nation according to its degree of social and economic development, this Conference recognizes that their full realization ultimately depends upon the establishment of effective international cooperation both in the political and economic fields. We consider that the unanimity reached at the Crimea Conference is a happy augury for the future of international cooperation. Cooperation between governments, however, to be effective and lasting will need to be based upon intimate and friendly cooperation between the peoples of different countries This Conference, therefore, asserts that a strong trade union movement in every country with close fraternal cooperation between them is indispensable for economic and social progress throughout the world. It is concerned to ensure that trade unions can be freely established in every country, and where necessary it will seek to secure a recognition of that right by bringing to bear all the power at the disposal of the World Trade Union Movement.

20-2

18. The paramount need for international cooperation in economic affairs for the purpose of minimizing the devastating effects of general trade depressions is universally acknowledged. This Conference, therefore, calls upon all Governments to cooperate for the purpose of establishing an international monetary system capable of promoting a steady expansion of foreign trade; of regulating international trade and tariffs, of reaching international agreement to regulate the conditions and prices of staple commodities entering into international trade; of making long-term loans for the economic development of colonial territories and backward countries, conditional upon the observance of internationally agreed working conditions; and of promoting the orderly migration, under adequate safeguards for all concerned of people from country to country.

19. In conclusion this World Trade Union Conference which demonstrates so effectively the unity of organized labor throughout the world proclaims the following charter of basic trade union and workers' rights the recognition of which it is determined to secure in all countries and their dependencies.

(a) Workpeople shall be free to organize themselves in trade unions and to engage freely in all normal trade union activities, including that of collective bargaining.

(b) Workpeople shall be free to establish cooperatives and any other mutual aid organizations.

(c) There shall be freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion and political association.

(d) Every form of political, economic, or social discrimination based on race, creed or sex shall be eliminated, and in this sense equal pay for equal work shall be established.

(e) There shall be equality of educational and vocational opportunities for all people.

(f) There shall be suitable employment available at adequate rates of pay for all requiring work.

(g) There shall be adequate protection in all the circumstances of life where this is required to guarantee social and economic security to every citizen.

20-2

[1945]

COMMITTEE ON BASIS FOR WORLD TRADE UNION FEDERATION

PREAMBLE.

The organizations represented at the World Trade Union Conference, held in London in February 1945, are in full agreement on the objectives we seek. They are objectives which we, as workers, share with all freedom-loving peoples; speedy and uncompromising victory over our enemies; an enduring peace; the eradication of Fascism in all its forms; international collaboration in the economic sphere which will utilize the rich resources of the world for the benefit of its people, yielding employment with rising standards of living and real security to the men and women of all nations; a democratic society which will assure political and civil equality and full cultural opportunity for all the people of the earth.

The Conference recognizes that the International Labour Movement cannot act with full effectiveness in the attainment of these objectives unless it is organized for that purpose.

The Conference is sincerely convinced of the vital importance to world Labor of uniting, in one World Federation, the Trade Union bodies of freedom-loving nations, irrespective of considerations of race or creed or of political, religious or philosophical distinctions.

The Conference records it earnest desire and firm resolve to work together for the creation of a powerful, democratic World Trade Union Federation at the earliest practicable date. It envisages the necessity, pending the organization of such a Federation, of providing an instrument which can speak with authority on behalf of the Trade Union organizations here represented and take appropriate action to implement the decisions of this Conference, when they are ratified by the constituent organizations.

The World Trade Union Conference has fully considered the basis for a World Trade Union Federation and has made provision for its recommendations to be carried into effect after ratification by the constituent bodies and with the object of attaining organic world Trade Union unity at the earliest practicable date.

The Conference DECIDES:

(1) That a World Trade Union Conference Committee shall be immediately established, fully representative of the composition of this Conference and selected in the manner stated below.

(2) That the Committee shall commence its work immediately on the conclusion of this Conference;

(3) That the Committee shall act as the authority until the World Trade Union Conference is reconvened;

(4) That the Committee is empowered by the Conference:

(a) To collate the recommendations of the conference, to submit them to the constituent bodies for ratification, and to prepare and submit a report

to the reconvened World Trade Union Conference;

(b) To make such collective representations as circumstances may necessitate to national Governments or international agencies and organizations;

(c) To act as agent of the Conference to ensure Trade Union representation at the coming Peace Conferences and at all preparatory commissions or conferences;

(d) To implement such of the Conference recommendations as are adopted by constituent bodies;

(e) To prepare a Draft Constitution for the World Trade Union Federation, which it is the purpose of the Conference to establish;

(f) To circulate the Draft Constitution to constituent bodies for their approval, giving the latter the opportunity to submit amendments if they so desire;

(g) To reconvene the World Conference not later than the end of 1945 for the consideration of such amendments as may be received, for the adoption of the final Constitution and for the transaction of such other business as may be appropriate at that time;

(h) To appoint such Sub-Committees as it may deem to be necessary, including an administrative committee authorized to exercise all the powers of the full committee between the meetings of the full committee;

(i) To convene an emergency World Conference, if in the opinion of the Committee, world developments should make such a course necessary;

(j) To issue invitations to attend the reconvened Conference and to affiliate with the new organization such bodies in addition to those represented at the Conference, as the Conference or the Committee may determine;

(k) The headquarters of the Committee shall be in Paris.

(l) The question of a full-time secretariat shall be referred to the committee.

(5) Any finances required by the committee shall be in the form of voluntary contributions only.

(6) The composition of the WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE CONTINUATION COMMITTEE is as follows:

USA.	3	
United Kingdom	3	
France (C.G.T.).	3	
USSR.	3	
Canada	1	
Australia.	1	
India	1	
Rest of British Commonwealth. . .	2	
Latin American countries.	3	
China.	1	
Belgium	1	
Netherlands.	1	
Norway.	1	
Sweden	1	
Switzerland.	1	
Yugoslavia.	1	
Czechoslovakia.	1	
Spain	1	
Iceland.	1	
Ireland	1	
Bulgaria	1	
Italy.	1	
Rumania	1	
Finland	1	
IFTU.	2	
International Trade Secretariats	2	
CTAL.	1	
International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. . . .	1	(Consultative Member -- with right to speak but no vote)

(7) The attention of the Conference has been directed to the consideration that participation in the work of the reconvened Conference on the question of the basis of a World Trade Union Federation may be interpreted as a voluntary acceptance in advance of the majority decision of that Conference when it takes place. It is the unanimous view of the World Trade Union Conference that an all-inclusive World Trade Union Federation is a necessity, but the autonomy of all organizations to accept or reject the Constitution of the proposed body, is clear and accepted fact.

It drew up a provisional agenda for the Conference, recommended standing orders to regulate the Conference proceedings and made other preliminary arrangements.

THE CIO DELEGATION

On authority of the Executive Board of the CIO, President Murray designated the following delegates to the London Conference: President Murray, President Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Vice-Presidents Thomas, Fitzgerald, Green, Dalrymple, Haywood, Rosenblum, Curran, Rieve and Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer Carey and General Counsel Pressman.

Unfortunately, President Murray was prevented from attending the Conference by urgent domestic problems which required his presence in this country. Vice-Presidents Rieve and Rosenblum and General Counsel Pressman were likewise unable to attend. President Murray designated Vice-President Thomas as Chairman and Secretary-Treasurer Carey as Secretary of the delegation. The delegation was accompanied to London by Martin Kyne, Michael Ross and John J. Abt, as advisers, who, by action of the delegation, were accredited as delegates in the absence of those who were unable to attend.

20-2

Pending the arrival in London of Vice-President Thomas and President Hillman, who were delayed by travel difficulties, the delegation designated Secretary-Treasurer Carey as acting Chairman.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CONFERENCE

On February 5th, on the eve of the Conference itself, a second meeting of the Preparatory Committee took place to perfect the final arrangements. In the absence of Vice President Thomas and President Hillman, who had not yet arrived in London, the following served as CIO representatives for this meeting of the Preparatory Committee:

20-19-52

15 February 1945

My dear Madam:

Arnold Wood Wright was a student of mine at Atlanta University and took his master's degree in the Department of Sociology of which I was then head. He is a man of excellent character and an earnest worker. His greatest weakness was poor English which came from lack of good elementary training. I do not know what he has done to correct this but he seems to have made a successful teacher at Kentucky State College where I have visited him. I think Mr. Wright would do honest work. How far it would show exact scholarship, I cannot say.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

23 January 1945

My dear Dr. Wright:

Here is my Life Extension Institute report which I thought I would pass on to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-3-29

Dr. Louis T. Wright
218 West 139th Street
New York City

9 March 1945

20-4-139

My dear Bishop Wright:

We need for a Colonial Conference which we are holding in New York, April sixth, native representatives from South Africa: the Union of South Africa, Southwest Africa, Nyasaland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and the Rhodesias. Do you know any such persons resident in the United States and if so could you send us their names and addresses?

I am enclosing a copy of the invitation and statement which we are sending out. I would, of course, be glad to have you present.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Bishop R. R. Wright
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

R. R. WRIGHT, Jr., Presiding Bishop

Thirteenth Episcopal District
KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE

POST OFFICE BOX FIVE, WILBERFORCE, OHIO

20-4-140

March 12, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I think the idea of the Colonial Conference is good. I should like to know more about it and if I can arrange to get off at that time I will be pleased to attend it. If you will write to Jacob Motsi care of the South African Legation, Washington, D. C., who is a graduate of Wilberforce University and of the Atlanta School of Social Work you will probably be able to get most of the South African residents now in the U.S.

Sincerely yours,

R. R. Wright, Jr.,
Bishop

21 March 1945

20-4-141

My dear Bishop Wright:

I am writing Jacob Motsi and hope he may be able to attend our Conference. I am also sending a formal invitation to you and I very much hope that you will be able to attend.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.
Post Office Box Five
Wilberforce, Ohio

-20-4-2

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A. N. WILLIAMS
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1201

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DR W E B DUBOIS=

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(WRITERS WAR BOARD)

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122 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.
Telephone, Murray Hill 3-0043

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Secretary

Ruth Hays Friend
Executive Director

21-6-22

March 28, 1945

Miss Irene Diggs
Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Miss Diggs:

May we ask you three questions, not counting this one?

1. Are you working for the ratification of the Bretton Woods agreement without amendment by our Congress?

2. If so, do you need any kind of information or material which you do not have?

3. If not, may we send you material we hope and believe will arouse your active support of Bretton Woods?

Various organizations are conducting educational campaigns on Bretton Woods. That is of course essential. But since the decision will be made on Capitol Hill and will be made soon, we believe the immediate need is for an avalanche of requests for the approval of Bretton Woods on the desks of all Senators and Representatives. Perhaps you are already working on that. Would you care for more detailed suggestions from us?

Sincerely,

Rex Stout
Chairman
Writers' War Board

RS:pb

Gordon W. Allport
Irving Bacheller
Ray Stannard Baker
S. Josephine Baker, M.D.
Stringfellow Barr
Percy W. Bridgman
Van Wyck Brooks
Cecil Brown
Struthers Burt
Henry Seidel Canby
Dale Carnegie
Bennett A. Cerf
Norman Corwin
Russel Crouse
Irwin Edman
George Fielding Eliot
Albert Einstein
Clifton Fadiman
Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Claude M. Fuess
Harry D. Gideonse
Max Gordon
Moss Hart
Helen Hayes
Arthur Hopkins
Langston Hughes
Hans V. Kaltenborn
Sophie Kerr
Rollin Kirby
Christopher LaFarge
Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw
Margaret Leech
Howard Lindsay
Burns Mantle
Florence Eldridge March
S. Stanwood Menken
Karl Menninger, M.D.
Mrs. Harold Milligan
Newbold Morris
Edgar Ansel Mowrer
Ralph Barton Perry
Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings
Elmer Rice
Richard Rodgers
Artur Rodzinski
Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch
Upton Sinclair
Cornelia Otis Skinner
Rex Stout
Lyman Beecher Stowe
Deems Taylor
John R. Tunis
Carl Van Doren
Mark Van Doren
Edward Weeks
William L. White

30 March 1945

21-9-23

My dear Sir:

Replying to your letter of March 28 sent to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People may I say that our attitude toward the Bretton Woods proposals is this: we recognize the necessity for economic reconstruction after the war and we believe that so far as technical banking is concerning the Bretton Woods proposals are good. But we deplore the fact that the well-being of groups like the seven hundred and fifty million colonial peoples is entirely ignored in these proposals and it is assumed that the social and ethical questions connected with their labor, wages and social conditions have nothing to do with economic proposals.

This is simply a continuation of the insistence of nineteenth century economists that economic science has nothing to do with social uplift.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Rex Stout
Writers' War Board
122 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

SAMUEL S. WYER
CONSULTING ENGINEER
1325 CAMBRIDGE BOULEVARD
COLUMBUS, OHIO

August 10, 1945

Request for information

W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
New York 3, New York

20-20-15

Dear Sir:

I am at work completing a manuscript on the Ancestry of our Bill of Rights. In this I have traced the slow germination of the ideas that ultimately grew into our Bill of Rights from 2300 B.C. At the end of this manuscript I want to add a few sentences showing specific places where our Bill of Rights is not functioning. For instance, I will name the states that deny academic freedom to teachers of science on the matter of teaching the facts of evolution as well as the names of the states that violate the spirit of the United States Constitution in requiring religious qualifications for holding state offices.

I will appreciate it if you can furnish me promptly the names of the states that have restrictive legislature denying rights to either negroes or orientals. If you happen to have any printed material that gives such information, this will serve in lieu of a letter.

****

My years of study and research convinces me that the United Nations Charter may become the most significant legal document in all human history or a mere scrap of paper. As to which depends on our attitudes. The greatest single weakness of the United Nations Charter is its absence of a comphrehensive International Bill of Rights. Fortunately this Charter is so constructed that amendments may be made in the future so as to include an adequate Bill of Rights. The real reason for my detailed research is to furnish the foundation for that next needed step.

One of my shocks in this research work in digging the real facts regarding Magna Carta was to face that most of our history textbook statements about this Charter are wrong. The Magna Carta of King John of 1215 lasted less than ten years. The charter that was finally made a part of English law was not the charter of King John, but the great Charter of Henry III in 1225. Stout-hearted Englishmen finding that their charters were inadequate had the stamina to face the facts realistically and make the desired changes. This is precisely the great lesson we must learn in the future of the United Nations Charter.

Yours truly,

Samuel S Wyer

August 23, 1945

20-20-16

My dear Mr. Wyer:

You will find in my book, Color and Democracy, Harcourt Brace, 1945, something on the matter that you wish.

A much more detailed account of the discrimination against Negroes in the United States can be found in Myrdal's American Deilemma with numerous bibliographies.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Samuel S. Wyer
1325 Cambridge Boulevard
Columbus, Ohio

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 4-6140

March 24,1945.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Dr. Yergan has asked me to let you know that he will be very pleased to attend the Colonial Conference to be held on April 6 at the 135 Street Branch of the New York Public Library.

Yours sincerely,

Diane Sommers

Diane Sommers,
Secretary to Dr. Yergan.

Dr.W.E.B.DuBois,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

20-4-164

3 April 1945

20-15-40

My dear Ada:

I am so glad to hear from you. I had about given you up. I am sending your letter to Mrs. Du Bois. I know she will be glad to hear from you. She had a bad fall on the stairs which put her in the hospital for five weeks but she is recovering slowly but satisfactory.

With regard to F. D. Roosevelt: he practised law in New York from 1907 to 1910; was a member of the New York senate 1910-13 and was assistant secretary of the navy from 1913-20; govenor of New York 1929-33 and president since. So that you will see that he was not connected with the Navy Department while Charles was in Haiti 1904-09. Later when the marines were sent there, he did say that he had written the constitution of Haiti. That was after Wilson had seized the island in 1915.

I am glad to know that you are still holding on to the old mansion although I realize that it must be very difficult for you. If you could get the state to buy it and keept it as a sort of memorial to Colonel Young, it would be splendid but it is so hard to get anything rational done at Wilberforce. Why not talk with Wesley about it? If you want, I will write him on the subject but I won't do so until I hear from you.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ada Young
RFD Number 5
Xenia, Ohio

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
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711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

January 22, 1945

20-4-200

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special
Research, NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City 3

Dear Dr. DuBois: The Colonial Conference you propose calling next month would meet a timely need. I have read your outline and I do not think of anything that I can suggest that would improve it. In fact, you do not seem to have omitted any essentials in your planning.

Our Editor-in-Chief, Mr. P. Bernard Young, Jr., is now in Africa where he has been since about the first of November as a member of a commission representing the National Negro Newspaper Publishers Association. If he returns in time for the conference he might have some observations to make which might be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

P. B. YOUNG, President

PBY:LHL

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

April 11, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Special Research, NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City 3

20-21-58

Dear Dr. DuBois: Dr. Lyman B. Brooks, Dean and Director of Norfolk Division of Virginia State College, is inviting you to deliver the commencement address for the Division in June. I hope it will be convenient for you to accept the invitation.

The citizens of Norfolk and vicinity would be delighted to hear you and your coming would be an inspiration to the students, as well as to all of us.

Trusting that you are enjoying the best of health, I am with every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

8 March 1945

20-4-66

My dear Mr. Young:

I am enclosing a proposed invitation for a Colonial Conference and a statement of the kind of information we are seeking. Have you any suggestions? We hope you will be able to attend.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. P. Bernard Young, Jr.
The Journal and Guide
711 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

2 April 1945

20-4-68

My dear Mr. Young:

I am very glad indeed that you can come to our Conference on April sixth. I wonder if you could write out for us a brief factual statement of your impressions on conditions in West Africa. This could be read in whole or in part.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. P. Bernard Young, Jr.
The Journal and Guide
711 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

March 28, 1945

20-4-67

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
609 Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your invitation to attend the Colonial Conference in New York on April 6. My present plans are to attend. As you no doubt know, I was a member of a three man commission which spent three months in West Africa, beginning last October. I hope the information that I have will prove of some benefit at the conference.

Very truly yours,

P Bernard Young Jr.

P. BERNARD YOUNG JR.
Editor In Chief

PBY/Jr:nb

YACHT HARBOR, SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA

[Young]

20-12-43

901 Jefferson St.
Wilmington, 30, Del
1-21-44
5

My dear Dr Du Bois,

I am so very glad that you are North again that I shall forgive you (but not soon) for carrying on the Encyclopedia of the Negro without me!!

Aren't you going to give me a hand in it?

The Nat'l Institute of Arts and Letters made its best nominations in 1943!

I never learned the meaning of "Etapanhaus" a Munich play.

Sincerely, Pauline

13 March 1945

28-13-44

My dear Pauline:

Fund for publishing the Encyclopaedia of the Negro were never secured. But what we did do during our ten years exploring of the field was to make a list of subjects with some bibliographical references. This prefatory volume is now in press and will be published by the H. W. Wilson Company within a few days.

Sometime, of course, the whole project will be finished but when is on the knees of the gods. I hope you are well and happy. Be sure and remember me to the charming physicians wife and to yourself.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Pauline Young
901 French Street
Wilmington, Delaware

20-13-45

901 French St.
Wil., 30, Del.
March 24, 1945

My dear Dr Du Bois,

Thank you for your nice letter with its very fine heading. I am very proud of it. The "charming physician's wife" was equally glad of your remembrance of her. So Grace Sews (that's who she is) and I want to know when we will have the pleasure of Talking with you again. ? ? ? ..

I did not like the fact that the "we" who did the listing of subjects "with some bibliographical references" did not in your letter seem to include me! I did the first of this work for an entire seven days; a quarantine for poliomyletis called me back to Wilmington if you will please recall. The preface volume of the Encyclopedia I have already on order. But I am injured tho not irreparably.

Always,

Lawrence Young

20-13-46

July 11, 1945

My dear Miss Young:

I have been wandering about so many parts of the world recently that I have just had a chance to answer your letter of March 24th. I am going to be in New York during July and most of August so that when you and Grace Goens come up this way let me know and we can at least have a highball in my very attractive apartment.

We had a hard time doing even the little we did with the Encyclopaedia of the Negro. We could not, of course, get the $250,000 for its full realization. The little preparatory volume is simply a token publication, and it was impossible to mention half the people who helped us. I think, however, you will find it useful.

Let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Miss Pauline Young
901 French Street
Wilmington 30, Delaware

20-19-51

I have known Miss Pauline Young for many years while she was librarian in the public schools in Wilmington, Del. I think she is a faithful and conscientious worker, not particularly brilliant, but she ought to do a good job on a subject which she is interested in. I would be glad to see her get a Rosenwald scholarship . The subject is a very important one and needs further treatment.

Jan 12, 1945 criticism of Negro authors

Andrew R. Smith, *President*
W. Parker Seeley, *Vice-President*
Wm. W. Bent, *Vice-President*
H. Almon Chaffee, *Treasurer*
James C. Shannon, *Recording Secretary*

Telephone
6-1181

The Young Men's Christian Association
of Bridgeport, Connecticut

Howard L. Haag
General Secretary

651 State Street

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96-42-02

January 18, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Will it be possible for you to render to our Educational Committee a series of four lectures during the month of April? If we can increase enthusiasm toward the lectures, we will have more if your time permits.

For these four lectures we will allow you the sum of twenty-five dollars plus your carfare. Our Educational Committee's sponsoring lectures is something new to this community, but I do think that it can be successful and if so, we will be just in our financial appropriation to you. I am sure, however, that the amount stated above is definite.

May I hear from you soon relative to your coming here to Bridgeport.

Trusting you are enjoying the very best of health, I am

Sincerely yours,

Lester M. Suitt

Lester M. Suitt
Secretary

Any charges for [illegible] Bridgeport would be $150 plus travel & board

LMS:gal

19 January 1945

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of January eighteenth, I beg to say that my charge for four lectures in Bridgeport would be one hundred and fifty dollars plus travel and board.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Lester M. Suitt
Young Men's Christian Association
651 State Street
Bridgeport, Connecticut

[YMCA-Dallas]

17 January 1945

My dear Mr. Beatty:

20-10-12

On November 17, you wrote suggesting two date for lectures in Dallas. I sent you an answer, copy of which is enclosed. I have had no answer from you. As my lecture program is being arranged, I should be glad to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. W. Barton Beatty, Jr.
Young Men's Christian Association
Moorland Branch
Dallas, Texas

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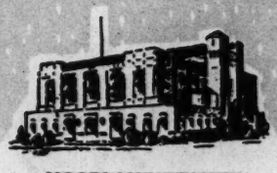
CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMEN



MOORLAND BRANCH

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

OF DALLAS

February 10, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dept. Spc. Research
69, Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

20-10-13

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have held up the answering of your letter because of my difficulty in getting the entire Forum set. The committee finally decided that rather than have a hit and miss series, to cancel the activity for the year and begin now to set dates and plans for a series to begin the first Sunday in January, 1946.

You will hear from us regarding an appearance. Your expense and honorarium were quite agreeable.

Hoping that you will excuse us in this instance for not presenting you this season. We will want you to have the same subject for your 1946 appearance in Dallas.

Cordially yours,

W. Barton Beatty, Jr.

W. Barton Beatty, Jr.
Executive Secretary

WBB,Jr/o

DALLAS COUNTY
WAR CHEST
AGENCY

30 January 1945

My dear Cooper:

I shall arrive in Detroit, Sunday morning, February eighteenth, at 8:25 a. m. on the Detroiter from New York. Will you please arrange a stopping place and board for me until noon on Monday the nineteenth.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-21

Mr. Claude H. Cooper
Detroit Young Men's Christian Association
635 East Elizabeth Street
Detroit 1, Michigan

HOWARD A. COFFIN, PRESIDENT FRED P. TODD, TREASURER A. G. STUDER, M. D., GENERAL SECRETARY

DETROIT YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

CHARACTER BUILDERS

ST. ANTOINE BRANCH
635 EAST ELIZABETH STREET
ZONE 1

PERCIVAL R. PIPER, CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

January 31, 1945

26-24-28

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Religious Emphasis Committee of the St. Antoine Branch Y.M.C.A., members and Forum friends are anxiously looking forward to your visit with us Sunday, February 18, 4:00 P.M. We all are very greatly concerned about your subject, "Colonies in the Post-War World".

Sincerely yours

C H Cooper

CLAUDE H. COOPER
Secretary

CHC:ah

HOWARD A. COFFIN, PRESIDENT
FRED P. TODD, TREASURER
A. G. STUDER, M. D., GENERAL SECRETARY

DETROIT YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

CHARACTER BUILDERS

ST. ANTOINE BRANCH
635 EAST ELIZABETH STREET
ZONE 1

PERCIVAL R. PIPER, CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

February 13, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mr. Edward Swintt, Chairman of the Religious Emphasis Committee will meet you at the station at 8:25 Sunday morning and take care of the accommodations which you mentioned.

Wishing you much success.

Yours very sincerely

CLAUDE H. COOPER
Secretary

CHC:ah

20-21

26 February 1945

20-24-27 c

My dear Mr. Hauser:

I want to thank you very much for the audience which you furnish for my lecture. I enjoyed the occasion very much.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Prather J. Hauser
St. Antoine Street Branch
YMCA
635 East Elizabeth Street
Detroit 1, Michigan

26 February 1945

20-24-29

My dear Mr. Swint:

I want to thank you and your wife very much for your hospitality while I was in your city. I had a successful trip to Chicago and back and now am home.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Edward Swint
c/o St. Antoine Branch of the YMCA
635 East Elizabeth Street
Detroit 1, Michigan

HOWARD A. COFFIN, PRESIDENT FRED P. TODD, TREASURER A. G. STUDER, M. D., GENERAL SECRETARY

DETROIT YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

CHARACTER BUILDERS

ST. ANTOINE BRANCH
635 EAST ELIZABETH STREET
ZONE 1

PERCIVAL R. PIPER, CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

21-27-21

November 2, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

This letter is to remind you of a verbal request, and a tentative acceptance of our request to have you speak again this year in Detroit on our 1946 "Y" Forum series.

We should like to have you come on the 20th or 27th of January. Please send any additional data for our promotion and a statement of your subject for this lecture. Also your fee for this address.

Sincerely,

Prather J. Hauser

PRATHER J. HAUSER
Executive Secretary

PJH/aw

26 February 1945

19-22-21

My dear Mr. DeFrantz:

I very much regret to say that I must disappoint you March eleventh. I have been asked by Samuel Huston College and the University of Texas to join a panel discussion of AMERICA FACES THE FUTURE. This panel will sit in six large Texas cities between March 11 and March 22. The representative of the University of Texas will be either President Rainey or Professor Sutherland.

For the best interests of the NAACP this is an offer which I do not think I ought to refuse. On the other hand, I am very much distressed to disappoint you. I have always made it a rule to keep my word as to lectures and have with very few exceptions. I hope you will forgive my inability this time.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. P. E. DeFrantz
YMCA
Senate Avenue at Michigan Street
Indianapolis, Indiana

[YMCA - Layman's Conference]

STATE OF NEW JERSEY
MANUAL TRAINING SCHOOL
BORDENTOWN

W. R. VALENTINE
PRINCIPAL

April 17, 1945

Dr. W. E. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City, New York
C/o National Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People

20-21-78

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I received your telegram addressed to me as President of the Layman's Conference of the Y.M.C.A. concerning resolutions which the conference may wish to make known to the San Francisco Conference. The Layman's Conference will not meet again until July next.

Resolutions and actions passed by the Conference are referred to the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. Please address an inquiry to Mr. Eugene Barnett, General Secretary of the National Council, 347 Madison Avenue, New York.

Sincerely yours,

W. R. Valentine,

WRV/rs

W. R. Valentine, President
National Layman's Conference.

[YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION] NY

August 24, 1945

20-3-32

Dear Mr. Kraft:

Alexander King tells me you have a department for massage where he gets rubbed down once a week. I should like the same service, and could take it any day in the week that was most suitable to your masseur.

Can you arrange this?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Harry Kraft
Y.M.C.A.
135th Street near 7th Avenue
New York, New York

[YMCA - NY]

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

HARLEM BRANCH

180 WEST 135TH STREET

TELEPHONE EDGECOMBE 4-9000

Office of Executive Director

September 4, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter of August 24th arrived during my vacation. I returned to the office this morning and hasten to reply to your inquiry. The services of the masseur are open only to members of the Association, except in the event of an occasional visitor, who, in addition to the regular fees for this service, pays a temporary membership fee each time the service is rendered. May I suggest that you take out a regular membership under one of the following categories:

20-3

1. Full physical membership. Annual fee: $13.00 cash; $15.00 partial payments

2. Busy Men's Health Club Membership. Annual fee: $19.00 cash; $21.00 partial. The private locker facility of this membership is not now available because all of the lockers are occupied and a waiting list already exists. If, however, you are desirous of becoming a member of the Busy Men's Health Club, I would be glad to extend you the use of my locker until a vacancy occurs that can be assigned to you permanently.

The services of the Masseur are available as follows: Daily from 1:00 to 6:00, Monday and Thursday 7:00 to 10:00 with the following service charges:

Swedish massage	1.00
Alcohol rub	.50
Cabinet bath	.50
Ultra violet ray	.50
Salt glo rub.	.75
Infra-red baking	.50
Electrical massage	.75
Local massage	.50

1844 A CENTURY OF SERVICE AROUND THE WORLD 1944

I am sure the men of the Busy Men's Health Club, among whom you would find many acquaintances, will be happy to have you on their roster; so would the Y.M.C.A. You can make your desire known to me or directly to the Membership Secretary, Mr. Wesley J. Marshall, whose office is open from 9:00 A.M. daily, except Saturdays. If there is any further question, feel free to call me at Edgecombe 4-9000.

Cordially yours,

Henry K. Craft
Executive Director

HKC:nb

20-3

[YMCA – St. Louis]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION (00)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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20-21-24

FAR51 (VIA CN) =CY STLOUIS MO 11

W E B DUBOIS=

918 SIR FRANCIS DRAKE SFRAN=

WOULD LIKE FOR YOU TO STOP OFF IN ST LOUIS AT END OF CONFERENCE TO REPORT TO "Y" PUBLIC AFFAIRS FORUM YOUR OPINION OF WHAT HAPPENED AT SAN FRANCISCO. PLEASE SEND TERMS AND POSSIBLE DATE OF YOUR COMING THROUGH ST LOUIS=

JAMES E COOK EXECUTIVE SECRETARY PINE STREET YMCA
2846 PINE ST STLOUIS 3 MISSOURI

June 3 45

2846 3

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[YMCA - Saint Louis]

WIRE:

May 17, 1945

James E. Cook
Executive Secty
Pine St. YMCA
2846 Pine St.
St. Louis 3, Mo.

Sent

MAY BE ABLE TO SPEAK FOR YOU JUNE 3, 4 or 5. Letter follows.

W.E.B. DuBois

20-21-25

[YMCA - Saint Louis]

20-21-26

May 17, 1945

Mr. James E. Cook
Executive Secretary
Pine Street YMCA
2846 Pine Street
St. Louis, Missouri

My dear Mr. Cook:

According to my present schedule I shall be speaking in Chicago on June 3rd. I might speak for you June 5th provided I could get traveling accommodations from Chicago and return, and could satisfactorily change my reservations to New York which I have already secured.

My charge would be $100.00 and round trip expenses of travel from Chicago to St. Louis. I should speak upon the "San Francisco Conference and the Darker Races".

If the date and terms are suitable please wire me here at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel before May 26th or in care of the Chicago NAACP between May 30th and June 3rd.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Wire

1-18-45

[YMCA-St. Louis]

JAMES E. COOK
PINE ST. YMCA
2846 Pine St.
St. Louis, Mo.

SORRY MUST CANCEL OFFER MADE YESTERDAY. MUST LEAVE CHICAGO DIRECTLY FOR NEW YORK.

W.E.B. DUBOIS

20-21-27

[YMCA - St. Louis]

20-21-34

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(18)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
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The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

FA5 13 VIA CEP=CY STLOUIS MO 18 1143A

1945 MAY 18 AM 10 19

W E B DUBOIS=

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE AMERICAN DELEGATION

HEAQUARTERS CONSULTANTS LOUNGE OPERA HOUSE SFRAN=

TELEGRAM RECEIVED. PLEASE BOOK JUNE 3 AT 4:00 PM FOR PINE STREET YMCA=

JAMES E COOK EXECUTIVE SECRETARY.

3 4:00 PM YMCA.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[YMCA - St. Louis]

20-21-28

May 21, 1945

Mr. James E. Cook
Executive Secretary
Pine Street YMCA
2846 Pine Street
St. Louis, Missouri

My dear Mr. Cook:

I am very sorry indeed not to be able to make good my offer to come to St. Louis but conflicts of travel and two engagements in Chicago make it impractical.

Perhaps I can serve your organization during the fall or winter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

[YWCA - Baltimore]

MISS EMMA E. BRIGHT
CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

MRS. ALICE B. ARRINGTON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
MADISON AVENUE BRANCH
1912 MADISON AVENUE
BALTIMORE-17, MD.
TELEPHONE, MADISON 6443

May 23, 1945

20-10-75

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Public Affairs Committee of the Madison Avenue Branch of the Young Women's Christian Association plans to close its season's work by sponsoring a meeting to consider the implication of the San Francisco Conference.

We believe it would be of inestimable value as well as a great honor to have you as guest speaker to present your impressions of the work and achievements of the Conference.

The meeting as planned will be open to the public and the possible dates in order of preference are Sunday afternoon, June 24, Thursday night, June 21 or Thursday night, June 28.

If you find it possible to give favorable consideration to this invitation, please let us know the date most suitable for you and the amount of a satisfactory honorarium.

Very truly yours,

Edna Over Gray

Edna Over Gray
Chairman, Public Affairs
Committee

cch

25 May 1945

My dear Madam:

Answering your letter of May twenty-third addressed to Dr. Du Bois, please permit me to say that he enroute from San Francisco but has several speaking engagements which will prevent him from returning to New York until early in June. However, there is a slight possibility that I may be able to bring the matter to his attention before that time. If so I will communicate with you immediately.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

20-10

Miss Edna Over Gray
Young Women's Christian Association
Madison Avenue Branch
1912 Madison Avenue
Baltimore 17, Maryland

[YWCA-Baltimore]

21 June 1945

My dear Madam:

Following up my answer to your letter of May 23, I beg to say that I could speak for you Sunday afternoon, June twenty-fourth, but I am sure this will not give enough notice. The next date that I could give you would be Sunday, July fifteenth. My charge would be fifty dollars.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Edna Over Gray
YWCA
Madison Avenue Branch
1912 Madison Avenue
Baltimore 17, Maryland

[YWCA - Baltimore]

MISS EMMA E. BRIGHT
CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

MRS. ALICE B. ARRINGTON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
MADISON AVENUE BRANCH
1912 MADISON AVENUE
BALTIMORE-17, MD.
TELEPHONE, MADISON 6443

Y.W.C.A.

June 30, 1945

20-10-77

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York-3, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

The committee suggests that we have the meeting in the Fall. I will communicate with you in a few days to ascertain the date.

We will be glad to pay the charge of $50.00.

Sincerely yours,

Edna Over Gray

Edna Over Gray
Chairman, Public
Affairs Committee

cch

[YWCA - Foreign Division]

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600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Telephone: PLaza 3-4700 Cable Address: Emissarius, New York

March 23, 1945

20-6-5

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Your letter of March 8 has gone unanswered longer than was my intention. It is only complete absorption in the plans of some of our special visitors from abroad that has delayed my reply.

I have studied our lists of individuals from colonial countries in Asia but find them very sparse indeed particularly since you do not need names for India. Unfortunately I do not have names on file of persons in New York or vicinity from Korea, French Indo-China, the Malay States, Netherlands East Indies, etc.

Although Thailand may not be classified as a colony except for the present Japanese occupation, I would nevertheless like to propose two names -- Madame Seni Pramoj and Mrs. Chintana Nagavajara Karsanauda. Both can be addressed c/o the Thai Legation, Washington, D.C.

Some weeks ago when Mrs. Edmonia Grant told me of your plans to hold a Colonial Conference, I expressed my interest in the importance of this subject. I appreciate receiving a formal invitation to the Conference but unfortunately find myself scheduled for a Latin American conference in Washington on the very same date. If a report of the Colonial Conference is written, I would appreciate having a copy.

With best wishes for the success of your Conference, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Talitha Gerlach

Talitha A. Gerlach
Foreign Division

TAG:HC

[YWCA - NEW YORK]

July 12, 1945

20-12-54

My dear Mabelle:

I want to rent the room which you have reserved for Mrs. DuBois from Monday, July 16th for 2 weeks, and afterward I shall probably renew this another 2 or 3 weeks. Mrs. DuBois will actually arrive sometime on Wednesday, July 18th but I want to make payment from the 16th.

Please send me the bill for these 2 weeks and I will remit immediately.

I am deeply obliged for the trouble to which you have gone.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mrs. Mabelle White Williams
YWCA
175 West 137th Street
New York, New York

(YWCA-NEW YORK) Ms B

Emma Ransom House Y. W. C. A.

175 West 137th Street
New York 30, N. Y.
Audubon 3-1000

MRS. ERNEST R. ALEXANDER
Chairman Residence Committee

MABELLE WHITE WILLIAMS
Residence Director

20-12-53

July 13, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
The N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3 N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I shall expect Mrs. DuBois on Wednesday, July 18th, and, if you will forgive me, I shall make the reservation for Wednesday rather than Monday because I need the room in the meantime. It is generous of you to wish to take it in advance but it ties our bookkeeping up to have two people listed in the same room and I will rent it transiently until Wednesday since the demand for rooms is so pressing.

The bill for two weeks - July 18th to August 1st will be:

Key Deposit	$1.00
Room Rent (@8.00)	16.00
Total	17.00

The room I have wangled for Mrs. DuBois has a semi-private bath. It is always a joy to have her with us and these are no empty words!

Sincerely yours,

MaBelle

MaBelle W. Williams
Residence Director

[YWCA]

THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

HARLEM BRANCH

179 WEST 137TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, NEW YORK
AUDUBON 3-1000

CECELIA CABANISS SAUNDERS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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Anna E. Kinch, *Program—Juniors*
Mary I. Moore, *Program—Adults*

September 19, 1945

20-38

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
c/o N.A.A.C.P.
69 - 5th Ave
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Dubois:

We are very happy to announce that Dr. John H. Johnson and Dr. Adrian P. Freeman have accepted joint chairmanship of a Men's Committee to assist the Harlem Y.W.C.A. in its 1946 Campaign efforts. Because you have always been a friend and contributor to this Branch, and, therefore, in genuine sympathy with our program, we take great pleasure in inviting you to be a member of this Men's Committee.

We promise you that you will not be asked to attend any meetings, make any speeches, or take on any of the other time consuming responsibilities of committee work. We do want you simply to "lend" us your name as one of a Men's Committee to sponsor an appeal to the business and professional men of this community. Special campaign stationery will be printed, inscribed with your and the other names of the sponsoring committee. An appeal letter will be sent out under the signature of Dr. Johnson and Dr. Freeman, indorsed by the committee members whose names appear on the letterhead.

We believe that there are many men who would gladly contribute to the Y.W.C.A. if they knew more about our work, and if they were appealed to by the right persons in the right way. These "right persons" are men like you who have personally, and, through wives and daughters, known the Y.W.C.A. and its contribution to the good of this community. We further believe that an appeal made to men by men is the "right way".

We are sure that you will cooperate with us in this plan. The Harlem Branch must raise $6500 this year, an increase of $2000. We shall need all of our old friends, plus many, many new ones to achieve our goal.

We look forward to your early acceptance of our invitation.

Cordially yours,

Wenonah B. Logan
Chairman, Committee of Management

Cecelia C. Saunders
Executive Secretary

FPB/wp

NUMABU MINERALS.

DUKE KWESI KUNTU.

TELEPHONE: HOLBORN 3865.
CABLE ADDRESS: "NUMABU", LONDON.

AND AT
AHINFIE (ROYAL HOUSE)
ANOMUBU, GOLD COAST, W.C.A.
CABLES: "BEDUABA."
AND
30, BEULAH ROAD,
CAPE COAST, W.C.A.

44, DANES INN HOUSE,
265, STRAND,
LONDON, W.C.2.

20-15-73

11 Hatfield Road,
Wimbledon,
S.W.19
Oct. 29, 1945

Dear Dr. du Bois,

I was glad to learn of your arrival here & hope that it may be possible to meet you during your stay. Will you kindly let me know what dates & times would be convenient for you to meet me at the National Liberal Club, Whitehall Court, S.W.1?

With kind regards

Yours truly,

J. E. Poland

20-25-27

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr W. E. B. Du Bois,
69 Fifth Ave.,
New York,
N. Y

Personal

From "New World A-Coming," by Roi Ottley, p. 36. "Dr. Du Bois, bearded, scholarly and ornate, was born in Great Barrington." My God! What a baby!

H. B.

941 W. 34 St., L.A., Cal.

29 Clinton St.
Woburn, Mass.
Sept. 25, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

20-3-26

Dear Sir:

As I sit down to write this letter I begin to realize how busy you must be, but perhaps you or your secretary will be kind enough to refer me to the right person for advice in this case.

I am a white girl of 24 and today I am graduating as a nurse from a small training school in Massachusetts near Boston. Ever since I can remember, I have been anxious to do something constructive for the colored people. This has not decreased with maturity as I watch talented colored youngsters grow up with three strikes on them when they go to get a job.

Life is so short, you would think some altruistic aim would get sympathy and advice, but such does not appear to be the case. To be briefer, do you think it would be wiser to try to get into Public Health work connected with our colored population in Boston right now, or to devote most of my next three years working for a degree in Public Health with the aim still the same. From where I am right now, my ambition seems to be quite a lonely one. I would deeply appreciate any advice you might care to give.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs Webb's

Serial No.

UNITED NATIONS

CONFERENCE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION

INSTITUTE OF CIVIL ENGINEERS

GREAT GEORGE STREET, S.W.1.

The bearer of this pass will be admitted to the enclosure reserved for the public at the meeting to be held in Conference Room on Friday 16th November, 1945, at 3 p.m.

This pass is personal and is not transferable.

Bearer's Signature Mrs Sidney Webb

7-1C

[1945?]

COPY.

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY SOCIETY.

23. THE NATIONAL HEALTH REPORT

42/13/2

The Report of the National Health Services Commission was published on November 7th, 1944. It was prepared in the Prime Minister's Office in consultation with Lieut. Colonel H. Gluckman, Chairman of the Commission.

The Commission sat from 1942 to 1944.

Its terms of reference were to enquire into, report on and advise on:-

1. The provision of a National Health Service, in conformity with the modern conception of "Health", which will insure adequate medical, dental, nursing and hospital services for all sections of the people of the Union of South Africa.

2. The administrative, legislative and financial measures which would be necessary in order to provide the Union of S.A. with such a National Health Service.

Services are at present provided by a variety of authorities:

Local authorities, Provincial Councils, The Central Government, Charitable and Voluntary organisations, Employers, the Public.

They are financed as follows:

£14 million is spent annually on health services, of which

2.9% is spent by local authorities,

12.3% by Provincial Councils,

9.0% by the Union Government,

14.4% by employers (including Government)

61.4% directly by the public.

100.

The Commission finds present services very inadequate in respect of many matters, e.g.:

Knowledge provided regarding eugenics.

Malnutrition is rife, and measures for its prevention ineffective.

Housing is becoming worse.

Environmental services are unsatisfactory in certain areas apart from large towns.

Health education can be improved.

Personal preventive services are rudimentary.

Personal curative services are inadequate except for those who can pay.

Dental services ditto.

Institutional personal curative services are not entirely adequate for Europeans and very inadequate for non-Europeans.

Re-habilitation services are under-developed.

In/....

In answer to the terms of reference:

a) The services are NOT "organised on a national basis",

b) NOT "in conformity with the modern conception of "Health",

c) NOT "available to all sections of the people of the Union of South Africa, and

d) Measures are NOT adequate to provide, by any mere process of expansion, a national health service of the range and quality demanded by the terms of reference.

42/B/3

There is a very great shortage of medical practitioners, specialists, nurses, dentists and various types of auxiliary personnel, and there is gross maldistribution of health personnel.

There are many types of health service required beyond the sphere of medical practice, e.g. wage regulation, health education, town planning hygienic housing, the change-over from curative to preventive medicine, periodic medical examination of ALL members of the population.

The Commission stresses that attempts to improve and extend the present unsatisfactory system will only continue the patchwork and temporary expedients that are condemned. Health should be, like education, the right of every citizen.

The new National Health service should be under the executive control of a Minister of Health responsible to Parliament, and Parliament should have ultimate legislative and financial responsibility.

The Minister should be assisted and advised by a National Health Council whose policy would be executed by a National Health Board decentralised into Regional Organisations (about 20) further decentralised into Health Centres (about 400).

At the Regional and Health Centre levels, there should be democratically constituted Councils, and a National Health Service Commission analagous to the Public Service Commission to deal with appointments etc. There should be a National Health Congress to provide opportunity for the technical staff to express views on technical and scientific matters. There should be boards or committees to deal with more specific health problems.

There would be two categories of services (1) non-personal, and (2) personal, (1) would be under the National Health authority and (2) under the local authorities assisted by Provincial administrations.

The National Health Service should take over the hospitals.

Private Medical Practice:

Any medical man may continue, or set up, private practice. Any private person may consult a private practitioner, but will not thereby be excused from paying the National Health Tax. The position will be analogous to that of private schools.

42/18/4

Cost. (at present)	£
Local authorities about	340,000
Provincial Administrations	1,727,000
Union Government (total)	2,000,000
Disbursement by Public, (private individuals or via Medical Aid Societies)	10,000,000
Roughly =	£14,000,000.

The Commission proposes a Health Tax on all Income groups.

Anticipated budget for the year 1946-47 calculated on the basis of proposals of the Social and Economic Planning Council's 2nd Report:-

	£
National Health Service contribution Proceeds of Health Tax.	10,283,000
Contributions under Workmen's Compensation and Native Labour Registration Acts.	900,000
Contribution from general revenue	3,317,000
	£14,500,000

Detailed estimates of cost and salary scales are given.

Scales range from (£1,200 - £50 - £2,000) for higher scale doctors and dentists, to £84 for native messengers.

The National Health services will be free, but not given as charity. Everyone will contribute through the Health Tax.

The Report then gives the details of administrative measures and negotiations for putting the scheme into effect, and an account of the legislation necessary to implement it.

The case for a state medical service is sufficiently obvious from the above criticisms of the present services.

The case against a state medical service is mainly that of vested interests in the present service. There is, however, one very important argument which may be ranged against it. It is that the medical personnel is by its introduction exposed to the danger that appointments may be made or withheld from motives other than the desire to choose the best candidate irrespective of sectional adhesion, political, racial etc. This is met to some extent by the proposed National Health Service Commission.

The possibility of the introduction of the National Health Service in the near future seems a reasonably fair one; but the scheme has yet to weather its hazardous passage through Parliament, and there is every possibility that it will be modified in a greater or lesser degree before it becomes law.

Africa investment

From Daily Herald Nov 7th 1945.

WINDFALL OF £481,097

Palmerston House,

Bishopsgate, E.C.2.

THE unexpected dividend of 4 per cent. on the ordinary and 10 per cent. on the pref. paid by Tanganyika Concessions after a lapse of many years, was due to a "windfall" of £481,097 received from the Belgian Congo company, Union Miniere.

That company held no shareholders' meetings during the German occupation of Belgium, but has now done so, and paid up interest and dividends for the years 1940-43.

Shareholders of Tanganyika Concessions are reminded that the year's gross revenue of £496,903 compared with £17,349 is no guide to the normal earning power of the company.

Net profit of South African Distilleries for the year to June 30 last was £171,236 against £148,358; dividend 10 per cent. (same).

Roan Antelope Copper Mines is again paying no dividend in view of the "unsettled conditions in the copper market." Net profit £214,737 (£329,835).

Stock markets remained in a quiet mood yesterday, but showed signs of increasing activity in some sections.

Anticipations of a speed-up in television developments led to buying of Cossors, which rose 3s. to 43s. 6d.; Deccas, 9d. to 58s. 3d.; Philco, 3d. to 11s. 3d.

Building shares were also in demand with London Brick 1s. 6d. higher at 64s. 6d., and Plaster Board 9d. up at 35s. 6d.

Canadian Marconi rose sharply to 23s., a gain of 2s. 6d., while Cable and Wireless issues were again active. The ordinary rose £2 to £99 but the preference fell £3 to £112.—*V. J. BURTT.*

(1) (2) (3) (4)

40-8-03

A typical example of what we were discussing on Sunday. Colonial wealth distributed in the metropolis.

(1) Union Miniere represents copper in the Belgian Congo operated with British capital

(2) Tanganyika represents gold. British capital.

(3) S A Distilleries represents wines, British capital

(4) Roan Antelope is North Rhodesia copper. American →

and British Capital.

New York Times - April 12, 1945

SENDS PLEA TO ROOSEVELT

Negro Group Urges Opposition to Colonial Empires

The attitude of the American Negro to the peace will be "conditioned in an important degree" by the consideration given to "750,000,000 persons of color living under colonial governments," the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said yesterday in a reslution addressed to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr.

The resolution expressed "deep concern" that no post-war plans for these peoples were made at Dumbarton Oaks or are scheduled for consideration at San Francisco. It pointed out that "requests for the designation of spokesmen on colonial questions to appear in an official or semi-official capacity at Dumbarton Oaks have been ignored."

In conclusion, the resolution urged the United States Government to "make clear to friend and foe alike that it is not fighting this war to perpetuate or extend colonial empire and that it is unequivocally opposed to imperialism, particularly that based on race."

MEXICO WILL PRESS LITERACY CAMPAIGN

32-3-64

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MEXICO CITY, Jan. 1—President Manuel Avila Camacho in a speech published today announced plans for a series of measures in 1945 that should materially improve Mexico's economic, industrial and social structure.

New roads, schools, power plants, railroads, aqueducts and industrial enterprises will be built this year, he said. The main task of the Government will be the bringing to a successful conclusion the campaign against illiteracy which will start next March, he emphasized.

"The campaign against illiteracy must mark during 1945 the consolidation of our unity," he said. "It will aim to destroy the inequitable barriers that give an advantage to the literate and make the illiterate a slave."

Much of the speech was devoted to economic measures to smash the flourishing black market in many essential commodities, to maintain price ceilings, to increase the production of staple foods such as corn, and to develop the nation's industrial resources.

The President said that a plan was being studied to keep production of minerals and metals at the present high level even after the end of the war, which might bring about a contraction of exports.

RACE RELATIONS NEWS

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Vol. VII, No. 3 MARCH 1945

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL SECURITY

The Government has issued a memorandum giving its decisions in respect of the proposals for social security contained in the various reports that have been issued during the past eighteen months. "In all the circumstances, and having regard to the fact that the country could not in any case, within the next few years, afford the funds for launching an extensive social security scheme, the Government are of the opinion that it would be better, as a commencement, not to launch an 'all-in' contributory scheme but rather to improve and extend services which in one form or another are already in operation, and to introduce some additional or new services which are most widespread. Other new services, now deferred, can later be considered in the light of experience gained and as an increase in the national income permits."

The following are the Government's proposals :—

(a) Increases in old-age pensions. These increases were included in the Budget for 1944–45.

(b) Improved grants under the Childrens' Act.

(c) Family allowances for children in respect of the third and subsequent children, where the family income as augmented does not exceed £12 per month. Africans are excluded from these benefits because "it will be almost impossible to identify families, establish ages and to ascertain income".

(d) Unemployment benefits (contributory) : extension of contributions and benefits to large numbers of low-waged workers (mostly Africans) now excluded. The benefits are also to be increased (doubled in the case of town wage-earners at present included). Some 470,000 more workers will now be covered.

(e) Health services : development of health centres and preventive and educative services.

(f) Other existing grants to be continued.

The total cost will be £16,350,000, or £6,350,000 more than is now expended.

NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE

The following is a summary of the unanimous findings of the Health Conference held under the auspices of the Institute on 20 January 1945. The conference endorsed the basic recommendations of the majority report of the National Health Services Commission but regretted the Government's decision to maintain the present division of responsibility. It urged that a plan into which existing and projected schemes could be integrated should be adopted immediately, and pointed out that economic factors in Non-European health could not be overlooked.

The shortage of hospital accommodation (9,617 beds in respect of the Non-European population) is serious and there should be no delay in overtaking it. The inadequacy of the accommodation for African mental patients should be met.

The Union Government should if necessary bring pressure to bear upon the Provinces to make provision for the training of nurses of all kinds. The Nursing Cadet Corps organized in the United States should be studied. To bridge the gap between the time the Non-European girls leave school and the age at which they are accepted, preliminary training schools should be set up, and the girls encouraged to accept employment at crèches and other establishments. As facilities for training African nurses are insufficient, the Medical Council should be asked to consider training received in mine hospitals as part of the training for the general nurses' certificate ; an extension to Africans of the first aid and home nursing instruction given by the Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John would help to supplement the supply of African nurses.

Increased facilities for secondary education are necessary to provide the personnel necessary for health work among Africans. The salaries of African nurses should be raised to the level of those applicable to Coloured and Indian nurses as in the Cape Province. The African councils and the South African Native Trust should not be asked to bear any extra financial burden for non-personal services, while grants to mission hospitals should be placed on a "per patient per day" basis. Greater representation of Africans on bodies suggested by the Commission should be given.

The Conference supported the Commissioner's recommendation that an Institute of Hygiene be established for research into health problems and for the training of African health assistants.

LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

The Native Land Situation

A statement made by the Secretary for Native Affairs at a special meeting of the Ciskeian General Council on 8 January, outlining the Government's scheme for the reclamation and resettlement of Native reserves, was notable for three things. It set out a vigorous programme of constructive measures for the rehabilitation of the land in Native areas and their economic development; it frankly recognized that even with the acquisition of the 7¼ million morgen released under the S.A. Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 a great part of the African population of the Native areas will be landless; and it also initiated a scheme for village settlements in the Native reserves and in released areas.

The programme included the limitation of stock, but the Councillors held that the deterioration of the land was not due to overstocking, but rather to the lack of land to meet the needs of an increased population.

It was stated at a Council meeting in September that 30 per cent of the taxpayers were landless. In reply to the Council's demand for more land, they were told, however, that there remains in the Ciskei only a total of 28,000 morgen available under the 1936 Act. 67 per cent of the taxpayers were, at any one time, away from the Ciskei, and the Secretary for Native Affairs said that there were some 200,000 Africans for whom living accommodation had to be found, apart from the thousands living on European-owned land under irregular conditions. The village settlements are an attempt to provide living accommodation for the families while retaining the system under which the men leave them for periods. The Council also rejected the settlements.

The response of the Council to the Department's well-meant efforts reveals both the dead-weight of conservatism so typical of an agrarian people, and the fear of the white man's motives so prevalent amongst the African people. The Department's efforts to enlist the support of the African people for measures designed for their betterment are to be commended, and the enthusiasm of its officers for their advancement cannot be questioned.

In the Institute's journal, *Race Relations*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1941, there appeared an article on "Interpretations of Trusteeship" in

which Mr. Heaton Nicholls, then a member of the Native Affairs Commission, was quoted as saying that the State policy aimed at setting aside sufficient land to provide a family anchorage for all Natives except the comparatively small sections which must be considered as permanently detribalized, and that Africans on farms in European areas would be removed to the Native areas ; the males only would be allowed to leave the Native areas.

Against this policy the writers of the article pleaded that we should rather turn to a policy under which a progressive African peasantry would be developed with the generous aid of the State, while the bulk of the Africans, whom the land as at present apportioned cannot support, would be enabled to live and work outside the Native areas under conditions which would enable them to maintain their self-respect and to develop their skill and understanding. Which policy is to prevail ? The facts and expert opinions are all against the first. The force of traditional policy and political pressure is against the second. But until the position is clarified the Department of Native Affairs cannot go to the African people with the confidence necessary to win their support for any measure.

J. D. RHEINALLT JONES

EASY ENGLISH

Dr. Edward Roux, a review of whose *Easy English Handbook* appeared in the January number of the *News*, writes to say that he has just completed a full-length book, shortly to be published, on the same subject. In this he gives numerous examples of how to translate full into Easy English. Dr. Roux adds that, as he did not intend the *Handbook* for just-literate Africans, but for fully educated English-speaking readers, there seemed no point in attempting to put the text into Easy English.

PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Two years ago the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia unanimously adopted a resolution in favour of requesting the Union Government to convene a Pan-African conference for co-ordinating the development of southern and central Africa. This was followed a month later by a similar request from Northern Rhodesia. Now the Kenya Legislative Council has passed a resolution asking the British

Government to invite General Smuts to arrange a Pan-African conference immediately. In introducing the resolution, Mr. A. Vincent, leader of the elected unofficial members, pleaded the urgent need for collaboration in approaching post-war problems common to the British territories in southern, central, and eastern Africa.

Referring to the Native question, Mr. Vincent said that inevitably fear and suspicion would centre on the Native question—on the difference between the Native policy of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia on the one hand and colonial policy on the other; he was certain, however, that no member of the Council would countenance for a single moment any influence to effect a change in the Native policy of those territories unless such a change was directly beneficial to the Natives themselves and had been fully discussed with those responsible for colonial Native policy and Native interests.

Mr. Vincent strongly advocated the attendance at the conference of observers from the Belgian, French, and Portuguese territories. Such a conference, including as it would representatives of all the colonial powers in Africa, could do much to break down the artificial barriers between the various African states, and much could be gained by an examination of common problems and policies. Among those subjects which could most fruitfully be discussed would be communications, trade, defence, Native policy, health, and veterinary research.

It is doubtful, however, whether an ambition such as that expressed by Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who recommended "going all out for a United States of Africa", is one that can be realized in the near future, and it is significant that all the Indian and African members of the Kenya Legislative Council have voted against Mr. Vincent's resolution.

COMMUNAL FEEDING SCHEME

Those recommendations of the inter-departmental committee o inquiry into the distribution of food which have been adopted by the Government, namely the manufacture of margarine, of which 12 million pounds are to be produced annually, and the establishment of communal feeding services, will greatly benefit the low-paid workers of the country. In Johannesburg tens of thousands of African workers go to their work in the mornings without having eaten at all. The institution of cheap meals at work-places will thus meet a real need.

Experimental dining-rooms are to be set up in areas in which the lower-income groups are concentrated, but there will be no means test and anybody may patronize them. The establishment of eating houses in municipal locations will be discussed by the Social Welfare Department with local authorities. It is to be hoped that municipalities will experiment with cheap communal meals in municipal townships. Since the Johannesburg municipality has ceased feeding its labourers it has cost the City Engineers' Department £100,000 a year through the inability of the under-fed workers to do the same amount of work as they performed when they were fed. In Salisbury the city council some months ago introduced a scheme for issuing cooked rations to the 650 workers housed in the municipal compounds. At first the workers objected to the scheme but have now come to realize the value and convenience of being served with cooked meals.

In Johannesburg the first communal restaurant has been opened by the Community Health Centre at Fordsburg. Three-course meals at 10*d*. each are served in the attractive restaurant.

LESSONS FROM DETROIT

Professors Lee and Humphrey of Detroit, U.S.A., have recently published a report on the race riots which took place there in July 1943. The immediate causes of the outbreak, they say, were the prejudices and misunderstandings between the black and white races. Such prejudices begin in the home and are developed through the ignorance of parents and companions into deep-set habit patterns. Emotional satisfaction obtained from them obscures the contradiction to which they give rise in a democratic country.

A point of considerable significance is that during the riots in the factories and concerns where negroes and whites worked together there was not the slightest disturbance, nor was there any trouble where negroes and whites lived in close proximity. The closer contact under such conditions between the races tended to create a greater tolerance and more liberal outlook without destroying mutual respect and communal consciousness.

Although the South African situation differs in many respects from the American this analysis of race attitudes is highly relevant and worthy of close study.

For Detroit the writers suggest an official bi-racial commission and civic bi-racial committees sponsored by leading labour, religious, business, and education bodies. Such bodies would ascertain facts, investigate and analyse the facts, and translate the analyses into action. A warning is issued against experimental restrictive legislation.

Unofficial inter-racial commissions have been in existence in the Southern States since about 1918 and their parallel is to be found in South Africa in the Joint Councils. More recently a new organization entitled the Southern Regional Council has been established in the Southern States to undertake work very similar to the activities of the Institute.

THE NATIVE IN SOUTH AFRICA[1]

This new edition of Mr. L. Marquard's book, originally published by the Oxford University Press under the title of *The Southern Bantu*, has made a timely appearance. Many authoritative books on Native affairs in Southern Africa have been published in recent years, but few have been written for the beginner. They have presupposed a knowledge of much that is here set forth. One of the most hopeful signs for the future is the rising tide of interest in Native problems, so-called, among students in the senior forms of our schools and in the universities. It is right and natural that it should be so. A new generation arises to redress the balance of its predecessors' neglect.

And so, for beginners young and old, this is an admirable introduction. Mr. Julius Lewin and the Witwatersrand University Press are to be congratulated on this revised edition of a book that, but for the war, would by now have been widely circulated. I like the logical arrangement of its subject matter and the dispassionate array of facts, relieved here and there by flashes of imaginative sympathy and insight. The chapter headings are a good indication of the way in which the theme is set out : In the Reserves ; On European Farms ; In the Towns ; On the Mines ; Legislation and Law ; Religion and Education ; The Protectorates and South-West Africa.

There is here no political bias nor special pleading. The facts are left to tell their own story to the young people for whom the book is

[1] Copies are obtainable from the Institute. Price 3*s.* 6*d.* (postage 2*d.*).

intended. Knowledge of the facts will illuminate the path along which many of them are preparing to walk, a path of greater generosity and co-operation.

That it could be read, with profit and without undue strain, by some of the older generation who shape the policy of our civic and national administration—for it is compressed into one hundred and five pages—is not the least of the merits of Mr. Marquard's unpretentious volume. A bibliography for further study is added.

M. McL.

SHORTER ITEMS

Workmen's Compensation.—In view of the Government's intention to present a Bill at the next session of Parliament to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1942, the Institute has submitted a number of suggestions to improve the position of African workers under this Act. These include (a) reduction of the "waiting period" in respect of which no compensation is payable; (b) application of the principle of a minimum rate of compensation in cases of temporary total disablement equal to the full wages or £6 10*s*. per month, whichever is the less; (c) substitution of pensions for lump sum payments.

Grateful acknowledgement is hereby made to Mr. L. R. Caney, K.C., Chairman of the Durban and District Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu, for a very helpful memorandum covering these and many other points which he prepared for the Institute.

James Donaldson Award.—The Trustees of the Bantu Welfare Trust, which was established by Lt.-Col. James Donaldson, D.S.O., in 1936, invite well-established public bodies among the African people to submit recommendations for the "James Donaldson Award", being a gift of £5 with a suitably inscribed vellum, which is made annually by the Trust to an African man or woman in recognition of long, consistent, and honourable service rendered to the community.

No application by any person on his own behalf will be considered, and canvassing by anyone will disqualify the person recommended.

Communications should be addressed to The Secretary, Bantu Welfare Trust, P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

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PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Race Relations News Vol. VII, No. 3 March 1945

4D/88/69

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[1945?]

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HD/8070/52

ONE SHILLING

VOLUME XII : NUMBER 1 : 1945

RACE RELATIONS

is the official quarterly journal of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Its purpose is to supply authoritative information and guidance on matters having a significant bearing upon the racial situation in Southern Africa.

As the writers of articles appearing in RACE RELATIONS are free to present the results of their studies and observations as they think fit, any views expressed by them should not, except where articles are specially marked, be taken to represent the views of the Institute.

RACE RELATIONS is issued free to members of the Institute. It is sold to the public generally at a price which may vary according to the size of each issue.

The Institute also publishes a monthly bulletin of news and facts—RACE RELATIONS NEWS. This is also issued free to members.

Communications should be addressed to The Editor, RACE RELATIONS, P. O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

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PAN-AFRICA WITHOUT ILLUSIONS

Ralph Horwitz

THE urge to launch a pan-movement apparently becomes irresistible to most peoples and nations at a given stage of their development. South Africa seems to have arrived at just such a moment when the desire to "fulfil an historic mission" shows signs of infecting some of her politicians and leader writers. There is some obscurity about the exact nature of this particular historic mission, but then pan-movements, originating as they have done for the most part in the racial theories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have never been characterized by precision in definition or interpretation. Generally they have been political and cultural movements aiming at the solidarity of a given group related by common or kindred "race", religion, language, or by mere geographical proximity. And it would not be entirely untruthful to suggest that it is characteristic of such movements to have real aims differing quite markedly from the proclaimed objectives. Pan-Africanism —post-1939 version—appears to conform to type.

Historically Pan-Africanism—at least until the Prime Minister of South Africa took to covering the African continent by airplane—is associated with the name of Bishop Garvey, the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the Pan-African Congresses held in Paris from 1919 whose repeated claim was equal treatment for all civilized persons irrespective of colour. The unifying sentiment of the movement was resistance to the common political, economic, and social oppression of the Negroes, expressing itself in the slogan "Africa for the Africans". The post-1939 manifestation of Pan-Africanism is something entirely new. Recent discussion in South Africa, Rhodesia, and Kenya on the subject has been more than usually vague but it is a safe assumption that the white-skinned enthusiasts have nothing in mind which is in any sense related to the earlier expression of group consciousness. Indeed it would not be inaccurate to suggest that the slogan of the new Pan-Africanism is "Africa for the non-Africans", while "Africa for the non-African South Africans" also has its adherents.

In 1941 the Union Minister, Mr. Harry Lawrence, made a hands-off-Africa broadcast in which he emphasized that the Union of South Africa had no territorial ambitions in Africa. But, as the dominant white state of the continent and senior partner in the company of freedom-loving nations in Southern Africa, we are expected to give a lead in the development of commercial resources, labour, transport, and culture and in the forging of bonds of friend hip between the States of Africa. Germany and Italy must be kept out of "our" continent so that its peace-loving peoples are not dragged into the quarrels of Europe, while the white settlers of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia would extend the hands-off-Africa prohibition to Whitehall. Africa—the propaganda runs —must no longer be the plaything of Europe, and the desire to proclaim a Monroe Doctrine from Pretoria is checked perhaps only by the realization that the armies of Britain, the United States, and

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France (not to mention India) did play some part in the African campaigns.

Not much has been said of the nature of the lead that the Union is to give, but if Pan-Africanism means anything at all, it surely means something more than mere additional trade and closer cultural contacts between the component parts of Africa. A pan-movement is essentially a movement which provides for *common* policies between its members. The unifying instrument of the new Pan-Africanism is economic relations, implying the development of a common policy for trade, for labour, and for transport with the Union of South Africa as the "metropolitan" area to whose labour, trade, and transport policies the other African States are to conform and to be assimilated. Pan-Africanism is a turning away from Europe and a turning towards the leadership of the Union. Apart from geographical proximity, what is the basis of this claim to leadership?

The distinctive, and contrasting, colonial economic policies of modern times are assimilation and the open door. Under tariff assimilation the colonies and the metropolitan area accept a common tariff policy—that of the metropolitan area. This means that imports into the colonial territories are subject to the same duties as imports into the metropolitan area, while any trade agreements entered into by the metropolitan power are automatically extended to the colonies. The full application of such a policy cannot be attained but the constant objective is to secure a preferential market for the manufactured goods of the metropolitan area in the colonies as against other national States. Outside competition for the products, generally raw materials, of the colonies is restricted as far as possible so that the metropolitan area is assured of low-cost raw material for its manufacturing industry. The whole policy is of course in the well-established tradition of mercantilism and its basic assumption that the colonial areas and their peoples exist for the benefit of the metropolitan area and its people.

Opposed to assimilation is the policy of the open door, which Britain accepted until the Ottawa Conference. The economic policy of the open door is the complete economic freedom of the colonial area. Titular ownership of an empire confers no benefits on the governing country as against other countries. It does not mean the same thing as free trade but merely that the metropolitan area enjoys no preferential position for its exports to the colonies, while the colony itself is quite free to sell its raw materials in the highest market and to develop its own industries if to its comparative advantage. Except under very special circumstances, this policy of the open door confers the maximum gains on the colony. Its optimum prosperity is ensured by permitting its inhabitants to sell their exports in the highest markets and to buy their imports from the cheapest markets. Assimilation tends to result in exactly the reverse position. Solely from the materialistic aspect, the open door policy makes its independence or its ownership by any other State a matter of indifference to the colonial territory—in the economic sense it is not in fact a subordinate State but enjoys full sovereignty. Obviously the same is not true of the contrary policy of assinilation since the tariff policy of the metropolitan area is of vital concern to the dependent area.

The Union's Role

Now a common policy for Africa with the Union of South Africa in the lead, if it means anything at all, implies, as already suggested, that the Union is cast for the role of the metropolitan area to whose trade policies those of the other African States are to conform and to be assimilated. Clearly assimilation restricts the development of the dependent area and the degree of restriction will reflect the degree of industrialization of the metropolitan area. If the metropolitan area is very highly industrialized then the burden on the colonial area will be correspondingly light. From the viewpoint of the other African States (especially those parts of the French African Empire with some years of actual experience of an assimilation policy) it is

vitally important to form an opinion of the capacity of the Union to occupy the position of a market for their raw materials and a source of supply for manufactured goods and, of particular importance, of the capital so urgently needed for their development. It is obvious that the Union can do so to its own substantial advantage, or more accurately to the gain of its European citizens, but how will the other partners in Pan-Africanism fare? The question cannot be examined in the detail it merits, but a brief description of the trade and economic structure of the African continent suffices to reduce the exaggerated claims made by some of the Union's spokesmen to more accurate perspective. Frankel's *Capital Investment in Africa* yields much readily available information.

In 1935 the British territories in Africa were responsible for 85 per cent of the value of exports and imports from and into Africa, while the Union alone accounted for about 55 per cent of the total exports and imports. It is true, therefore, that the Union is the dominating trading country on the continent, but of real significance is the nature of the exports and the imports. "Mining", comments Frankel, "has been the touchstone of economic development in most of Africa." Gold is the major export of Africa and in 1935 was very nearly half of the total domestic exports of Africa. About 60 per cent of the value of all this continent's exports was minerals—mainly gold, copper, and diamonds, while Frankel estimates that two-thirds of capital investment from abroad in Africa has found its way into the "mineral territories". If to the minerals are added the products of wool, maize, cotton, palm products, cocoa, ground-nuts, and rubber, four-fifths of the value of exports from Africa are accounted for. Examining the production figures of individual territories, minerals and raw materials predominate in every case. Gold, asbestos, and chrome ore dominate the economy of Southern Rhodesia; copper that of Northern Rhodesia; cotton, coffee, and sisal that of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika Territory; copper, diamonds, palm products, and cotton that of the Belgian Congo; palm products, cocoa, and gold that of British West Africa; ground-nuts, palm products, and timber that of French West and Equatorial Africa; a number of agricultural products, more particularly sisal, sugar, and ground-nuts, that of the Portuguese territories.

The most striking feature of Africa's economy is the close integration with world economy, and the economic history of Africa, including the Union of South Africa, is the story of how it joined the world economy. Inter-African trade has been limited, and while it may certainly grow in the post-war period, the additional trade would hardly justify such a grandiose description as Pan-Africanism. A Pan-African policy aimed at restricting competition for their exports in the interests of the Union must be well-nigh fatal to the prosperity of the other African territories. The Union's industrial development by world standards is just beginning—it is altogether too ambitious to hope at the present stage to fill successfully the role of a metropolitan power in Africa absorbing profitably the raw materials of its tributaries. The welfare of every African State with their raw material and mineral economies is closely correlated with the volume of world trade. Of none is this more true than the Union of South Africa itself, the demand for whose gold can in the last analysis come only from international trade. In a period when raw material prices rule at particularly low levels it may appear an advantage to have the guaranteed market provided by the assimilation policy. French apologists for assimilation argued thus, but the contention ignores the extent to which modern mercantilism has itself been the cause of depressed prices for raw materials and hence of the instability of the colonial areas. Nor is it realistic to suppose that in a new world depression South Africa would be capable of sustaining alone the economies of the African territories.

Surely the vital objective of the African territories must be to secure the complete realization of the Atlantic Charter promise of "free access to raw materials by all

nations" implying a maximum of competition as opposed to Pan-Africanism, which means a maximum of monopsony. The demand for consumption goods by the African territories is comparatively small though it may be expected to grow. It is impossible to understand, however, what benefit it can be to any of these territories to extend any preference to the Union's high-cost manufacturing industry. Naturally, if in their enthusiasm for the Pan-African ideal, the rest of Africa could be persuaded into buying the Union's higher-cost steel, clothing, and shoes instead of the cheaper and better products of the United States, Britain, France, or Belgium, there would be no protest from South African industrialists. But it is difficult to see any inducement to do so. As for the great amounts of capital so critically necessary to African development, the Union will be hard pushed to meet the needs of its post-war economy from its own still strictly limited resources. Air transport will revolutionize the social and economic structure of Africa but here again it is not easy to understand why the rest of Africa should wait for a lead from the Union when such potentially great air powers as the United States and Britain have already shown their eager interest.

The Colour Bar

All this is obvious enough and it seems scarcely credible that the acute South African minds who have lately sponsored Pan-Africanism are unaware of the obvious. But Africa, and especially Southern Africa, has another "commodity" for export so far not mentioned in this article and hardly mentioned in the discussions of Pan-Africanism. It is Negro or Native labour. The Union of South Africa is not really greatly interested in importing gold, diamonds, copper, cotton, maize, palm products, and sugar from the rest of Africa. It is interested—and vitally interested—in the import of Native labour. If the rest of Africa will allow South African Airways a "reasonable" share in post-war traffic, the offer will not be turned down. If these territories will buy some of our manufactured goods, well and good. If the newspapers choose to describe exchange of teachers, artists, locust and soil erosion conferences as exemplifying the Pan-African ideal, only the purist is likely to object. But if Pan-Africanism is to achieve its real triumph, then the rest of Africa in return for the Union's graciously proffered leadership will export to us the required numbers of Native labourers.

That there is a "shortage" of Native labour is the unshakable conviction of the Union's mining, agricultural, and (to a lesser extent) manufacturing industry. What is, of course, really meant is that there is not enough Native labour forthcoming at the price which European South Africa wishes to pay for it. The possibilities of further restrictions on the mobility of the Natives to prevent competition from leading to a rise in Native wages are nearly exhausted. Unless the supply of Native labour can be augmented from outside the borders of the Union, South Africa's economy will have to begin the fundamental adjustments it has so far managed to stave off. If *European* prosperity in the Union is to be maintained at its present *relative* level through the next decades, an agreement with the rest of Southern Africa to make use of its Native labour is vital. Pan-Africanism sounds more impressive and less materialistic than a set of Mozambique Conventions—hence Pan-Africanism.

Now there can be no objection to a policy which encourages the Africans from beyond the borders of the Union to seek in this country higher rewards than they can secure elsewhere in Africa. At the present stage of development the Union of South Africa is certainly the most economically advanced territory on the continent and therefore does in general offer better returns to labour. But as long as it is the official policy of the Union to discourage so severely the mobility of Non-European labour from the unskilled to the skilled and semi-skilled occupations, and even within the unskilled labour categories, so long will it be indefensible to embark on a policy to increase the supply of Non-

European labour from outside this country. If Pan-Africanism is to mean anything more than a not very subtle attempt to bolster up European standards of living in the Union for another half-century, then the repudiation of this country's economic colour bar must precede it. This is the decisive test of the Union's interest in Pan-Africanism. If there is no intention of abandoning the economic colour bar, and there are certainly no signs to suggest it, then Pan-Africanism is merely an essay in political chicanery.

FARM LABOUR IN THE TRANSVAAL

Edith B. Rheinallt Jones[1]

THE basis of farm labour throughout the Transvaal is the labour-tenant system. This is true in spite of the fact that there is, particularly near Native reserves and near the Bechuanaland and Rhodesian borders, a very considerable amount of cash-paid labour without resident families. Generally in the Transvaal it is middle-aged or older men who are at work on the farms. These, with their families, generally know no other permanent homes. Many have been absent for periods at labour centres, many of them still go for periods to such distant labour, but their wives and young families remain in the cottages or huts on the farm. They are sentimentally attached to these homes, they like to grow at least some of their own "food", i.e. mealies (again often largely sentimental as the cultivation is poor, the crop small except in good years, almost always partly bartered on reaping so as to obtain other necessities, making necessary the purchase of mealies for food later in the season). There is also a definite prejudice against taking womenfolk to the towns, though this is not actually so strong as they state it to be. Probably the older women, for all that they grumble at conditions on the farms, actually find the life there more easy-going; often there are a daughter-in-law or so and grandchildren to help in the work. The young women certainly very commonly run away to the towns or to casual labour on other farms; the young wives brought to the parents' home are often girls met in town. Strongest of all in the attachment to the farm home is the desire to keep cattle, rarely for milking, sometimes for ploughing, often simply for *lobolo* purposes. The fact that *lobolo* is now so often paid in cash does not seem to affect this—I know of cases where a family will face debt and difficult living to scrape together *lobolo* cash rather than sell for cash the cattle kept for *lobolo* purposes, to pay the cash *lobolo*. Africans, like other people, have a craving for stability and security, and for more than a million Africans in South Africa the farm homes are the only ones possible to give this sense of stability. Farmers are forbidden by law to rent these homes for cash, and therefore some sort of service or some fiction of providing it by a cash payment is the only way to obtain a resting-place.

[1] At the time of her death last year the late Mrs. Edith B. Rheinallt Jones was engaged in an extensive survey of Native farm labour in the Transvaal. She wrote this article in the form of a memorandum for the Institute. It is a descriptive account based on her knowledge of conditions on farms. She hoped to produce a detailed report from material already collected and as a result of further inquiries. The lack of reliable material on the subject makes her information valuable even in its unrevised form.—EDITOR.

A. Analysis of the Principal Forms of Farm Labour in the Transvaal

1. *Labour-tenants whose families reside for the whole year on the farm, the whole family being liable for service as required.*

In most cases the man is required to give 90 or 120 or 180 days' service and his adult sons are expected to give the same. These

days may be practically continuous (except for Sundays—naturally those in charge of animals work Sundays too), in which case the 90, 120, or 180 days can be done in approximately 4, 5, and 8 months respectively (bad weather, odd leaves for family purposes, etc., Mondays when boys are too drunk to turn up, count for some non-continuous work). Most farmers work a short day on Saturdays but count it a full day. Hours of work are theoretically sunrise to sunset, but on few farms is there strenuous work for such long hours. There is less friction about days worked when the farmer keeps a register and marks off the days worked, and if the Native has a tally card.

In other cases the work is not even reasonably continuous; week on, week off is sometimes used; more commonly only a few days per week except at very busy periods. This keeps the man on the farm for much longer periods, and his in-between time is rarely wisely occupied in his own affairs.

The "days" being completed, the Native may ask for a pass to look for work, and the farmer must not refuse. Generally there is some interval, rarely less than a week, between his finishing his "days" and getting away. Not by any means is this always due to delays on the part of the farmer. If the Native wishes to travel to a labour area, particularly by train, he must go to the Native Commissioner. This often causes considerable delay, partly time taken in travelling, partly due to delays at the Commissioner's office, partly to long week-ends spent with friends. In fact, in some areas, where tribal feeling is strong, a man will go to greet his Chief before going away. Then there is delay in travelling, trains are missed, connections are missed, or long distances by road may be walked (e.g. when working at various schools in the Waterberg District for 3 days, I saw the same walking group three times between Nylstroom and Hamanskraal; they took approximately three days to walk that 65 miles. They were from Pietersburg district bound for Johannesburg—250 miles' distance). Days on arrival are often wasted looking for work or visiting friends.

It is therefore clear that a man has often very little time of his year left for paid labour. This naturally interferes with his getting good urban work, as most urban employers prefer long period workers. If he overstays his free period, the farmer can have him followed up by the Native Commissioner's office, prosecuted and returned. If he disappears and with all our pass system this seems to be quite common, his family are liable to eviction. All these same conditions hold for adult sons, though these do not as a rule have the right to an extra piece of arable land, or to run extra stock, until they marry.

Some farmers offer paid labour at from 1*s*. per day upwards for days worked when the compulsory period is over, and very often this is accepted, being obviously an economical arrangement. Some Natives, however, particularly young men, will not accept such an offer. They want to go to town; they want to see new girls; they think they will get more money elsewhere; they don't want the farmer to know how much money they have; and they want to get away from parental restraint.

All such labour-tenant families maintain that they could not support themselves without extra cash coming in, and, in general, both the African family and the farmer reckon that a young man going away to work his non-farm-service time should send money back home, as his father, even by working all the year, cannot support himself and his younger family on the farm.

The law, in requiring the 90-plus days' service, does not forbid the payment of wages during those days, and many enlightened farmers pay wages during the days of compulsory service on the understanding that the worker continues to work on the farm throughout the year. At this stage evidently the labour-tenant type of service merges into full-time work.

The amount of service required from the women and children varies greatly. There is probably more friction and sore feeling about this than about the man's

work, and often this friction arises because the conditions were not made clear, or it is claimed they were not made clear, at the beginning of the engagement. Some farmers require three months' continuous service from each woman for household work, some require one or two days per week for such things as laundry throughout the year; others want one to three days a week for field labour throughout the year; others again only seasonal field labour with or without cash or produce payment. Some consider they have the right to the three months' free household service away from the farm (even with friends in a distant town). This removal of the household service from one place to another is a source of friction.

Some farmers never call married women for obligatory service, and children are rarely called for work until about 12 years old. Again the amount and type of service required varies with the type of farm and district. Some farmers expect three months' household service from young girls (I have been astonished at the amount of work that some well-to-do farmers' wives, with large numbers of such temporary and incompetent maids, have to face doing themselves for the sake of maintaining the discipline of the system!). Some only use the young girls in the fields, etc., seasonally, with, or without, small cash payments. Young lads are usually required for herding, very often for 3 calendar months, sometimes without pay, sometimes for 2*s*. 6*d*. or 5*s*. per month.

As to food, custom varies greatly. Some farmers give rations to labour-tenants during their periods of work (usually mealie-meal with a meat allowance at intervals, and possibly some skim milk and/or spare produce when available). More commonly, or at any rate increasingly commonly, a dinner, often a good balanced meal, is issued to the workers on the days they work; sometimes a breafast too. Household servants are generally fed. Progressive farmers who want intensive work usually say it pays them to feed their workers well.

The amount of stock permitted varies greatly. 5 head of large, and 10 of small is not uncommon. Cattle are naturally most prized, and a system of spreading cattle between various members of the family or even friends makes it very difficult for a farmer to be sure just what stock his people are keeping. Most farmers forbid bulls. Some do not allow cows but only working oxen. Others permit cows and allow the use of their own good bulls. Many farmers do not like horses kept or mules or donkeys, but a cart with something to inspan is a sign of the better-class worker. Most farmers dislike goats. Some permit a few sheep. The restriction of stock is greatly resented.

The labour-tenant type of labour is, as has been said, the most widespread, and probably accounts for the largest proportion of farm workers. As stated above, these workers have a sense of stability not found in most other types. In many cases the families are resident on old tribal lands—as one man, a petty Chief, put it to me: "My grandfather woke one morning at his own kraal and found a white man who said, 'You are living on my farm and you must work for me'." Such families have now, with changing ownership, with sub-division, with more intense cultivation, little real security unless they make themselves good and diligent farm workers. Even when they have been in town work and worked faithfully and well for periods, they dislike long days of farm work for anything but very short periods. "The farmer expects us to work from sunrise to sunset." "We have to go out and work even if it is raining." Nevertheless with all their grumbles and difficulties, labour-tenants are more stable than any other kind of labour, and most farmers, especially where there is stock, try to keep a nucleus of families. Many are faithful and in spite of grumbles (which are found in agricultural workers outside South Africa!) much attached to the "baas" and his family and cared for by them. Kindness in times of sickness is common.

But few farmers really like the system or think it will long persist. The younger generation of Natives is in general not

accepting it. It does not train men to be skilful farm workers. It wastes manpower. It ties up labour uneconomically. No progressive country can afford such wastefulness.

Farmers in general take little pains to help their workers to progress in civilization. They often complain that these Natives, in contact with good farming for long periods, revert to the traditional methods for their own lands and stock. This is not surprising. Practically none of them have the education or training to lift them out of traditional life. Little or no attempt is made to surround them with cultural influences. Religious services, it is true, are rarely forbidden, but few farmers take active steps to see that their Natives are cared for even in this way. Not many farms have schools, and I only know of two instances where the school is organized as a centre of community life. I only know of one case where attendance at school is compulsory for all juveniles on the farm.

Progressive farmers are, however, changing in their attitude towards schools. More schools are being permitted, and there is less interference with the attendance of the children. But, except in a very few instances, the attitude seems to be one of bribery to the children to remain on the farm, to the families to settle in, rather than any belief in the value of education to the children. Certainly some of the schools would scarcely warrant such a belief. There are very few attempts to make the education meet the needs of the children. The code may be rigid, but I am sure it is not so rigid as to prevent more adaptation and efficiency. This is not the place, however, for a dissertation on the farm school. I propose to make notes available elsewhere.

Night-schools, glee clubs, debating clubs, cinemas, and wireless do not exist.

The houses or huts are generally poor and impermanent, constructed of traditional material with sometimes a little timber or poles or corrugated iron that has to be paid for. Sometimes thatch is free, sometimes not. It is always said that no farm Natives would, for superstitious reasons, live in good housing provided by a farmer. I doubt if this is entirely true even at present; it would be no more true for a more civilized people on farms than it is in urban locations. It is very doubtful if any farm workers are likely to become thoroughly civilized and trained while they live under the conditions that most of them do. Certainly no civilized and trained young people will settle down to that. There are few civilizing influences on the women and little children.

Health services are poor or non-existent, though often the farmer and his wife do a good deal of First Aid. There is much avoidable disease, ill health, and loss of time in seeking medical help. Since diet is monotonous and often insufficient, the beer-drink is a pleasant break for food as well as for social reasons.

Wood for fuel may be free—often the Natives are very destructive to trees if allowed to cut and they very seldom plant timber. Manure is often burnt to the detriment of the crops.

Up to a certain point farmers are often proud of such of their tenants as show emergent qualities, e.g. better yield of mealies per morgen, two crops a year, some variety of produce, better stock, better management of poultry on the part of the woman, but even here there is a nervousness of their rising to be "too independent".

2. *Labour-tenants who have their homes on "labour" farms*

This is a type of squatting, particularly used by those who possess intensively used farms in one area, and other farms unsuitable for intensive farming, or too distant from markets to be profitably used, in another. There is usually little restraint on the life of those resident on the "labour" farm (to the detriment of the land), as long as the period of service is faithfully kept. Sometimes if the distance is possible on foot, such workers are required to report for labour on the farm where the work is done. Very often, however, the farmer fetches them in batches by lorry and at the completion of their

free labour period they may either return on the lorry, going to fetch the new supply, or receive a pass to look for paid work until they next need to report for free labour. I have never known women brought away like this, but there may be cases. I have been told that 110 days is the period between lorries, roughly 3 shifts a year. Every adult male is expected to do the service; aged men are excused and not turned off from squatting if they provide sons or young relatives to work for them, but the lads growing up often try to run away just before service becomes due, and farmers sometimes feel it necessary to make an example in such cases. My own impression is that there is a good deal of evasion, and that farmers do not usually worry very much as long as they get the amount of labour they expect from a farm, and families are not totally escaping their obligations. With the coming and going, and children growing up, I doubt if many farmers keep careful check on the population of "labour" farms. The Native Commissioner does not interfere, so far as I know, unless new families are taken on to an already overcrowded farm, and neighbours, jealous of the amount of labour unavailable to them, complain. I have never heard of the Department of Lands or Agriculture complaining of the deterioration of such a farm in a European area, but such complaints may have been made. Neighbouring farmers do talk of such farms harbouring thieves and ill-doers; I do not know with what justification. I have once visited a beer-drink on such a farm, and certainly an unsatisfactory group of people were collected there and I heard complaints from neighbouring Natives that the girls there attracted the young men undesirably. There is no doubt that, in general, Africans like residence on labour farms as being comparatively free from interference.

It should be noted that in both 1 and 2 a legal evasion of the law is common. A Native, wishing to live on the farm without giving service, forbidden by the law to pay for his holding, gives the farmer a stated annual sum "to get someone to work for him in his place". This may, of course, be genuine, and the farmer may hire another labourer for the money. In most of the cases I know it is merely a fiction; the farmer does not want all the labour and is only too glad to take the cash instead. The cash equivalents I know of are £2, £3, £5, and even £10 per annum. Probably even more is sometimes charged on such farms near enough to towns for town-workers to live there, cycling to and from work. To some workers such squatting is preferable to the control in urban locations.

3. *Labour-tenants retained for the whole year*

In some cases the labour-tenants work when required throughout the year and receive no cash wages at all. The farmer ploughs for them and provides seed, and markets their crop. Food is provided on the days they work, not otherwise. Even church subscriptions and clothes are provided. The worker and his family are completely bound to the farm. The sons may, if the farmer does not need them, be given passes to look for work, and I gather that the younger people will not settle down to such conditions—it is probably a remnant of an older stage.

4. *Labourers on Released area farms*

Some of the European farms remaining in Released areas follow the plan outlined under 1. Since, however, the letting of land to Africans is legal within a Released area, many farmers prefer to take rent for the holdings and then hire whatever labour is necessary on a cash basis—usually from the squatters or their families.

5. *Cash workers who are allowed restricted family privileges*

Some farmers, particularly in tribal areas (not reserves or Released areas) who have well developed farms, allow their workers with their families to reside on the farm but not to have more land than a garden plot, and not the right to run cattle. In such cases wages are paid and rations issued.

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6. *Cash workers living at home in reserves*

Near Native reserves a good many farms employ Natives on a daily-paid basis. Such workers either return home nightly or else stay Monday to Saturday on the farm and go home for the week-ends. In this case they are accommodated in compounds or huts on the farm. They receive all meals for which they are present, or else rations for themselves. This labour tends to be erratic, sometimes used as a stepping-stone to urban labour, inclined to be irregular on Mondays, inclined to stay away in bad weather or for Native feasts, or when called by the Chief, or for ploughing, etc. One might have hoped that in favourable districts such labour would have solved social and economic problems for the workers and the labour problem for the farmers, but that is not the case. Presumably while the reserves provide a part of a minimum support on an uncivilized basis and there is no considerable standard of civilization, such labour will tend to be uncertain. Many farmers use such labour seasonally and find that even for short periods it is uncertain and irregular. In some districts part of such seasonal labour is female and part juvenile. Various social difficulties arise from mixed labour. Wages vary from 9*d.* per day (juvenile) to 3*s.* or more when workers are faithful over long periods and become skilled.

7. *Cash-paid resident labour (including "foreign" Natives) without family privileges*

Increasingly, even in the strongholds of labour-tenancy, a part of the labour is cash-paid with quarters and food or rations, no family privileges, and no privileges of land or cattle. Such labour may be very short-period, or it may stay for long periods. It is, naturally, scarcely ever permanent. A considerable proportion of such labour is "Rhodesian" or "Nyasaland", terms which evidently cover anything from the north outside the Union. The Mecca of such labour always seems to be Johannesburg. There is little desire to settle down in farm service—first, seasonal service on the vegetable and fruit irrigated areas of the north, gradually through farms or small mines further south or east, possibly a "marriage" with a local girl (in general Nyasaland Natives are popular with Transvaal girls, as they are said to give them more, treat them more kindly, and not expect them to work so hard), all this leading to sophistication in Union ways and the acquisition of a Union "pass"—then Johannesburg.

8. *Cash-paid permanent workers who are granted full family privileges, i.e. house or building site, garden, agricultural land, and grazing for stock.*

These are usually foremen, specially skilled stockmen, or handymen. They may receive up to £5 per month in addition to all the other privileges. Their wives and families are rarely required to work (though the wives may be willing to come into properly paid domestic service; or "to oblige" in times of difficulty). They will either build a better house, possibly being helped with some timber and iron, or may be given an old farmhouse to use. They live on a better standard, wear better clothes, make plans for the education of their children. These along with the share-farmers (see 9 below) provide the most independent and intelligent development of farm labour.

9. *Share-farming*

This, though illegal except for those who were legally there before the Land Act of 1913, is still a common method in the southern Transvaal. The farmer provides the land. The Native provides all labour, his own and any further labour required. It often seems to be members of his family who live with him there. The oxen for ploughing may by arrangement belong to the farmer or to the Native. The farmer usually provides the seed and the fertilizer. Ploughs, etc., sometimes belong to the one, sometimes to the other. Bags may belong to one or to the other. I think usually the farmer markets the grain. The Native has the right to the house

and garden plot, and often to the grazing of considerable numbers of cattle. The money for the crop is shared on half-shares or otherwise as may be arranged. The Native, of course, has no redress if he is not fairly paid out, but the transaction seems to be so satisfactory to both parties that there is little friction. The danger of the system is that the land may be permanently impoverished by over-heavy single cropping without fertilization. This is obviated if the owner provides the fertilizer. The Native, except in really bad years, gets a comfortable income for his labours; he and his wife and family have a permanent family life, sometimes even a farmhouse is made available. They can, and do, run better poultry. They keep a better table from their own more varied produce and a large cheque is available after the sale of crops (if 2 crops are taken, this is twice a year) to provide for civilized needs and the education of the children. Presumably the farmer finds it satisfactory, or he would not, in the teeth of the law, continue the system.

B. General Notes

1. *Diligence of farm workers*

So far as I have been able to see, African farm workers do not put in the same strenuous days of work as English workers. It may be lack of stamina, or of training, or of incentive. I understand that Italian prisoners can put in a much heavier day.

2. *Adequacy of supply of labour*

Good farmer-masters usually have no difficulty in getting farm workers. Bad masters (i.e. those who pay low wages or pay irregularly, who violate what the Natives had understood to be the terms of contract, who are very heavy in their demands on women and children, who keep Natives in debt to them, who are bad-tempered and brutal, who constantly invoke the aid of the police or the law in the management of their labour), have difficulty in getting workers. But the paradox is true that most farmers have too much and too little labour. Most have some tied-up labour not yielding its full man-power; most have to carry more workers than they need for their actual work because they dare not refuse labour that offers itself, for fear of being short; most dare not carry their schemes at full intensity because they are afraid of being short of labour at certain seasons. Recruited labour, foreign labour, and juvenile adult labour help over seasonal presses. It is impossible to say at present if the existing amount of labour would be sufficient for complete development of the land if trained to skill, and continuously and strenuously employed.

3. *Juvenile labour*

Until compulsory schooling is established for Native children it is not illegal to employ children in agriculture. Such employment, however, must be by special agreement between the parent or guardian and the employer. The use of the children of labour-tenants is usually a source of friction, of little real use to the farmer, of little profit to the juvenile. Children under 16 ought not to do long-period strenuous work, but with proper arrangement of terms and school hours there seems no reason why they should not undertake some suitable work in busy seasons—vegetable and fruit picking and packing might well be done with school hours and holidays suitably arranged. Some farmers find it worth while to arrange for lorry loads of school children over week-ends and short holidays and the children look on it as a picnic and certainly seem no worse for the work, and benefit from the regular feeding. Where teachers enter into such schemes and attend to discipline, and sleeping conditions are satisfactory, the children can probably be prevented from a good deal of loafing.

Recruitment of juveniles in the ordinary way is quite rightly prohibited, but, until educational facilities are provided, there is much to be said for permission being granted to farmer-employers to take groups large enough to warrant the erection of proper quarters with a teacher-

supervisor in charge. Such an experiment is being tried with delinquent boys at the Wierda Bridge Country Club, with reasonable success. It would have more chance of success in the country if proper controls and conditions were laid down. The drifting of rural boys into casual urban employment or golf-club work is neither good for the boys nor for the country.

4. *The possibility of the complete self-support of farm workers*

Recent researches show that most rural families are under-nourished and ill-clad. The standard of housing and general amenity is low. The work output and therefore the contribution to national income is low. Farmers themselves often tacitly admit that a man cannot by his wages and produce support his family, as they are bitter that sons gone away to work do not send money home to help the family. In primitive areas the family manages to exist, at any rate in good years, but in bad years debts for food and clothes are built up with the farmer or storekeeper. There is always hope of cash *lobolo* if there are daughters, and a great many sons do send some money home when they go away. The family to feed is often larger than the hypothetical family of five, as daughters-in-law and their children and married daughters and their children are often in the home. In some tribal districts there is little desire for much progress in civilization, but I have never found any farm, not even a ranch out on the Limpopo, where the workers did not sometimes go to shops and spend money on clothes, blankets, trinkets, extra food (tins), soap, pots and pans, and, not infrequently, some furniture. Farm work alone will not provide the money for this to the ordinary labourer. I have not succeeded in getting any reliable budgets.

I have sometimes found the families of foremen or cattle-men who earn good wages well housed, with good furniture, obviously having a better diet, able to send children away to boarding school and their wives on long journeys to visit relations, but the young people from such families do not seem to care for the farm life. These families gain complete support from their farm work.

Share-farmers seem to be able to live on a good scale and educate their children. I find some young men attracted to this. They know perfectly well it is illegal, but actually there seems to be little interference with what is otherwise an honest, industrious form of life adding a reasonable share to the nation's wealth.

5. *Food*

The staple, whether provided by the farmer or by the Natives themselves, is mealie-meal, mostly for stiff porridge which they like undercooked, as presumably that swells up inside them and gives them that feeling of fullness which is looked on as pleasant, doubtless to the detriment of the digestive system. Constipation is very common and is moved by castor oil and Epsom-salt, which are surprisingly widely known and used, or by herb brews in other cases. I know of a case where steam-cooked stiff porridge was refused by the whole of the Native workers, who went hungry for two days rather than eat such unsatisfying stuff. The farmer gave in! This farmer buys castor oil by the gallon and Epsom-salt by the 50 lb. Samp, and samp and beans are not as common as I expected to find. The mealie-meal is rarely nowadays stone-ground by the women. Sweet potatoes are, so far as I can see, looked on as an extra. Native farm workers say they need two bags of mealies a month for a family. Farmers say this is excessive. Possibly the discrepancy is partly due to the larger "family" (larger than the farmer knows about sometimes, though the presence of the wives and children of absentee sons who evade their service is a constant cause of friction), partly due to wasteful storage and use, partly due to the fact that though dogs, pigs, and fowls are rarely intentionally fed, a certain amount, particularly the considerable amount stuck to the pot and rather burnt, goes their way, partly due to the use for beer making. Except for coarse salt (often given by the farmer or

bartered for with eggs) there is no very regular relish with the porridge—peanuts and spinach are general in the north and east Transvaal. Pumpkin and young pumpkin shoots are used when there are any. Some farmers certainly give separated milk, but there is a complaint that, now more pigs are kept, there is little milk for the workers. Surplus vegetables and fruit are given by the farmer, but on some farms there is very little of this. Sugar is bought when it can be afforded. Some farmers give a sugar ration. There are green mealies in season, but serious attempt to supplement the staple porridge with vegetables and fruit grown in a garden is rare. Nearly every family has a few fowls, but the eggs are rarely eaten—the fowls increase haphazardly and are rarely used by the family except for "pad kos". The eggs and fowls are bartered at the store—usually they are in such poor condition that they are of little worth. Rarely is even a goat slaughtered for family use. The family cows, if there are any, give little or no milk. A great many families use a little tea or coffee.

Most farmers say they have to feed up their workers if they want strenuous work. Many provide a sound midday meal of vegetable stew with meat or at least bones to go with the porridge for midday, and porridge with, if possible, some milk or else sugar for breakfast, and porridge with perhaps a relish for supper. Others have the porridge cooked, but give a separate ration of meat (about 1 lb. with little bone weekly is looked on as satisfactory). This is liked, but probably not nearly so much good is got from the meat, nor are vegetables added so plentifully. Milk (if given) and sugar (if given) are in such a case rationed. 2 lbs. per adult per day is looked on as a good mealie-meal ration. Others simply give out a mealie-meal ration, or a mealie ration with meat once a month (or when an animal dies). Natives say they get less meat since the farmers have motor-cars because they buy their own meat in town instead of killing on the farm, when there were always scraps for the Natives. Occasionally a store ticket for a meat ration is given where a local storekeeper kills for sale.

6. *Sale of produce of farm workers (other than share-croppers)*

Sometimes the farmer will market wheat (in the small percentage of cases where this is grown) or the main mealie crop with his own crop. A Native on a European farm does not get any subsidy on any part of his crop. Often the Native sells to the local store immediately on shelling to reduce a debt, or perhaps sells part some distance away, so as to get the cash, hoping that the local storekeeper will not know. Some is kept for food, but there is a tendency for this to be bartered gradually. The local miller will charge 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* per bag for grinding plus the 20 lb. chaff. Those who grow some wheat mostly make cash from this. Most women barter a few fowls and eggs, and of course progressive ones make regular sales of fowls and eggs and even of a little garden produce. In the eastern Transvaal late yellow peaches mean a few shillings income to a great many, some grow a few tomatoes or green vegetables for sale; it is interesting to note that, following on the European produce stalls on the Pretoria Road, some Natives, farm workers, are selling a few mealies or other vegetables. Some women make a few pots for sale. But the side-lines and crafts which mean so much to farm workers elsewhere bring in little either useful for the home or for sale.

7. *Regularity of cash payments when earned*

Some farmers pay cash wages weekly. More often the "month" of 30 days marked off on a ticket or register is the unit. Employers who do not pay, or at least offer, to pay regularly, soon after the 30 days are completed, are not liked. Many employers however, prefer to pay regularly a week *after* the ticket is completed, unless the worker is being allowed to leave. This is a safeguard against the workers clearing off when paid up to date and being untraceable—except by the police, a great waste of time to a busy farmer. If, as is often the case, a man sacrifices these few days' pay so as to leave without notice,

the farmer at least has this compensation for the disorganization of his work. (Sometimes a man will turn up after many months with his old ticket and hope that he will slip back into work and get the days counted then!) Often a worker who has confidence in his master will ask him to keep the money, or part of it—in fact to act as a sort of banker.

8. *Stabilization of labour*

Most good farmers believe that the only hope for maximum productivity is stabilized labour which will repay training. The continuance of a satisfactory labour supply demands that farm life and work be made attractive enough to hold the young people, who will settle into the more responsible posts as they grow older. Wages, privileges, social services for farm homes, security, rural education, and agricultural education will all have their part to play in this.

MINIMUM CONDITIONS FOR FARM LABOUR

The following is the text of a circular on Native farm labour issued in 1943 by the Native Affairs Department. It is understood that this voluntary scheme has not been found acceptable by the farmers, but that discussions between them and the Department of Native Affairs are proceeding.

THE all-important and difficult question of shortage of farm labour is one which has for years past engaged the attention not only of farmers individually and as a body but that of the Government and particularly its Department of Native Affairs.

The question was also thoroughly investigated by a Farm Labour Committee, which included several of the country's most prominent farmers.

Various suggestions to alleviate the position have from time to time been put forward, but on close examination they have usually been found to be impracticable.

The Department has for example been asked to enforce the provisions of Chapter IV of the Native Trust and Land Act. Section *thirty-eight* of that Act provides that it shall be the duty of the Government to make available land in a scheduled or released area for Natives displaced as a result of the operation of the provisions mentioned.

There is at present insufficient land available in the ownership of the Trust to enable the large numbers of Natives who would require to be accommodated to be settled, and the Department could not therefore carry out the obligation imposed upon it by law. Moreover, the application of the Chapter would merely force redundant squatters to move elsewhere without necessarily engaging themselves in farm labour, and the position of the farmers would therefore not be alleviated.

Similarly it has been suggested that Natives surplus to the requirements of towns should be moved. The information in possession of the Department indicates that there is in the towns little surplus of Natives of the type which would be suitable for employment on farms. In other words, those Natives of whom the local authorities would rid themselves would generally be of the criminal or unemployable class. Moreover, also in the case of Natives removed from towns in terms of Section *sixteen ter* (1) (*c*) of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, the law requires that they be accommodated on Trust land. Apart from these considerations it would not be possible without the application of force to compel Natives to proceed to farms, nor, having proceeded there, to remain, except under constant supervision and compulsion.

The fact of the matter and one which must be faced squarely by all is that, relative to labour in towns and in industry, farm labour is generally not popular. As was pointed out by the Farm Labour Committee in paragraph 468 of its report, further restrictive measures (of which there are already a considerable number) will only make farm labour still more unpopular. As one poet aptly puts it: "One may

take a horse to water ; twenty cannot make him drink."

While farm labour is generally unpopular, there is ample evidence that on many farms conditions are very satisfactory, and that on these labour is normally sufficient and reasonably efficient. When abnormal circumstances arise, the farms on which conditions are satisfactory suffer because of the general unpopularity of farm labour, particularly when distant areas are the source of supply.

The first essential is therefore to create on all farms certain minimum conditions so that no employer may affect the reputation of any district, or of the farming industry as a whole, and so that when the Native is recruited for farm labour he has some assurance in regard to the treatment he may expect.

This in essence is the main object of the amendments to the Native Labour Regulation Act suggested by the Farm Labour Committee.

The adoption of these amendments would, however, *inter alia*, enable the Department to—

(a) appoint inspectors with various powers ;
(b) prescribe particulars of housing, feeding, and treatment of farm labourers wherever these are brought within the definition of "Native labourer", and cause the prosecution of those who did not comply with the requirements laid down ;
(c) carry out a registration system and charge the employers therefore.

The Department is willing to introduce these amendments if they are desired, but feels that the provisions may be somewhat burdensome to farmers, and that, owing to great distances and difficulties of control of both employer and employee, the results may not be commensurate with the work and expenses involved, and that, if possible, other means of attaining the same end should first be tried.

The Department feels strongly, furthermore, that success can be achieved only with the full and willing co-operation of the farmers themselves and with the minimum of legislation and regimentation.

The Department, therefore, suggests as an alternative the employment of labour officers.

The duties of such labour officers would be :—

(1) In consultation with the Labour Advisory Board or Farmers' Associations of each district, to draw up for the district what are regarded as suitable—

(a) minimum feeding requirements ;
(b) minimum housing requirements ;
(c) minimum wages ;
(d) maximum daily tasks or hours of employment.

(2) By inspections and, if necessary, by representation through the appropriate Board or Association to endeavour to secure conformity with such standards.

(3) Advise recruiters and attesting officers, on application, of the conditions of employment agreed upon in any district or section of a farming industry.

(4) Generally to keep responsible farming organizations and individual farmers, as well as the Department, informed on matters affecting Native labour, with a view to measures being taken to improve the position.

(5) To mediate between employer and employee where difficulties arise.

The Department would under this system have no power to prosecute farmers who do not comply with prescribed conditions of employment.

The only persuasive steps it proposes in addition to the representations mentioned in paragraph (2) above would be to advise recruiters where employers have not complied with the conditions prescribed that conditions on the farm in question are not satisfactory and to advise the Natives concerned, should the recruiter insist on recruiting on this employer's behalf.

Similar steps would be taken should any farming employer refuse a labour officer access to his farm.

The employers mentioned in the two preceding paragraphs would, of course, still be free to engage voluntary labour without let or hindrance.

In addition to the aforegoing measures, the Department would do all in its power, wherever co-operation from farmers can be obtained, to assist in suplying those needs the lack of which at present makes farm tenancy and labour less attractive to the Native than residence and labour in or near towns, e.g., the Department would be pleased to assist in creating farm schools as was recently done in various districts at the request of local farmers.

In the light of the experience gained under this system, and particularly if it is pressed so to do by the farming community, the Department will favourably consider introducing legislation on the lines suggested by the Farm Labour Committee.

Leading farming organizations are requested to discuss the aforegoing proposals with the farming community in general, and in due course to advise the Department of the reaction thereto.

Should it be desired, the Department will then be pleased to discuss the matter further with a few leading representatives of the farmers. It is felt that this procedure is likely to bring about more satisfactory results than the holding, as was first contemplated, of meetings with farmers, in various parts of the country, when divergent views are likely to be expressed.

Pretoria,

D. L. SMIT,
Secretary for Native Affairs.

23 August 1943

FOOD FOR THE PEOPLE

Thos. D. Hall

AMONG the many good deeds of the much maligned League of Nations, was the great interest it stimulated in nutrition problems throughout the world. The national nutrition councils or committees which it advocated should be formed in all member countries had made considerable advance by 1939. It was also to a large extent this basic work, initiated by the League, which enabled the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture to achieve such success in 1943.

South Africa started off with a nutrition survey of European school children in 1938, and its National Nutrition Council was established by Act of Parliament in 1940. As the feeding of the nation is above all political parties, the Bill received a warm welcome from all sides, which was a good augury for the future welfare of the Council. The Council has no executive, but purely advisory powers, and falls under the Minister of Public Health. There are five permanent committees in addition to a Parliamentary Advisory Committee and fourteen non-governmental bodies are directly represented on the Council or its committees. In the personnel of this organization are many well-known and distinguished South Africans in the fields of health, medicine, physiology, nutrition, bio-chemistry, economics, sociology, agriculture, agronomy, and education. The Council started its work at a difficult time, when war had so increased the demands for food and created such shortages, that it was found practically impossible to implement the desired standards of diet among the lower income groups. Nevertheless, the Council and its committees had performed so much valuable work of national importance that, when the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture passed its resolutions with regard to national nutrition organizations in June 1943, our Council found that it had already met most of the proposals and would have no difficulty in meeting others if it had some executive authority. The Hot Springs Conference concluded that, after the war-ravaged countries had been fed and rehabilitated, it would be possible to produce sufficient food of adequate nutritional standard to feed all men, if agricultural production were adjusted to consumption needs. It was fully realized, however, that this freedom from want could not be achieved unless there was a balanced and world-wide expansion of economic activity. In other words, the peoples of the world must be given the necessary increased purchasing power to take advantage of increased agricultural production. Our own Agricultural Department has stated that South Africa can produce the required balanced food-stuffs for our nation provided the farmer can be paid for his production.

The outlook is favourable, but it will be a tough task to achieve it in the face of prejudice and greed.

The campaign for soil conservation is fundamental, if adequate agricultural production for proper nutrition is to be achieved. There is no doubt that Dr. H. H. Bennett's recent tour of the Union and his forthright statements regarding the necessity for taking immediate action against the widespread destruction caused by soil erosion, will result in beneficial measures at an early date.

A few of the accomplishments of the National Nutrition Council will now be considered :—

A nutrition section was established within the Department of Public Health with a full-time Nutrition Officer, Dr. J. M. Latsky. One of its chief functions will be to promote measures for preventing malnutrition.

The term malnutrition is often used when starvation would be more appro

priate. Starvation is malnutrition at its worst. Less severe malnutrition brings about ill-health and a predisposition to disease of all kinds. Malnutrition also induces inefficient labour and a big loss of man-power. There are many contributory causes to malnutrition, but if overcrowding were taken care of and a suitable diet provided, a big improvement would result. The incidence of malnutrition in South Africa is high. A survey of 58,000 European school-children revealed that 40.3 per cent of the boys were malnourished. A Bantu survey of 7,000 children revealed a corresponding figure of 71.4 per cent. There is a definite correlation between low incomes and malnutrition. On the other hand, ignorance of dietary factors sometimes produces malnutrition, even with satisfactory incomes. There was also a positive association shown between overcrowding and malnutrition. These facts are based on a number of carefully conducted surveys.

At least 40 per cent of the white population live on farms, where it would be expected that protective foods would be more easily obtained. However, due to lack of knowledge, lack of industry, and inaccessibility of products available to urban dwellers in the winter and dry seasons, competent observers state that there is more malnutrition in rural than in urban areas. There has been an improvement of late, due chiefly to the good work of the officers of the Department of Agriculture, better communications, and social welfare measures.

As regards rural areas, it was believed that the practical solution was chiefly along educational lines, particularly for the younger generation. The importance of proper nutrition should be stressed so that it may ultimately become part of the cultural background. In this way biology could make a positive contribution to national welfare.

Preventive Measures

The necessity for distributing knowledge about the fundamentals of nutrition is urgent, and the Council considered methods of doing this by means of education, publicity, and propaganda. Their considered opinion was that medical education should stress the preventive rather than the curative aspect of disease. The Education and Propaganda Committee considered that nutrition as a subject should be taught in schools. Films would be a good way of teaching the subject. In the country districts, the Department of Agriculture is already doing useful work in educating the children in rural areas by means of Home Economics Officers, agricultural clubs, and District Extension Officers. There are, unfortunately, not enough of these officers, but they have done constructive work of lasting value to the State.

The first committee of the Council to get to work was the War Emergency Committee, which proposed many improvements in army rations, e.g. including the wheat germ in the army biscuit to provide the highly necessary Vitamin B, and also milk powder to provide more minerals such as calcium and phosphate. They also proposed the use of dehydrated vegetables and an increase in the fruit ration. The diet of the Non-European troops was also greatly improved. This same committee made proposals for giving civilians better food by improved milling methods for wheat and maize, the use of the soya bean, which has excellent-quality protein, to bring up that constituent, and a greater drying of skim milk, only 2 per cent of which is turned into milk powder at present. Bread as at present made under wartime conditions is certainly more healthful for the majority of people.

The protective foods are priced so high for low-salaried parents that the children suffer. The Union School Nutrition Survey showed that "less than one-third of European school-children received milk, fresh fruit and vegetables regularly". One way of overcoming the high cost of protective foods is subsidizing the producer. Another is to improve productive methods.

Milk and Milk Products

The high nutritional value of dairy products is well known, but if a proper nutritional scheme is to be implemented, production will have to be greatly increased. In the case of butter, the total production is only 73,000,000 lb. per annum. There is really not sufficient for the European population. The daily ration as used according to income works out at 0.5 oz. per person per day for the lowest groups to 1.6 oz. for the highest income groups respectively. Because of the greater purchasing power of war wages and augmented population, there will not be enough for many a long day. There is no reason now why the Dairy Control Board should not allow the manufacture of that well-known and useful butter substitute—margarine.[1] It can be vitaminized in various ways and the flavour and colour adjusted as required. It could be sold more cheaply than butter and would be a healthful boon to many for whom butter is to-day an unattainable luxury.

Proposals for improving nutrition by using our surplus citrus fruit more realistically were also put forward. Here again a subsidy appears to be the most effective manner of using the fruit and has been agreed to by the Government. Would it not be possible to dehydrate our citrus as the Americans are doing for their troops in the field? We have already made considerable progress with the dehydration of vegetables and are turning out good products. This is an excellent means of preserving the summer surplus of vegetables and fruit and saving storage, transportation, and refrigeration. It would seem that food yeast is also likely to play a worth-while part as a protein and meat substitute, as it contains 50 per cent of high-grade protein. If the food yeast industry could be got going speedily, it would greatly alleviate the meat position.

There seems little doubt that the amount of highly nutritious food we can obtain from the sea is almost unlimited. The protein of fish is easily digestible and of high mineral and vitamin content. Better use could be made of our fish-liver oils, and now that they are being refined here, it ought to be an easy matter to use them for fortifying margarine and cheese and giving school children all the vitamin A they so much require. It is said that the vitamin A content of cheese can be brought up from 250 International Units to 3,250 I.U. of vitamin A per ounce, and that there is no trace of fishy flavour or odour. Another good source of fish is not mentioned in the Council's report, and that is fresh-water fish. Many of the dams now being made as part of soil conservation schemes and ordinary farm dams are being stocked with black bass, blue gill, and yellow fish. Numerous great dongas could be made storage assets by filling them with water and stocking them with fish, as Mr. Howard Hobson has so ably demonstrated on his farm, Pinekloof, near Vinies Siding, O.F.S. The stocking of dams with fish in Basutoland is becoming part of their erosion control scheme.

The greatest success thus far with the establishment of nutrition clubs has been achieved among railway workers, as their nutrition clubs have a membership of approximately 4,000 families. Members of clubs contribute a few shillings weekly and the fruit and vegetables needed are carried at nominal rates. The organization falls under the Health Officer of the S.A.R. & H. Administration and it is doubtlessly the help received in distribution and marketing from a paid social welfare staff that has contributed enormously to the success of this valuable social experiment. The Railway Health Officer considers these clubs of primary importance, as he finds that inadequate and insufficient food are at the root of 34 per cent of all the medical problems with which he has to cope. The aim of these nutrition clubs is not only to distribute protective foods in bulk at low cost, but also to teach their members the basic principles of nutrition, the use of good quality food, and how to prepare and cook

[1] Since this article was written the Government has announced that it would allow the manufacture of margarine under certain conditions.

food without the loss of vitamins and minerals.

Social welfare workers in many of our cities, both paid and voluntary, are organizing similar clubs and thus laying a good foundation in health for the coming generation. Representatives from the South African Federated Chamber of Industries and the S.A. Trades and Labour Council took an active part in the deliberations of the special committee appointed by the Council to consider the establishment of clubs by employees in trades and industries, and contributed valuable suggestions. It was thought that, in general, the most headway would be made by good co-operation between the National Nutrition Council and the Department of Social Welfare. The Council commends the enterprise of the Germiston municipality in establishing a cash retail centre in the location for the sale of fruit and vegetables.

National Scheme for School Feeding

The State-financed milk scheme has had considerable publicity and rightly so, because it has conveyed great benefits to many under-nourished children. In 1942-43, the Dairy Industry Control Board, by means of this State-aided milk and butter scheme, managed to distribute :

1,235,855 gallons of milk
7,882 lb. of milk powder
589,074 lb. of cheese
4,026,198 lb. of butter

The Board is convinced that it could increase the amounts of the first three items very greatly.

As regards the scheme for providing one free meal, the Research Committee thought this should be on the lines of the Oslo breakfast, which is one of the simplest ways of providing good protective foods. It consists of (a) 12 oz. of milk, (b) whole-wheat bread with butter and cheese, (c) half an orange or half an apple or one raw carrot, (d) cod liver oil. For certain localities, where the whole milk supply might be a problem, it was suggested that ice cream fortified with fish liver oil, fruit juice, and yeast, with wafers made of whole wheat, could be substituted. Just to meet the demand of dairy products for school children, our dairy herds will have to be augmented to the extent of 100,000 cows.

In remote schools, where milk or ice cream cannot be distributed, it was suggested that a chocolate biscuit re-inforced with wheat germ meal should be used. This school feeding scheme, said the Minister for Finance, would apply to all primary schools irrespective of race.

Bantu Nutrition

Now we come to our biggest problem, to which a comparatively small section at the end of the Council's report is devoted. Malnutrition is bad among Europeans, but is considerably worse among Non-Europeans. The problem has important economic, political, and other implications, says the report. Of course it has, but we cannot side-step them. The opinion is expressed that the definite deterioration in Native physical health is due largely to a shortage of such protective foods as milk, meat, and vegetables. Mealies are now the chief article of diet and these have a shortage of first-class protein, lime, and, in the case of refined mealie-meal, vitamin B_1. If the Bantu could be induced to eat more yellow mealie-meal, they would have a much better source of vitamin A, which would help somewhat.

As to remedial measures, the report dealt with the supply of milk to Native school children and crop and vegetable growing projects and competitions, irrigation schemes, markets in urban areas, and payment in kind in order to prevent expenditure on non-essentials. In Basutoland, considerable progress has been made with regard to vegetable gardens in villages and there are now some 9,000. This is, however, not adequate for the population of 660,000.

The report points out that the very basis of the problem is soil conservation, and with that we agree. It does not mention, however, that 80 per cent of the population have been assigned 13 per cent of the

land. A glance at the map, however, shows that most of the Native areas are in that third of the Union having the greatest rainfall, so, from a crop and stock point of view, 30 per cent of the productive land would be nearer the mark. Overstocking is destroying the productive capacity of the land, decreasing the milk supply, and pulling down the general standard of health. If we take the number of stock in relation to the number of families, it is not large. In the Transkei in 1937, for the average family of five, there were only 0.7 cows, 2.3 oxen, 6 small stock, and the cows on the average were small yielders, giving only one to three pints of milk per day. Our problem is largely this: In order to stop the malnutrition, we must not only go all out in soil conservation measures, but we must initiate the most intensive and difficult agriculture among a section of the population with the lowest standard of education, truly a herculean task.

In Basutoland, soil conservation is being so vigorously and intelligently handled that there is now quite a hopeful complexion to the country. Considerable work has been done in the Transkei and other territories. Recently, the Director of Native Agriculture, Mr. T. G. W. Reinecke, explained to the Natives Representative Council, as reported in the Johannesburg *Star* of 15 August 1944, his present plans to check soil erosion and preserve the veld. He said that the reclamation scheme would extend over 12 years and that the expenditure for the first year would cover operations for four conservation and fencing units in the Transkei, three in the northern areas, three in Natal, and two in the Ciskei. It was hoped that the scheme would be started on 1 April 1945. They expected to fence 14,000 miles in the Transkei for veld reclamation. Plans are in hand for employing returned soldiers on the soil conservation works and on fencing. At the same time an educational campaign on anti-soil erosion measures would be put into action. Meredith [1] has calculated that to provide enough implements for 50,000 morgen to be cut for hay in the Native areas, at least 1,000 mowers and 1,000 hay-rakes would be needed. This is a very modest estimate and at most would provide a mere maintenance ration for some 50,000 cows for 80 days. When we know that there are nearly 4,000,000 cattle and over 6,000,000 sheep and goats in the reserves and locations, then we realize that the need for 100,000 mowers would be nearer the mark. A study of Meredith's figures for fencing requirements for the Union indicates that the reserves and locations would need about 100,000 miles of fencing to get proper management for the veld. Fencing could be saved by the beaconing and herding system in vogue in Basutoland which seems to work satisfactorily there. Fenced-off areas are there too, and by some strange coincidence there seems to be a tendency for the more intelligent animals belonging to the chiefs and headmen of villages to get into these protected areas. Better-grade cows will, of course, on the same feed produce more milk, and efforts are being made to improve the breeds. This could possibly be done more quickly with fewer, good bulls and more artificial insemination. More milk will also be produced and better nutrition by cutting down the number of sheep and goats in the tall-grass, high-rainfall areas like the Transkei. This has been successfully demonstrated in some places already. Reinecke is in favour of collective crop farming, as well as communal grazing, and reckons that this would give a definite saving of 50 to 75 per cent in human labour and 40 to 50 per cent in animal labour. Soil conservation gangs will have tractors. If tractors could do the ploughing for the crops —even for a few years, and many of the oxen be sold, that would help the veld to recover. With the shortage of land, such measures must be adopted if we are serious about stopping erosion and improving nutrition.

The conservation of manure by planting trees for fuel will also help to improve the

[1] D. Meredith. "Towards a National Pastoral Policy." *South African Journal of Science*, November 1943.

grass cover. Basutoland again has set an example by planting 12,000,000 trees in two years and providing villages with Scotch-carts for carrying the cattle dung to the lands.

The food production could be improved by making compost and by the regular use of phosphates. If this is properly done, two to three times the amount of food at present produced could be obtained from the same land. Poultry keeping, as well as vegetable gardening must be encouraged. The Bantu tribes have known for long the value of green leaves in their diet, and the basic principles of nutrition could be taught them. The problem is urgent, and only energetic and extensive measures will be of any avail.

Since writing the above, I have read Mr. T. C. Robertson's article[1] on the problem for planners in the Transkei. Soil erosion and human malnutrition are boldly faced, and all the social, economic, and political implications which remedial measures would entail.

The Betterment Areas started in 1939 have improved soil cover and human nutrition, but not more than 50 locations could be converted to this plan in a year, and there are 900. In 20 years' time, most of the Transkei might be a desert. He points out that not only must ignorance, superstition, and tribal customs be overcome, but that any plan means stepping up the population from the fourteenth to the twentieth century, and making them do what our Europeans, on a higher plane of education and culture, won't do.

There is no doubt that the Transkei could support a much bigger population and produce probably ten times as much food as at present, but this could be done only with planning and collectivization. The alternative is stepping up the Betterment Plan with bigger appropriations and more staff, and trying to convert this difficult but promising area in ten years to conservation methods.

[1] "A Million Peasants Bar the Way." *Libertas*, June 1944.

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19
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~~Heights~~ 8 new centres Zambezi
Sent $4000. Cashes
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S. Africa

Published 7 pamphlets
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New Nigeria
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1m

[1945]

A Proposed Pan-Africa

Pan-African Federations of

I. The British Isles (Manchester)
2. West Africa (Five British Colonies)
3. French Africa and Belgium
4. Portuguese Africa (Liga Africana)
5. Ethiopia, Erythrea, Somaliland; Liberia, Haiti.
6. Egyptian Sudan
7. East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika) (Congress of East Africa)
8. South Africa (Union of South Africa; Protectorates; Northern & Southern Rhodesia; S.W. Rhodesia; Nyassaland.) (Congress of South Africa)
9. West Indies, Guiana & Central America.
10. South America.
11. United States & Canada.
12. North Africa

Each Federation is organized into Groups, with a central office and officers
Contributes to the General Fund of the Pan-African Congress according to population.
The Pan-African Congress is conducted by an Executive Committee appointed at its biennial meetings by the delegates sent by the Federations
The Congress will maintain a Central office in London with a paid staff.
Delegates to the biennial meetings shall be elected by the Federations on the basis ofthe literate population which they represent.
The Congress shall publish a quarterly journal in English, French, Spanish and Portuguese.
The Sixth Pan-African Congress shall convene in 1947, in Liberia or in Haiti.

8-5-43

[1945]

Independent Commission. This was considered by Cripps, but dismissed as unlikely to bring results. Reason: umpteen sound plans have been produced by such commissions, but never operated. Going all psychological Cripps declared that they would not work because few had faith in them.

By sticking to his Working Party plan he hoped to find a middle path between the Olympian detachment of the independent commission, capable only of telling the industry what it should do or have done to it, and a possible gang-up between owners and workers to exploit the consumer if reconstruction was left solely to the two sides of the industry.

The often-lacking spirit of co-operation was essential to the plan. Last week the prospects were hopeful. Everyone in the Working Parties knew that Cripps would stand for no nonsense, that only proposals leading to genuine results would be considered.

AFRICA SPEAKS

In Manchester, Pan-African delegates from British colonies demand reforms

AFRICA had come to Manchester. There were Garba Juhumpa from Gambia, Ashie Nikoi from the Gold Coast, Chief Coker and Magnus Williams from Nigeria. Mako Hlubi, a handsome young Zulu, spoke perfect English. He began learning it at 13, studied at a Society of Friends' College near Birmingham. In contrast, Nigeria's Amigha Washuku had a strong Gaelic brogue, having lived in Ireland for six years.

At Chorlton Town Hall these and nearly 200 other delegates assembled last week at the first representative* conference organised by the Pan-African Federation. The Federation's aims: establishment of a Pan-African institute for study and propagation of African languages, history, arts, crafts, culture; encouragement among African peoples of trade unions and other co-operative organisations.

Officially non-Party, the Pan-African movement pins its hopes on a Socialist solution of the problems of "the African peoples and other subject races." Slung across the Town Hall platform were such slogans as: "Down with Imperialism," "Oppressed peoples of the world should unite," and "Down with Trusteeship."

On the Press table was "an open letter to the Prime Minister." Starting off "Dear Prime Minister," it rapidly warmed up to "Comrade Attlee," ended "yours fraternally." It demanded that he should "give the Socialist answer to the Tory Imperialism of Mr. Churchill's 'What we have we hold,'" added, "To condemn the Imperialism of Germany, Japan and Italy while condoning that of Britain would be more than dishonest.... The dark-skinned workers, no less than the pale-skinned, want freedom from War, Want, and Fear."

Asserted speakers: Imperialism is evil. African natives under British rule are victims of a slavery amounting to Fascism. Force and revolution is the only ultimate key to liberation.

Demanded were:

▶ Self-government for Colonial peoples;

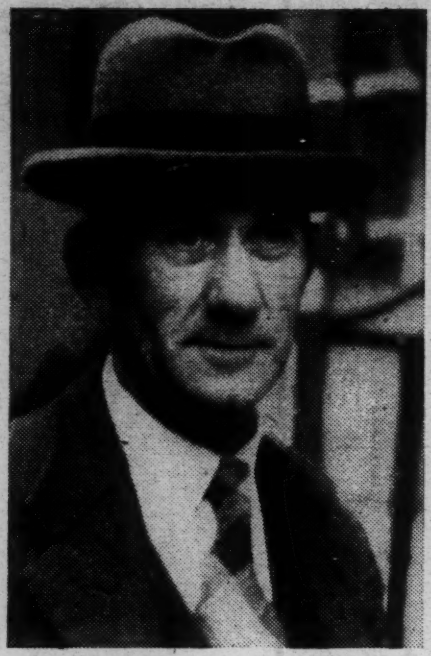
▶ End of flogging as a punishment for African troops;

▶ Repeal of Sedition, Deportation

* The idea originated in Paris, 1919. Other conferences were held in 1921 (Paris), 1923 (London, Paris, Lisbon), 1927 (New York). The Federation includes the Negro Association, the Friends of African Freedom Society.

Pan-African Federation delegates Mako Hlubi, Amigha Washuku. Demanded at the Federation's first representative conference: self-government for Colonial peoples.

40/80/51



Alfred Barnes, War Transport Minister, held his peace about shipping.

Review, Oct. 12, 1944), laying down standards of working conditions.

Dominating shipowners' minds is the relative position of the British and American fleets at war's end. In 1939 Britain had 18,000,000 tons of shipping, almost double the U.S. tonnage. Now the position is reversed. The U.S. possesses 30,000,000 tons. Britain has 10,000,000 tons—only half what it needs to carry imports and exports, resume those world-carrier services which earned the nation good money, helped to balance its Budget.

Both countries have lost heavily in prewar-built specialised ships (such as refrigerated vessels) for which the surplus "austerity" ships will be no compensation. But if these are released cheap to American owners (Washington gossip says they will be going at 40 percent of cost*), havoc can be wrought in an uncontrolled freight market. The powerful General Council of British Shipping believes that the surplus should be divided into two categories: "strategic reserve," to be scrapped by international agreement, and "commercial reserve," to be used or kept at anchor according to world needs.

The British tramp fleet's future must remain dim until the Government secures a clear statement of U.S. aims, setting at rest owners' fears of a disastrous slump in freights if and when the vast fleet of American "spam" ships were thrown on the market, free to rove the seas at cut-rates.

Meanwhile British operators of big liners are keen to rebuild their specialised fleets, although building costs are double pre-war. They favour the mixed cargo-passenger type—fast, economical and well-constructed by Clyde, Tyne and Mersey craftsmen. Other countries, too, are keen: British shipyards may be busy for years on this type of vessel.

With resentment shipping men read that the ex-German *Europa* (biggest maritime prize of the war, bagged by the United States) was ready to ply the Atlantic trade routes again, while her only rivals for the Blue Riband, Britain's *Queen Elizabeth* and *Queen Mary*, were still engaged in ferrying home troops. Despite authoritative assurances that *Europa*, too, would carry troops, it still looked last week as if the United States, on the sea as in the air, was more than a step ahead of Britain for postwar supremacy.

* British Government was meantime disposing of wartime-built tonnage at cost less 5 per cent. per annum depreciation, finding buyers reluctant.

CRIPPS'S PARTIES

The Board of Trade President claims he is getting ready for sharp competition

ONCE the Treasury ruled Britain's economic roost. But in the struggle for peacetime prosperity some of its power is swinging to the Board of Trade. That fact was clear last week after BoT President Sir Stafford Cripps had finished driving his Working Party wedges (*News Review*, October 18) into five vital industries employing 800,000 workers and with a total annual trade of £250,000,000.

The industries: cotton, pottery, hosiery, furniture and footwear. Aim of the Working Parties, representing owners, workers and Government headed by an independent chairman*: to outline ways and means of overhauling and reconstructing the industries in an attempt to produce for home and export markets at competitive prices. Explained Cripps: "For a year or two British industries will have no difficulty in selling abroad all they can produce . . . (but) a time will come when it will be difficult to find and keep the markets we need. . . . I am trying to get the industries in the best position to meet the very hard competition that is coming. . . ."

Socialist Cripps emphasised that this was just the first step, that other industries would be brought into the scheme. The political question of nationalisation in the next five years was "out of it." But the fact that workers would play a bigger part in running the industries was undoubtedly the thin edge of the wedge of nationalisation. If the plan failed nationalisation was almost certain.

That more and cheaper output is vital to Britain's recovery was widely agreed. But on the method of obtaining it experimenter Cripps ran into heavy weather. Opponents of the scheme—not confined to owners—feared that a mixed body could not possibly do anything but quarrel. They proposed a return to the well-tried

* The five: Company director Sir George Schuster (cotton), architect Thomas Penberthy Bennet (footwear), Engineering Trade Unionist Andrew Dalgleish (furniture), miller Sir Archibald Forbes (potter), electrical engineer Caroline Haslett (hosiery).

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JOURNAL OF THE FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU

Vol. 8. No. 1. May—June, 1945 5d.

COMMENTS

Parliament and the New Jamaica

There is a disposition to assume that once a measure of self-government has been achieved in a Colony, Parliament should cease to exercise vigilance over local affairs. In a way, the ineffectiveness of the Dominions Office and Parliament regarding Southern Rhodesia springs from the desire to let things be determined in that territory itself. It is the renunciation of British Parliamentary responsibility in the interest of self-government which has partly accounted for the latitude permitted Southern Rhodesia to pursue its segregation policy and practice discrimination against its African population. Since Ceylon has enjoyed its constitution, Parliament has not been inclined to question Ceylon affairs either. Ceylon self-government is very real and British responsibility very limited. It is sound policy not to meddle with matters of local concern where the people of the Colony have genuine responsibility, though Parliament must always be willing to challenge matters within the purview of the Colonial Office or points arising from grants-in-aid or grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. The problem is not easy as to where Parliament should draw the line—at what point it should forgo vigilance. The question has arisen recently in the case of Jamaica. Ought Parliamentary Questions on the internal affairs of Jamaica still to be put ? No one would wish the people of Jamaica to think that they are not coming to grips with the control of their own problems ; that London is making difficulties for them in their attempt to win self-reliance and exclusive responsibility. Indeed, the more they can shape policy themselves, the better all round, and the less reliance on London the better. But genuine responsibility in Jamaica is yet very restricted and the form of government falls short of democratic control. There is no responsible Minister and as yet selected members of the popular Chamber are not fully in control of any of the departments. In these circumstance, while Parliament should exercise discretion in the questions asked of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, it must not renounce its interest and supervision and the right to question policy, in particular as it is still granting money for Jamaican development. As Jamaica moves to *true* responsible self-government, so should Parliament practice increasing restraint.

Troubles in Uganda and Cyprus

Disturbances are continually flaring up in different Colonies. The aftermath of the January riots in Uganda is still being felt. It is reported that arrests have continued, that detainees have not been given adequate opportunity of meeting the charges made against them; that prisoners are being badly treated and so on. Africans are asking for an independent Commission of Inquiry to be sent from this country as they have little confidence in the local Commission which has been appointed. News now comes of a police outrage in Cyprus, where a demonstration on Greek Independence Day was shot at and two persons killed. Strict press censorship followed, and the political parties in Cyprus are vigorous in their protests. It is not always easy from this distance to judge the rights and wrongs of events in far-away

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colonies. But there are undoubtedly too many signs of drift and suppression leading to these recurrent outbreaks. In Uganda it is officially admitted that mishandling of the economic position caused a background of discontent from which the disturbances there sprung. In Cyprus there has long been the suppression of political liberty, which gives rise to these constant outbreaks of violence. One or two incidents like this outweigh all the good towards which British colonial policy has been striving in recent years.

A New Constitution for Nigeria

Constitution-making proceeds apace. The latest proposals are for Nigeria and have appeared in a White Paper[1] for public discussion. The proposals are interesting and imaginative, though it is not difficult to point to the shortcomings. Nigeria is an enormous country with a population of over 20,000,000 comprising differing races, tribes, religions, languages and degrees of civilisation. The proposals have been framed with three objects in view—to promote the unity of Nigeria; to provide within that unity for all the diverse elements; and to secure greater participation by Africans in the discussion of their own affairs. To achieve these ends, it is proposed not only to widen the scope and membership of the Central Legislative Council, but to establish separate regional councils in the Northern, Western and Eastern Provinces. In each of these councils there is to be an African majority of one, the Africans in some few cases to be directly elected but the majority to be selected or nominated. In the Regional Councils the African members will be nominated by the Native authorities; and from among these nominees representatives will be selected for the Central Legislative Council. The functions of the Legislative Council are to be the same as before.

The first obvious criticism of these proposals is that no link is yet created between the Legislative and Executive authority. The beginnings of a ministerial system cannot now be long delayed, and it is good to notice therefore the proposal that the Constitution should be reviewed after nine years. Another criticism is that the bare majority of one African in each Council savours of niggardliness. The Gold Coast proposals were more generous than these. It should be remembered that, in some instances, the African members include government nominated Chiefs, so that, in the eyes of Africans, the majority is a pseudo-majority only. Why was it necessary to bring so many officials and technical heads of departments on to the Council? In the Gold Coast this was avoided, the departmental heads being invited only for advice and information, and not having a vote. The whole question of the position of Chiefs on these Councils is a vexed one. In many parts of Nigeria the Chief has no existence apart from his own Native Council, and to take him away from his councillors and make him a member of a government body raises difficult problems. There are also other less complex criticisms. Voting for the Legislative Council is made dependent on an income of £100. Why? This provision has been scrapped in the Gold Coast constitutional proposals. Why, too, should the further development of democratic municipal councils be so definitely ruled out? Municipalities are particularly needed in some of the newer towns, such as Port Harcourt and Enugu, and democratic local government is an indispenable basis for democratic central government. We learn that the proposals have already been accepted by the present Nigerian Legislative Council with its unrepresentative minority African membership. We trust that this will not preclude some obvious improvements being introduced before these proposals are finally adopted.

[1] Cmd. 6599.

In the Dark

At last the Report of the West Indies Royal Commission, which dates back to 1939, is to be published. The decision to suppress it in 1940 has been challenged and criticised for five years. There is now no longer any excuse for keeping dark any information about colonial conditions. During the war years there have been constant requests for the publication of annual reports, and fuller information of all sorts about the Colonies, but these have continually been fobbed off on the excuse of war conditions, shortage of paper, pressure of staff, and so on. We have had to accept these excuses for five years, but will not sit quiet under them much longer. An empire cannot be successfully administered in a vacuum of knowledge. We are now to spend millions of pounds a year on colonial development, and we will wish to know very much more than we have been told in the past on this subject. Why, for example, have we had no official report from the West Indies Welfare and Development Commission for over two years now? We have voted £6,000,000 for West Indian development already; we have sent out an expert team of advisers who have submitted reports and recommendations, but not a word of theirs relating to these last few years' work is presented to the British Parliament. A census has been taken in Jamaica, but its report is unknown to those interested in Britain. Experts are constantly visiting different Colonies, and giving their views but if these are published at all they are almost inaccessible. A penal expert visited West Africa last year, but his reports are not to be published, nor are his proposals even to be summarised for the sake of Members of Parliament, because they are 'too wide and detailed'. As Mr. Sorensen pertinently asked in Parliament, 'What is there to hide?'

JAMAICA AND BUSTAMANTE

News from Jamaica is confirming some of the worst fears as to how Bustamante would use his new power. It will be remembered that at the first elections under the new Jamaican Constitution, Bustamante's 'Labour Party' secured 22 out of 32 seats. What is the background which made this possible, and what is happening now in Jamaica ?

Three political parties in Jamaica contested the election—the People's National Party, the Jamaica Democratic Party, and the Jamaica Labour Party. P.N.P. was founded in 1938. It is organised in branches, of which there are about 300 in the island. It is governed by a General Council and an Executive, both bodies being annually elected. It is a democratic socialist party with an expansionist policy. The Jamaica Democratic Party is three years old. It is constituted after the model of P.N.P., but it has little organised structure, though a powerful apparatus of influence, made up of merchants, large planters, the Catholic Church and the press. This Party professes a passionate belief in free enterprise. The Jamaica 'Labour Party' is non-existent as an organisation. In the middle of 1943 Bustamante, the Life-President and Dictator-Manager of the Bustamante Unions, announced its formation. A paper programme was published, and an Executive was named by Bustamante, the self-designated Leader of the Party. Its constitution has never been put into operation; its Executive has never functioned; it has no organised structure; it has no membership. The candidates who fought the election in the name of the Labour Party were nominated by Bustamante.

Bustamante himself was released in 1942 from some years of detention under the Defence Regulations. Since his release he has resisted a democratic Trade Union movement and done everything to destroy the People's National Party. The Jamaica Democratic Party, on the other hand, has maintained a friendly attitude towards him, and, in the end, almost gave him open support. The real fight at the elections was between the 'Labour Party' and the People's National Party.

One of the astutest observers in Jamaica writes:—

> 'In the last week of the election campaign the Labour vote, comprised of the uneducated and socially depressed mass, hardened and a sudden miracle of class-conscious solidarity was wrought. "Vote Labour" became a magic slogan. It ran like a fire through the island and cast a spell on all the poor—labourer and small farmer alike. The mass vote, unconscious of its own betrayal, was governed by a sagacity on the political plane that would be beyond praise but for its emotional origin and its final dependence on a blind acceptance of the orders of "the Leader". It is important to understand this aspect of the matter. Bustamante is in the eyes of the uneducated masses a legendary figure. To him they attribute every gain won for the common people, even when the evidence to the contrary is notorious and undisputed. Any form of criticism is resented and they supply for him every excuse and defence which a psychological compulsion to maintain a deity can inspire. "Labour" to them was not "Labour as a policy for the working classes". In fact, the People's National Party had a manifestly sounder policy for Labour and a longer and sounder record of achievement, which had won for it the support of most skilled labour throughout the island. But to the masses, who have had no political experience and education, "Labour" was the cause of the under-privileged as symbolised by Bustamante. They accepted Bustamante's bold demand; "If I tell you to vote for a dog—vote for him". Jamaica presents the rare and special problem of a mass movement that has at once created and been created by an individual who is a remarkable example of "the Leader" as power maniac. He is utterly contemptuous of everything democratic. He has a genius for the intuitive understanding of the mass mind, and a political flair for lulling the appeasers. He has been made by a dangerous tendency manifested on several occasions in Jamaican history—the dangers of social frustrations finding escape in Messianic figures or magic men.

Political Awakening

> 'In spite of this, adult suffrage has brought a political revolution in Jamaica. A new political awakening permeates all classes. For the common man it is a great discovery of freedom to have voted for a "cause" rather than a man, and, as happened in a few cases, for a man of his own type and class, because he stood for the cause. A deep and ancient inferiority complex has been broken by a sudden swift blow. The public maintained interest in the elections until the last week of a very long and intense campaign. In previous elections a crowd of a thousand at a meeting was remarkable. This time crowds of 2,000 and upwards were common and several meetings passed the 10,000 mark. Even country villages witnessed crowds of thousands drawn from miles around. The poll was a very heavy one—about 60 per cent of the voters turned out. The vote for the island was as follows:—

Labour . .	. .	140,000—22 seats
P.N.P. . .	. .	84,000— 5 ,,
Independents . .	. .	112,000— 5 ,,
Jamaica Democratic Party	. .	17,000—Nil ,,

> 'There was no doubt that "Big Business" was well pleased with the results of the elections. It has always believed that it can make a deal with Bustamante; but it both fears and hates P.N.P. because the Party means what it says and cannot be bought.'

These observations were made last January. Their implications are borne out by some of the speeches Bustamante has been making. Let us quote a few:

In February he wrote in his own newspaper that he would introduce the closed shop system—

> 'If it needs dictatorship to blast away obstacles in our path to progress, I have no hesitation in resorting to it.'

Declaring that he would brook no interference or criticism, he stated:

> 'If my Party, my Union, or myself feel that dictatorship is the best means to obtain these improvements, I, Bustamante, will adopt it.'

About the same time he ordered the sugar workers not to start taking off the crop until he gave them the word. He circulated a personal statement among the workers:

> 'This is to instruct sugar workers through the country that when the time comes for this year's sugar crop to be taken off, I will give the order.'

He has threatened to destroy the *Daily Gleaner*, the chief newspaper of Jamaica, for having criticised his conduct. He attacked its Board for writing editorials to 'undermine and intimidate' him.

> 'I am going to destroy the *Gleaner*. I am going to print 20,000 copies of my newspaper and circulate them freely in every part of the country. I am going to have public meetings all over the island.'

The latest news was of Bustamante's serving notice of an anti-Semitic campaign.

> 'I am going to start a war of race hatred. If I have got to be a dictator or a Hitler in Jamaica, I am going to crush every Jew in Jamaica or compel them to leave the island.'

What Conclusions?

It is indeed unfortunate that this should be Jamaica's first experience under the new constitution with a truly democratic vote. But it is important to draw the right conclusion from this. Much more advanced countries than Jamaica have been led astray by demagogues. They have to learn from experience and their own mistakes. But for democracy to be a reality it should not come as a one-sided constitutional measure imposed from above. It must be accompanied by the strong and active development of the peoples' own institutions from below. To know how to vote, an electorate must have some education in citizenship—which it obtains through its own industrial and political associations, its own local councils, and round its own parish pumps. In Jamaica there has been nothing like enough effort to develop a sense of citizenship through the institutions nearest the people. Let us hope a start is now being made.

Has any reader a copy of 'Empire', Vol. I, No. 1 available? Urgently needed for our records.

THE COLONIES AND INTERNATIONAL CONSCIENCE

Many people noticed that when the nations met at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference to prepare the framework for a new League of Nations, no mention at all was made of the Colonies. Yet, clearly, something would have to be decided about the old Mandates system, which derived its authority from the League. Something would also have to be decided about the ex-enemy Colonies of this war—Libya, Tripoli, Eritrea and the Japanese-mandated islands of the Pacific. Would all these Colonies be put under some new international arrangement? Would the ex-enemy Colonies of the last war, which have been administered as mandates since 1918, now be annexed by Britain, France and the others? No word was said of all this.

During the last few weeks, however, there have been rumours and statements about the discussion of these matters at the San Francisco Conference. It is said that the Americans are favouring a scheme of international trusteeship for all Colonies. In Britain, Mr. Churchill has stated in Parliament that British Colonies would not be discussed—it would be a question only of the ex-enemy Colonies of this and the last war. The French have also stated that they will have no tampering with their Colonies. There is clearly no agreement, and while all nations talk in general terms of the value of 'international accountability' in colonial administration, the imperial Powers are not anxious to submit their Colonies to the supervision of other nations.

Ever since 1918 British progressive and socialist thought has favoured the idea that imperial governments should not be allowed to treat their Colonies as exclusive possessions with which they might do as they like. There should be standards of colonial administration laid down and accepted internationally, and the judgment of other nations should be expressed as to whether Colonies were being administered according to standard. This was the principle behind the Mandates system. But that system was too weak—the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations had no positive powers at all; it could only comment on reports and discuss general principles of administration. It could not visit the Colonies or receive deputations direct from the inhabitants or make positive proposals, or find the means to carry them out. Only the ex-enemy Colonies were put under Mandate and it seemed sheer hypocrisy that one Colony should be reported on at Geneva and the Colonies next door should not. If this principle of international accountability was good for one dependent area, it was good for another.

For these reasons progressive thought has pressed all these years for an extension and strengthening of the Mandates system to cover all Colonies and to

exercise much more positive functions. It was, of course, recognised that Colonies, well-advanced on the way to self-government, would not tolerate any form of international supervision. For them the thing to do was to get on with self-government as quickly as possible. But for those areas which still remained 'dependent' and even, perhaps, for those racial minorities inside sovereign states suffering disabilities of their own (such as the Negroes in the U.S.A.), some form of international trusteeship was essential.

An International Colonial Commission

What, then, should be done regarding Colonies at San Francisco? We would like to see an International Colonial Commission set up as one of the organs of the new world international authority. It should be given a Charter in the form of an international Colonial Convention adopted by all the nations, setting forth the general principles to which all colonial administration should conform. The Commission would have two main functions. In the first place, it would act as the conscience of mankind in regard to all dependent peoples. It would supervise the implementation of the International Convention through the receipt of reports and through studying the grievances sent to it direct from colonial peoples. It would have the right to investigate problems on the spot, and to throw the full glare of publicity on the abuse of power. In the second place, it would take positive action in grappling with certain problems which can only be satisfactorily dealt with on an international basis, such as boundary questions, commodity controls, research, health and quarantine arrangements, and financial assistance on an international scale. To carry out this work satisfactorily, it may be necessary for the International Commission to set up special regional panels for supervision and enquiry. Certain problems may concern one region only, and may be dealt with best if delegated to a special panel of the Commission.

These proposals seem clear enough, but there has been some confusion of thought caused by the development during the war years of a number of Regional Commissions, including representatives of different nations, in the Caribbean and the Middle East; and there have also been proposals for such Commissions in the South Pacific and in Africa. These Commissions have been doing good work, but their whole purpose is different from that of the International Colonial Commission we propose. They are purely practical *ad hoc* arrangements, set up in order to improve supplies, or make joint shipping arrangements, or coordinate customs agreements, or plan the building of roads. There is no question of 'ideals' here—it is a question of technical efficiency only.

Unfortunately, there has been a tendency to suggest that this sort of regional collaboration might be an alternative to international collaboration at the centre. It would be a grave abatement of our principles if we agreed to this. The world is too much what Wendell Willkie called 'one world' for any nation to be indifferent to the fate of others. There must be an international conscience as to the way imperial Powers handle their responsibilities, and this can only be expressed by 'third party judgment' at the centre.

While stressing this principle with all our power, we would stress equally that the solution of the colonial system is to end it. International supervision is merely a stop-gap during the intervening period while Colonies still exist.[1]

TO OUR AFRICAN FRIENDS

Because of our support of the proposals for the continued control of the cocoa trade after the war, we are being bitterly rebuked in some of the West African newspapers. The *Nigerian Daily Service* in a leader entitled 'And the Fabian Society Too?' asks

> 'How on earth did a recognised body like the Fabian Society allow itself to be entangled in the cobwebs of colonial exploitation . . . . some of them are consciously or otherwise going imperialist. Their criticism of African reaction to post-war cocoa control is absolutely groundless.'

The *Gold Coast Observer* is amazed at the 'curious attitude' of the Fabian Society, 'which hitherto had won the hearts of the people of this country for the liberality of its thought, uncoloured by short-sightedness or imperialism in the blue.'

Now we are receiving letters from Nigerians asking us to protest against the new Minerals Ordinance to be enacted in that country. This Ordinance proposes that mineral rights should be nationalised. This seems to us a thoroughly good thing, so that when we refuse to oppose the law at our Nigerian friends' request, we have no doubt that we shall again come in for a spate of criticism and hostility. Nor are these the only instances when we have been criticised for supporting measures which we conceived to be in the public interest.

Let us make our position clear. The Fabian Society is a socialist society. It has a fine record of sixty years' struggle for the achievement of socialism in Britain. By socialism, we mean—at least so far as economics are concerned—the prevention of the exploitation of any class within a Society, to be achieved through the ownership or control of the resources of a country by the government of that country in the interests of the people. When any measure leading in that direction is proposed we gladly accept it as an instalment bringing us nearer our aim. We do not turn it aside because we are suspicious of the politics of the government in power, but see it rather as a useful

[1] A pamphlet, under the title of this article, is to appear in June. Price 1s.

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jumping-off ground for our next advance. Just as we believe that public ownership and control is a good thing in Britain, we believe that it is a good thing in the Colonies. We are against directing the essential economic activities of the country for profit, whether the profit-maker be white-skinned, brown-skinned or black. The British Labour Party is now engaged in a fierce struggle against the Conservatives for the maintenance of some of the valuable economic controls which have been introduced here during war-time. The Conservatives are anxious to get back to free enterprise and profit-making as rapidly as possible. This will be one of the big issues at the next General Election. The Labour Party has battled for years for the nationalisation of the coal industry in Britain. It is only a few years since there was success in achieving the nationalisation of the royalties from the coalmines, but the actual operation of the mines is still in private hands. This, too, is a big political issue here at the moment, and one of the most important planks in the Labour Party's election programme.

Our colonial friends have always pointed out that what was good for Britain was good enough for them too. Why then should we abate our socialist principles as soon as it comes to affairs in the Colonies ? There is, of course, one big difference which is at the root of the trouble. We have a democracy in Britain, and whatever government happens to be in the saddle, the British people feel that the ultimate power resides in their own hands and that public control will ultimately mean control by *them*. In the Colonies there is no democracy. The people tend to distrust and suspect the government and its every move. That suspicion goes back to the age of tyranny when Governments overlorded the people and were divorced from them. They fear that trade control, or the ownership of mining royalties, if put in government hands, will be used not for but against them. There is justification for this state of mind. It is bound up with past history and the whole colonial system and the bitter psychology which it breeds. But does this mean that we should then oppose in the Colonies the measures which are good in Britain, and which, according to our whole political philosophy, we are convinced will be for the good of the Colonies too ? Surely not. It rather means that while accepting these measures, we should at the same time fight for a greater democracy in government which will overcome the unfortunate suspicions which attach to the present administrations. That political battle is going on all the time and, slow as the advance is, some progress is undoubtedly there. If, in the meantime, we can secure the beginnings of public ownership and control in economic affairs, we will be building up a socialist foundation which Africans will be able to build on themselves as soon as political power has been won. The alternative is to throw Africa open to the private enterprise either of outside capitalists or of her own capitalists, traders and middlemen. The African workers and peasants will then have to go through the same long dreary class struggle which has held up our own progress for generations. It is for this reason that we support the cocoa scheme, the Minerals Ordinance and any other measure leading to public ownership and control. We have no other motive.

COCOA AGAIN

The Colonial Secretary has now announced that the cocoa proposals will not be put into effect for another year. The scheme will probably be modified in some respects, in the meantime, and then put forward again for discussion. Our readers will perhaps be interested in some of the correspondence on this scheme which was opened by the Bureau in the 'Manchester Guardian.' We quote extracts from the correspondence and the leading article published by the 'Guardian' on the subject.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian (9/3/45).

Sir,—Last October the Government put forward in a White Paper a scheme for the marketing of West African cocoa after the war. This is a subject of fundamental importance for the future welfare of the West African colonies. In too many British Colonies prosperity unfortunately hangs on the price received for one main export crop, and this is especially so in the Gold Coast. In the pre-war years the price for export crops fluctuated wildly, causing uncertainty and distress and unbalancing the economic life of the Colonies concerned. This bred a suspicious frame of mind among farmers and primary producers who had little understanding of the forces of world economics and saw—sometimes with justice—the evil machinations of alien interests as the cause of their own distress.

Part of the trouble was undoubtedly due to faulty organisation of the trade within the Colonies themselves, part was due to the deliberate attempts of certain trading interests to keep down prices, but part was also due to the unsatisfactory state of the world market for primary produee. Some action to regulate each of these factors had long been needed if the beginning of economic progress in the Colonies was ever to be possible.

It seemed to some of us, therefore, that when the new cocoa scheme was formulated it went a long way towards meeting some of the difficulties in West Africa as far as cocoa production is concerned. It certainly seemed designed to protect the producers against the superior strength of trading interests and to strengthen the position of the primary producer in the world market. . . .

Fierce opposition to this scheme is now being expressed, particularly by the trading interests. . . . The Nowell Commission of 1938 forthrightly condemned the methods by which the cocoa trade was run, and suggested that associations of producers, based on cooperative societies, should be statutorily set up. The war delayed the adoption of the

recommendations and all cocoa during the war years was marketed by a Government Board. It is natural that the traders should want to return, as far as possible, to the freedom and lack of control of the pre-war position. In this they are backed by American cocoa traders, who presumably fear a British cocoa monopoly which would dictate prices to them.

Obviously, consumer interests must be defended. But African cocoa growers have suffered badly in the past, and they have been distressed to see the proceeds of their valuable industry garnered elsewhere. Perhaps part of the objections now raised by the traders could easily be surmounted by proper representation of consumers on the new marketing associations, though it is doubtful if this would satisfy them. The cocoa interests apparently resent any challenge to their own past unbridled opportunities for giving the producer a low price and securing their own profits.

There may be room for some small adjustments in the Government scheme, but it would be wrong that there should be any yielding to the pressure for interested reasons now being applied. Some of us want to see rational marketing, more co-operative practice, and the proceeds of colonial production ploughed back into the countries from which they are obtained. It is unfortunate that at the first attempt to work this out in practice British and American traders vehemently protest and try to get the Government to abandon its beneficial schemes.

Secretary, Yours, etc.
Fabian Colonial Bureau. RITA HINDEN.

The Cocoa Scheme

(Leading Article in *Manchester Guardian*, 9.3.45)

The Colonial Office has made rather a poor job of its publicity for the West African cocoa marketing scheme. The motives behind it are excellent—to secure greater price stability for the crop of a native population which has suffered catastrophically in the past. But when one reads the American comments on the scheme—mostly hostile—there is little recognition of this. The scheme appears to Americans, and even to the State Department, which has made a protest against it, as a vicious form of Government intervention. It is described in American papers as 'London's plan to corner half the world's cocoa', and as a violation of the Government's pledge to support 'free access' to the world's raw materials. Seeing that Americans are usually so solicitous about the native populations who are so unfortunate as to live under 'British Imperialism' the present agitation has a slight air of inconsistency. The essential point, however, is that the Colonial Office has acted unwisely in not carrying the trading interests—the consumers—along with it. This again is the result of bureaucratic disregard of opinion. A correspondent in our columns today states a fair case for the scheme itself. It is a pity the Colonial Office put it forward in such a high-handed way.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian (13/3/45)

Sir,—In her letter of March 6, referring to the recently issued White Paper on the marketing of cocoa in British West Africa, Miss Rita Hinden resumes one of the recommendations of the Nowell Commission and thereby, it is possible, unwittingly leads readers to assume not only that this recommendation was approved locally, but that her various other assertions as to the pre-war cocoa industry in British West Africa had the support of that Commission.

It is, I think, due to an impartial consideration of this question to point out that the recommendations of the Nowell Commission were examined in 1938 by a number of committees set up by the Governments of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, and that the findings of those committees were, without exception, adverse to the Commission's recommendations.

Miss Hinden, after attributing without producing any evidence, the unsatisfactory state of affairs in part to 'the deliberate attempts of certain trading interests to keep down prices,' states that 'the cocoa interests apparently resent any challenge to their own past unbridled opportunities for giving the producer a low price and securing their own profits.'

In the interests of the fairness which your leading article ascribes to Miss Hinden, it is perhaps a pity that she failed to draw attention to that part of the Commission's report which actually bears on this subject. The Commission states its belief, 'based on the evidence of disinterested and competent witnesses, besides that of the firms themselves,' that 'the West African cocoa business, considered over the period of recent years, has not been a profitable one.' I would suggest that this evidence is of more value than Miss Hinden's unsubstantiated innuendoes.

For fear of trespassing unduly on your space, I will refrain from the further detailed criticism to which Miss Hinden's letter leaves itself open, but in fairness again as to the source of present opposition it should be known by anybody who keeps himself informed by reading the Nigerian and Gold Coast African press that the African farmers' opposition in both colonies is, for very understandable reasons, no whit less fierce than that which Miss Hinden ascribes to the trading interest.

Unilever House, Yours, etc.,
London, E.C.4. FRANK SAMUEL.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian (19/3/45)

Sir,—It is true, as Mr. Frank Samuel of Unilevers points out in his reply to my letter, that the Nowell Commission stated that for some years the cocoa business had not been profitable. It went on to explain that this was due to the intense competition between the European firms themselves, to the bad

organisation of the trade, and to certain 'free and even unscrupulous' practices, 'largely tolerated by the firms'. It was to meet this position that the European firms made the buying agreements (or 'pool') of 1937 to eliminate competition and make possible a lower price to the native producers, which caused the subsequent agitation and cocoa hold-up. The final conclusion of the Commission of Inquiry regarding these agreements was that 'there exists a reasonable basis for the claim that they affect the producers' interests injuriously . . . . it is our opinion that the agreements should be finally withdrawn.'

Mr. Samuel taunts us with the hostility to the scheme being shown by the Africans, thus putting himself on the side of the angels! Of course, many African brokers and middlemen, who are far more articulate than the peasants, would object to a Government marketing scheme. The Commission of Inquiry foresaw this clearly:

> 'Strenuous opposition is naturally to be expected from the middlemen, who will see in this policy a threat to their own cocoa business. They are well organised, and many of them, we are informed, have close ties of relationship with chiefs and influential members of the councils, who for this reason, and even because of personal interests in the cocoa business, are inclined to give their political as well as personal support. We take the view that the interests of the producer should predominate . . . . progress should not be arrested in order to preserve the interests of a particular group whose present influence is disproportionate to its numbers.'

It is obvious that the merchants of the City of London will object to the continuation of all Government trading schemes after the war because of the challenge to their own position. For them the cocoa scheme is an evil precedent. But they are quite prepared to rely on the idealism of the British taxpayer to make the life of African peasants tolerable through welfare grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. At least, this touches their own pockets only a little.

Secretary,
Fabian ColonialBureau.

Yours, etc.,
RITA HINDEN,

Some of the West African press continues to fulminate against the scheme, and to include us in their fulminations for supporting it. Let them note, from Mr. Frank Samuel's letter, into whose arms they are throwing themselves,

FABIAN COLONIAL ESSAYS[1]

It is significant that, while these 14 essays have been in the press, the map they describe has altered in several important directions; and, although it would not be true to say that any of the main arguments have been vitiated by the appointment of an African to the Kenya Legislative Council, the defeat of Norman Manley at the first Jamaica elections, the new Colonial Development and Welfare Bill, and the new constitution proposed for Nigeria, such development clearly illustrates the difficulty of a society like the Fabians in the 'second phase of colonial construction', a phrase used somewhere in the book itself.

What, then, are the services that an unofficial body can render in an age of officially-inspired reforms? So far as action is concerned, the question is more than adequately answered by Rita Hinden in an account of the first years of the Fabian Colonial Bureau. Information on current affairs for the public and for Parliament, special sub-committees to examine the position of trade unions, mining, colonial service organisation, co-operation, and race relations. These are all as necessary to the formation of a healthy public opinion as direct political action, and the establishment of personal links with the Colonies. But it is equally necessary to have constructive criticism (or at least technical descriptions of special colonial subjects) by people with first hand experience; and here the book is able to assemble a number of careful studies, of which perhaps the most authoritative is that on 'Language and the African' by Professor Ida Ward. In this section also there is a careful outline by C. W. W. Greenidge of the colonial land position; a typically polished account of the West Indies from the pen of Harold Stannard, who was there a year or two ago for the British Council; a very thorough defence of the system of committee government by Sir Drummond Shiels, who was a member of the Donoughmore Commission to Ceylon; and an article on literacy by the indefatigable secretary of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, Margaret Wrong.

By their nature, none of these studies raise fundamental problems as regards the general colonial position; and it is here that the real difficulty of British writers on the Colonies is shown, for the more liberal of them are to some extent the victims of their own success. Thus H. N. Brailsford and Leonard Woolf contribute essays which are lucid and familiar. J. F. Horrabin also contributes a geophysical survey of the Empire's historical development, which remains stimulating so long as it deals, in the old idiom, with the past. Creech Jones provides a useful introduction and a later economic article which is not quite so easy to follow, while Dr. Hinden has a broad sympathetic survey contrasting Development 'with or without Welfare', and a 'third democratic way', which is hinted at rather than fully described.

In fact, it would appear that Fabians are in search of a new, or at least deeper, colonial policy, and it is this which lends importance to two essays which cannot be so easily classified as the others, since they combine fundamental criticism of prevailing outlooks with a detailed criticism of existing colonial facts.

The first of these is by J. S. Furnivall, a retired

[1] George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1945, pp. 261, 8s. 6d.

official with experience in Burma. Writing on some problems of tropical economy, he puts Co-operatives after State banks, and even prefers private capital to capital development by the State. His reason for this attitude is an appreciation both of the mercantilist dangers inherent in the new doctrine of Welfare, together with a practical distrust of many European colonial presumptions, in so far as they tend to build policies on the uncertain and entirely different structure of the present civilisation of the West. For example, he points out that it was economic development that alone built up the disastrous 'plural' structure of the Eastern Colonies. For him the important questions are : 'How can the idea of colonial development transcend economics? Where is the colonial power to find moral authority ? What is the machinery for organising social as against individual demand ? And how can one build a common social will ? So also Dr. Fortes, who brings the typical equipment of the anthropologist to an admirable survey of the old question of culture contact, also some disturbing questions. The end of policy is colonial self-government. What government ? asks Dr. Fortes. Under what law ? With what ethics ? Having what values ? And he questions the successful application of 'end-product apparatus and skill'.

It is admitted in the introduction that these essays are intended to raise problems rather than to solve them. Dr. Fortes is a scientist, and gives no definite answer, while Mr. Furnivall's solutions to his conundrums will not meet with approval in every quarter. (They include nationalism; regional committees with annual reporting; a team built up of expert, welfare officer and local leader; and a federation or possibly a local bourgeois nationalism.) But despite the aim of the book, if I asked for anything more, it would have been for a general essay at the end, considering the contributions as a whole, and possibly picking out some of the indications of a new positive philosophy that lie scattered throughout them, if for no other reason than that all the writers maintain the British right to administer their own Colonies, and this surely presupposes an equal obligation to think out a new basis of colonial philosophy. Instead we are given an anonymous sketch of a new international organisation—time-tables, regions, I.L.O. and the rest. Although this study has nothing new in it, there is nothing against it. What one does rather cavil at is the claim that it is 'philosophy'. It is of course nothing of the sort, but only a *rationale* of developing organisation.

Philosophy is introspective ; and, on this assumption, perhaps I may be permitted in closing to note one or two of the hints which may some day lead to a new colonial philosophy. First, there is the scientist Fortes claiming that all men are one, putting more hope, indeed, in a 'vigorous hybrid' Colony than in one of uniform stock. There is Stannard suggesting a new Athens in the Indies—there is Stannard again suggesting that the 58 religious sects of Jamaica and its flourishing Co-ops. may be founded on a tribal feeling that the people have never lost. There is Ida Ward on the new self-respect and pride in their own culture shown by African literates. There is Brailsford's belief in brotherly love. From all these hints, and many more, we arrive at the belief that some day—perhaps some day quite soon—the metropolitans may learn lessons in the Colonies instead of merely teaching them. And such a thought reconciles one reader at least to the absence of a specifically colonial contribution to these most stimulating essays.

HENRY SWANZY.

ACTIVITIES OF THE BUREAU

The Colonies at San Francisco.—When it became clear that international machinery relating to existing Mandates, together with a broader approach to the whole problem of international trusteeship for Colonies not yet ripe for self-government, was to be discussed at San Francisco, the Bureau prepared a statement on the subject and distributed it widely. A letter also appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*. The full document is now being published as a pamphlet under the title *Colonies and International Conscience*.

Sudan.—A publication on the Sudan is now in preparation. Sudan is the Cinderella among 'backward territories'. It is administered by the Foreign Office in condominium with Egypt. It does not therefore qualify for financial help under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. It has a progressive civil service and many interesting developments have taken place there. We think this work should be more widely known in Britain.

Minerals.—Nearly two years ago the Bureau submitted its views on mining policy to the Colonial Office, where they have been under consideration ever since. The matter is being raised in the House of Lords by Lord Ammon on May 15th. He will ask for a Government statement as to its policy on mining control and concessions in the Colonies.

Continued from page 10

Dr. Wilson's closer observation, however, does not, in many instances, appear to be of much assistance to him in analysing the fundamental problems of Kenya, particularly the sociological ones. It is nonsense, for example, to praise, as Dr. Wilson does, the excellent advances made in the area since the coming of the Europeans, while at the same time condemning the African because his social structure breaks up under the impact of innovations. A new social organisation can only emerge as a preparation for self-government when the African recovers his self-respect. This cannot be achieved under the system of European dominance envisaged by Dr. Wilson.

GUIDE TO BOOKS

Labour Problems of Africa. By John A. Noon. (University of Pennsylvania Press. $1.50.)

This is the sixth of the African Handbooks published by the Committee on African Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. Like the preceding publications in the series, the greater part of the book is a useful survey of data gleaned from the existing literature on African labour problems. After a general survey of the African as a labourer, Mr. Noon proceeds to make a regional study of conditions in West, Equatorial, East and South Africa. From these regional studies, Mr. Noon argues that the foremost question which arises concerns the adequacy of African manpower for meeting the requirements of present and future enterprise. "Is the available manpower,' he asks, 'sufficient to staff existing industries and to leave a surplus for future expansion?' In the solution of this problem, Mr. Noon argues that it is essential to distinguish clearly between a labour shortage and a manpower shortage. Summing up, he says:

> 'Although the total manpower of Africa appears to be adequate for all requirements made by its economy, there are certain regions where manpower and employment opportunities do not balance and as a result either manpower shortage or surplus occur. It is debatable whether Angola, Mozambique, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland possess the natural resources capable of utilizing the available manpower of these dependencies in their exploitation. . . . It is more difficult to point to territories which suffer a manpower shortage, . . . this is most closely approached in the Belgian Congo. . . . One must at the same time admit the existence of labour shortages in many territories. Among those . . . are the Union of South Africa, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. It must be insisted that enterprises in these areas have difficulty in securing sufficient workers not because manpower is not available but because the wages offered by industry are below the level at which Natives are willing to dispose of their labour.'

Altogether, Mr. Noon's contribution to the series is a useful, and, in many ways, a stimulating one.

Kenya: Land of Conflict. By J. Kenyatta (1s. 6d.). **African Empires and Civilisation.** By Raymond Michelet (2s.). **The Negro in the Caribbean.** By Eric Williams (5s.). (International African Service Bureau Publications.)

If the general public remains largely ignorant of Colonial affairs, it is becoming increasingly untrue that the explanation lies in the absence of literature. New acquisitions to the pamphlet literature on the Colonial Empire are these publications of the International African Service Bureau, a non-party organisation, with membership open to Africans only, and with the object of fighting for 'the economic, political and social demands of Africans'. The first of these pamphlets, on the Kenya problem, is by Jomo Kenyatta, a native of Kenya and a founder of the Kikuyu Central Association, whose General Secretary he was. As a factual account of conditions in that Colony this pamphlet leaves much to be desired. It is primarily an emotional appeal, and should be read as such. It is no use quibbling about lack of accuracy in detail—this is what certain Africans *feel*, how *they* see things—and their viewpoint must be appreciated in planning the future.

M. Michelet's pamphlet, translated by Sir Edward Cunard, is an interesting attempt to show that African cultures before the coming of the Arabs and Europeans had a value not inferior to those of the latter races. It is a melancholy comment on the parochial outlook of many Europeans that, despite the years of sociological study sympathetic to local cultures, such a pamphlet should still be necessary. Rather more reference might have been given, however, to the Bantu peoples constituting the greater part of the African population.

The most considerable of the three publications here reviewed is that by Dr. Williams. He provides a closely-packed and comprehensive survey of the West Indies, discussing the early economic system of the islands in its historical relation to slavery, and showing the effects of sugar upon the entire social and political structure in the area. Whether or not one agrees wholly with Dr. Williams's conclusions, the study is an excellent factual introduction to the Caribbean. There is a useful bibliography.

One African Colony. By C. J. Wilson. (Signpost Press. 6d.)

The Conservative Party's revived interest in Colonial affairs has resulted in a number of publications dealing with various aspects of the Colonial problem. Here is one on that perennial problem, Kenya. It attempts, presumably, an answer to the recent Fabian pamphlet on the same subject. Dr. Wilson has some curious things to say, and employs too often the old political technique of misrepresenting his opponents' views the better to demolish them. Typical of this is his suggestion that the Labour Party has urged *immediate* self-government for Kenya, and he proceeds from this assumption to outline with force the reasons why this should not be done. Progressive readers will probably agree with him in this, since they have never urged anything in the nature of immediate self-government. Similarly, Dr. Wilson asks friends of the African

> '. . . not to jeopardise his whole future by forcing the pace in politics at the expense of ham-stringing that general and balanced advance—economic, social and political—which we in Kenya intend to ensure, and of which we entertain such high hopes. Europeans in Kenya . . . are for the most part good friends of the African, and earnestly desire to help him forward. If their view does not always coincide with the view taken from this or that quarter of London, the discrepancy is not necessarily due to any obliquity of vision: it may arise from closer observation.'

(*Continued on page* 9)

THE COLONIES IN PARLIAMENT

Seychelles Conditions. Colonel Lyons asked the Secretary of State if he knew of general conditions in Seychelles, and if a plan for improvement had been prepared. Col. Stanley said that he was aware that there was need there for general improvement in social conditions. He had approved in principle proposals for the reorganisation of the Colony's health services. A director of education had been recently appointed and a comprehensive programme of educational reform had been prepared. Plans for the social and economic development of the Colony were under consideration. (Feb. 28.)

Kenya Land Settlement. In reply to John Dugdale, the Secretary of State agreed that, as far as the Kenya Highlands were concerned, the announcement of the Economic and Development Secretary of the Government of Kenya that the Government's policy is to get as many settlers on the land as the land would hold economically represented the present Government policy towards settlement in Kenya. But this would not in any way alter the policy of successive Governments on reserves of white settlers. Schemes for Africans would not be of the same type, but a number of such schemes for the development of the economic interest of the Africans had already been approved. (Feb. 28.)

Jamaica Medical Service. Mr. Riley asked if the Secretary of State was aware of the dissatisfaction in Jamaica with the Governmental medical services, resulting in the resignation of three medical officials, and if he would institute an inquiry. Col. Stanley said that he had received a deputation in Jamaica from the local B.M.A., but this was now the concern of the local administration, and he could not intervene. (Feb. 28.)

Nigeria Mining Ordinance. Mr. Sorensen asked Col. Stanley if the proposed Mining Ordinance for Nigeria provided for the adequate compensation for destruction of crops, what revenue would accrue from mining to the Native administrations, especially those in the Bauchi Plateau and Hesba areas, and whether African representatives had been consulted. The reply stated that the purpose of the Ordinance was to bring the Nigerian law into line with accepted mining practice. Provision was made for compensation for crops, and gave the Government power to require the restoration of agricultural land to its original condition after mining. These things would benefit the African communities. He was obtaining information on the other points raised. (Feb. 28.)

Aden Development. In reply to Colonel Lyons, the Secretary of State said that the first draft of a programme for the social and economic betterment of Aden had been prepared and was now under consideration. The Governor proposed to appoint a committee representative of the political interests in the Colony to examine it in detail. (March 7.)

Bahamas Secret Ballot. Mr. Creech Jones asked for details of progress made in the Bahamas in connection with the introduction of the secret ballot. Col. Stanley said that from personal discussion with the Governor and leading members of the Legislature he was satisfied that all concerned appreciated the urgency and importance of it. The Governor had sent a message to the House of Assembly expressing confidence that they would no longer withhold the secret ballot from the Out-Islands, and this had been referred to a Select Committee. (March 7.)

Uganda Deportation Order. In reply to Mr. Creech Jones, the Secretary of State said that Samwiri Wamala, lately principal Minister, had been deported by the Governor, with the concurrence of the Kabaka, by an Order under the Deportation Ordinance made as a consequence of the disturbance in January, 1945. The Ordinance was intended as a measure of security pending the report of the Commission of Inquiry. (March 7.)

Mauritius Cyclone Relief. In reply to a question by Mr. Hutchinson, Col. Stanley said that as regards financial assistance for Mauritius, a grant of £10,000 was made by H.M. Government. This had been placed in the Relief Fund, which was managed by a representative of the Central Relief Committee, with an elected member of the Council of Government as chairman, with a fully representative membership. Distribution of relief in kind, wherever possible, was effected through local sub-committees. Special steps had been taken to arrange for the importation of the necessary food supplies and building materials. (March 7.)

Kenya Labour Supply. Sir W. Wakefield asked the Secretary of State whether he was aware of the acute shortage of labour in Kenya, as a result of which tea companies were obliged to import labour from the Belgian Congo; and why such action was necessary since the Ukamba Reserve was in a poor condition and employment would have to be found for a high proportion of the Wakamba tribe. Col. Stanley replied that the tea companies had recruited 30 workers from the Belgian Congo as an experiment, and he understood that further recruitment was under consideration. Large numbers of the Wakamba were in the Forces or in essential work outside the Reserve. All available males in this area were required for the maintenance of the social and economic life of the tribe. (March 14.)

Mauritius Food Situation. Mr Douglas asked how the probable food shortage caused by the drought in Australia would affect Mauritius, and if any decision had been made on the continued growing of maize on estates. Colonel Stanley said that present indications were that the island's food would not be affected by the drought in Australia, but if a shortage arose this would be made up from other sources. He had received from the Governor a recommendation that the scheme for the compulsory growing of maize, manioc and sweet potatoes on estates should be abandoned, as the increased production hoped for had not materialised, in the interests of sugar, of which there was most urgent need. Production of other vegetables and cereals was still being encouraged. (March 14.)

Uganda Trade Union Officials. In reply to questions by Mr. Creech Jones and Mr Riley, the Secretary of State said that the Governor of Uganda had ordered the detention under a Defence Regulation of five persons, including the president and secretary of the Uganda Motor Drivers' Union, because he stated he had reasonable cause to believe that they had been concerned in acts prejudicial to the public safety. There was no justification for the suggestion that intimidation was being practised, and the additional military forces in Uganda were now being withdrawn. Mr Creech Jones, in a supplementary question, asked for the grounds of arrest, whether there would be an investigation, were the individuals detained or imprisoned, and whether they would have an opportunity of answering the charges.

made against them. Col. Stanley said he could not give the specific charges; the normal procedure would be employed. (March 14.)

W. Africa War Undertakings. Mr Sorensen asked if the workshops and industrial undertakings established during the war to meet military needs in West Africa are to be transferred to or retained by Colonial Governments and utilised by them for civil purposes. Col. Stanley said that undertakings established or extended during the war to meet Service needs will remain under civil control after the war. No general decision in principle had yet been made on the undertakings established by the Services for their own needs. It was proposed to raise this question at the next meeting of the West African War Council. (March 14.)

Tanganyika Hospital Accommodation. In reply to Col. Lyons, it was stated that improvements in hospital accommodation both at Dar-es-Salaam and elsewhere in Tanganyika were at present being carried out at an approximate cost of £100,000. Further improvements will be provided for in the post-war development programme, but this was still under consideration. It was not possible to make a statement as to the details. (March 21.)

Trinidad Oil Development. Dr Morgan asked the Secretary of State if he was aware that some 30,000 acres of oil-bearing lands in Trinidad, including Government leased land, are to pass under control and ownership of the National Mining Corporation for exploration, drilling and development; whether the capital and directorate of this corporation is wholly British; and whether any change in the laws of the Colony are proposed in order to secure the oil resources for the community's benefit. Colonel Stanley agreed that he understood that the Corporation had acquired leases and options covering 24,516 acres of oil-bearing lands, including 18,900 acres of Crown lands—although the Governor had not yet consented to the transfer of the Crown leases. He was unable to say if the capital and directorate was wholly British. No change in the law was contemplated because the bulk of the oil produced comes from Crown oil rights, and the royalties accrue to the Colonial Government. (March 28.)

Nigerian Development and Welfare. In reply to a question by Mr. Creech Jones, Col. Stanley gave a list of the schemes made on behalf of Nigeria under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act during the year 1944–5. The list included such items as £1,889,000 for rural water supplies; £1,810,000 for road development; £681,500 for a building programme; £602,500 for urban water supplies; and £401,000 for the development of technical education. The total for 1944–5 was £6,989,900. These schemes formed part of a general plan being prepared to cover all aspects of social and economic development, and which was expected to involve a total expenditure of up to £40,000,000 over eleven years. Part of the cost would be met from local revenue, but further aid under the Act was expected when the schemes were completed and submitted. Annual statements on development schemes were already made, but a more frequent statement to Parliament was being considered. (March 28.)

West African Development. Replying to Mr Sorensen, the Secretary of State said that it was not proposed to appoint a successor to Mr Noel Hall as Development Adviser in West Africa. Since the time of his appointment the position had materially changed in that special posts had been created in the Gold Coast and Nigeria for the planning and organisation of development. It was not, therefore, thought that the other post was now necessary, especially since air communications facilitated close personal contact between local authorities and London. (March 28.)

Tanganyika Crop Investigation. Mr Harvey asked if, in view of the plans for increased white settlement of Tanganyika, other crops than coffee were to be grown, and, if so, whether these could be grown without a Government subsidy. Colonel Stanley replied that one of the main objects of the investigation now being carried out by the Land Settlement Board was to determine what crops could provide an economic basis for settlement in particular areas. He was not able to make any statement pending the results of these investigations. (March 28.)

Tanganyika Population. Mr Harvey asked if the pressure of population in overcrowded areas of Tanganyika was to be eased by the encouragement of settlement of Africans in unpopulated but fertile land, and by provision of transport and improved water supplies for the under-populated districts. The reply stated that the Tanganyika Government's post-war development proposals included a scheme for a redistribution of population in certain areas of the Lake Province. The programme also provided for the improvement of communications generally and the development of water supplies. (March 28.)

West Indies Airways. Sir W. Wakefield asked for a statement on the development of air communications in British West Indies after the war. Col. Stanley said that British West Indian Airways, Ltd., of the capital of which the Government of Trinidad hold a substantial share, were already maintaining services covering many of the British West Indian Islands. The extension of those services to the remaining British Caribbean Colonies was under consideration, and must depend upon the availability of additional aircraft and personnel, among other factors. (April 10.)

Cyprus : Greek Relief Fund. Mr Pritt asked the Secretary of State if he was aware that the Cyprus Government had prevented Cyprus municipalities from subscribing to the Greek Relief Fund, and whether, since such subscriptions had been permitted in the past, these payments would now be permitted. The reply stated that Cyprus Municipal law provided that all revenue must be devoted to municipal purposes. Small grants by municipalities had been allowed, inadvertently, to pass in the past, but such an oversight did not justify their continuance. (April 11.)

Trinidad : Mr Uriah Butler. In reply to a question by Dr. Morgan, the Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs said that it was now intended to release Uriah Butler from his detention under the Trinidad Defence Regulations. (April 11.)

W. Indies Royal Commission Report. It was stated, in reply to a question by Dr Morgan, that it had been decided that the Report of the Royal Commission to West Indies, 1938–9, should be published. The date of publication would be fixed in order to secure simultaneous release here and in the West Indies. (April 11.)

Uganda Cotton Fund. In reply to a question by Col. Lyons, the Secretary of State said that at the end of 1944 the Uganda Cotton Fund amounted to approximately £3,000,000. No decision had yet been taken as to the disposal of the fund, but it could be taken that a substantial portion is likely to be devoted to economic development. (April 11.)

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FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA - MEMORANDUM ON NATIVE POLICY.

Condensed from the translation of one of four Eboué Memoranda of 1941, published in a special number of "Sudan Notes and Records", Vol.XXV, Part II, 1943.

By Governor-General, ...FELIX EBOUÉ.

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NECESSITY FOR AND BASIS OF NATIVE POLICY.

Our object should be to ensure that French Equatorial Africa which before the war was a liability to France should after the war be an asset. The task demands the collaboration of us all, manufacturers, planters, missionaries, traders and officials. The Colony is menaced with the exhaustion of its resources through the plunderings of concessionaries, through economic exploitation, through sometimes misdirected missionary enthusiasm, through apathetic administration, but above all through ignorance and neglect and misunderstanding of native institutions. The root of the evil cannot be touched until a clear Native Policy has been defined and put into execution.

To try to build up a native society in the image of France is to invite disaster. The Native has his own standards, his own laws, his own patriotism. If we are to achieve stability for him, we must treat him not as an individual but as a member of a complicated society with a hundred duties and obligations to his family, his village and his tribe, capable of progress in this environment but lost if he is removed from it.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

Our duty is to re-establish native institutions. We must understand the real significance of a custom as representing the underlying traditions and feelings which produced it - tribal traditions and feelings of patriotism.

When I see administrative officials undermining the sanctions of the Chieftainship, I wonder what they propose to do when they have succeeded in entirely destroying its value. Would the only alternative, a petty native bureaucracy, be a better intermediary between the administrative officer and his people? Changes of chief are not only deplorable but absurd. The chief is there. Our business is to afford him official recognition, that is, in the diplomatic sense of the word. If we arbitrarily replace him we create a dual command - the government chief and the real chief. It is not only a question of giving no more posts as chiefs to corner boys and old soldiers but of seeking out the legitimate holder from the obscurity where our ignorance has hidden him and restoring to him his traditional honours.

The time for indirect administration, save in certain parts of Chad Territory, it not yet, but we can none the less entrust chiefs with executive powers even in the most primitive districts. We must cease our efforts to raise the vast mass of the population simultaneously and throw our weight instead on to the chiefs, the lever which will lift the whole.

The vague ill-thought-out conceptions which give the appearance of associating a few individuals with the sovereign government of France and the Empire must be abandoned, and instead we must strive to transform them into good citizens of their own country.

There are two kinds of town, the one local and homogeneous, the other containing varied immigrants from all parts of the country. The first class comprises at present only the towns of Libreville and Bakongo which have developed their own character distinct from that of local tribal tradition. The inhabitants have acquired the urban outlook and have rapidly developed through contact with us the characteristics of a native bourgeoisie. We must be careful to avoid the common error of expressing amusement or annoyance at the pretensions of these semi-sophisticated people. Instead we should recognize the effort they are making to rise to our level, while reminding them that their effort is only a beginning. Their naive self-satisfaction will disappear as soon as they are brought up against serious problems and obliged to solve them. So far they have acquired only the externals of European civilization - fine clothes, flowery language, free and easy manners. They must be brought up against facts and made to realize that the public esteem on which they set so much store can only be achieved by a great deal of hard work. With this object in view we are going to create institutions of municipal self-government which will give the township a corporate character. These councils will have jurisdiction over all citizens living within their boundaries. A European will be chairman, and the councils will not at first have any financial powers, but will be responsible for town planning, road construction, adult education and sports - that is, for the moral, intellectual and physical welfare of their people. Each council will work in close collaboration with a Provident Society which, under its guidance, will provide for its members such solid advantages as building loans. The development of sense of property is a necessary foundation for urban society, providing it with that inducement to individual advancement which so many town dwellers lack at first. The control of a simple police court will give the council an added feeling of responsibility towards the people under its charge.

The second category of town - such as Bangui and Pointe Noire, Poto-Poto and Port Gentil - has come into existence as a result of our presence and our requirements. These usually contain a stable element of Government officials, pensioners and ex-soldiers, artisans and commercial employees, together with a floating population of house boys, casual labourers and camp followers. Neither category has any roots or any homogeneity. The quarters in which they live jostle each other with no common characteristic to give birth to local patriotism or civic consciousness. The former element drains away the pick of the native population and gives in return no compensating benefit to society, while the floating population leads a gipsy existence as a parasite on the community. It supplies us, no doubt, with labourers and servants, but for each one who works there are five who are idle.

The Administration deals with them as vagabonds but does nothing to cure the disease itself. The cure seems to me to lie in the kindly discipline of sports club and recreation centre, of the Scout movement and even of military service. It is for the leaders of these movements and for the missionaries

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to introduce in this way the children and adolescents to a decent and orderly way of life. This is a task in which employers of labour have also a part to play. It is up to them to keep their workmen in permanent settlements and to employ a minimum of casual labour. This is not of course always possible. Labour in docks for instance must be fluctuating, but even so it can be disciplined to a certain extent and every effort should be made to attach the worker to an employer and discourage the idler who works only when it suits him.

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THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY.

Our system of mission education covers the greater part of the population and can be left out of consideration only in the Muslim bloc of Chad Territory. It is this diffusion of Christian ideology which is the most potent influence in the development of native thought and custom.

Is it then one of the influences which endanger the fabric of society by forcing the native to run before he can walk? I think not. I know we often smile at the newly converted, who shuttle to and fro between the church and the witch doctor with such childish effrontery that one is forced to doubt whether they have even a spark of faith. We are wrong to smile, but we should be more wrong if we ignored the truth. Primitive man finds self-control a most difficult task - a fact we must always bear in mind if we are to avoid treating them as though they were young Europeans impregnated with eighteen centuries of Christian tradition.

Africa is becoming receptive to evangelization no more rapidly than to other progressive influences, and this process like the others cannot be rushed or imposed by force and without regard to African custom. Our aim is evolution not revolution. We must recognize existing institutions, and political institutions before all. Missionary enterprise must never contribute to undermine the power of the chief. It must instead strengthen his position by giving him additional authority.

In family and social life we must of course remember that salvation is a matter of individual souls, but we must make it our main principle and object not to produce a specimen of a good Christian character here and there but to influence the mass of the population and lead it, as a body and with all its constituent organizations, up to the Christian ideal.

This must be our method of approach to the major problem of marriage. Our object is to diffuse the Christian idea of marriage throughout a society which is living under a different code; to make that society understand little by little the sacred and indissoluble character of monogamous marriage freely entered upon; and yet to modify as little as possible existing ideals of family life. Here, as always, the change in opinion must precede the law which takes it into account and gives it official sanction. The new law is still Customary Law, redressed in Christian guise and symbol of a better but still African Africa.

The African obtains from Christian education not only spiritual support and consolation but that very sense of personal responsibility which all of us are so busy trying to inculcate. If we realize this we may well cease our

Our first reform must be, as I have already pointed out, to avoid a wide distribution of enterprises over the countryside. The lumber companies and gold mining corporations should be combined into syndicates for better organization and economical working. Secondly, we must mechanize. Starting from to-day every industrial concessionaire must start working out his plans for the substitution of machines for men. Temporary difficulties may impose delays but the end must be achieved notwithstanding.

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Machines however need men to run them, and some jobs can still be done by man power only. Labour must be recruited and used in such a way that the equilibrium of native life is not disturbed. This means that the labourer must bring his wife and children with him. Better still, he should take all his people with him to form in the industrial area a new village, tribal and homogeneous. There must be no indiscriminate herding together of men from all parts of the country, and no more sterile labour camps. The women, too, will take their customary share in the tilling the soil. The employer will be a sort of village squire, building their houses, directing their sowing, buying their crops, arranging for medical attention, drugs and mosquito nets and improving their stock. The presence of the women - not as idlers in the house nor as workers in the factory but as busy housewives, preparing the worker's food and helping on his allotment - is absolutely vital if we are to preserve the essence of village life.

There remains one other branch of the Colony's economic system in which the European holds a preponderating influence - Trade. In a colony like this, where the bulk of the customers are natives and the seller imposes his choice on the purchaser instead of vice versa, the trader can have a very strong educative influence on society. He must educate the native, teach him to prefer good quality goods of moderate price to glittering trash, encourage him to be house-proud and farm-proud and to buy decent furniture and implements.

THE PRINCIPLE WHICH MUST UNDERLIE OUR POLICY.

Lyautey wrote once of a resident in Annam: "He has plenty of brains but he will never achieve anything because he lacks that quality of loving kindness without which no great task of man can be accomplished."

Lyautey succeeded in Morocco because he had a kindness for its people. He made mistakes, and the Protectorate has had its unhappy days as well as its happy ones - but the people esteemed him because he was fond of them and his partial failures have passed into affectionate oblivion.

So we must grow fond of our Equatorial Negroes. All of us - missionaries, planters, officials and business men - must view its people with clear-sighted friendship. We have drawn up together the rules which are to guide them to prosperity. We must infuse into these rules the spirit of our affection.

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ship all old crop before new crop. Until the size of the 1947/48 crop is known, I cannot estimate how long it will take to ship, but I will continue to do everything possible to see that it is shipped quickly."

Corporal Punishment in African Prisons

Mr. Sorensen wanted to know to what extent corporal punishment of civilian prisoners in West and East African Colonial prisons has diminished over each of the past five years. Mr. Rees-Williams, in his answer, gave the latest complete returns of corporal punishment for prison offences for the period 1941/45. During this period, Gambia had only one prisoner punished in this manner, in 1943. Sierra Leone had a maximum of six in 1941, two for the respective years 1942 and 1943, and seven in 1944. Gold Coast, which had four in 1941; two, in 1942; and seven, in 1943; rose to 42, in 1944. In 1945, the number was 12. Nigeria, which had 80 in 1941, and 49, in 1942; rose to 88, in 1943. The number dropped to 73, in 1944; and was up to 74, in 1945.

Figures for Northern Rhodesia in the peak year of 1943 were 385. In 1945, they were 128. The period 1940/45 was said to be one of great difficulty in prison administration due to overcrowding in the prisons and shortage of trained prison staff. "The high figures for Northern Rhodesia," said Mr. Rees-Williams, "in comparison with the figures for other territories, were especially brought to the Governor's notice in 1943; and the measures taken in consequence showed a considerable improvement in 1944 and 1945. The matter is still being pursued."

Geneva Agreement and Africa

"I do not expect that any African Colonial product will be materially affected," said Mr. Rees-Williams, in answer to Sir Peter Macdonald, who asked the Secret[ary] if he would give a list of the p[roduc]ts Colonies which are liab[le]

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[Romero]

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GRAU (biografia novelada) La Punta - 1934
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12 NOVELAS DE LA SELVA (novelas cortas) Lima - 1934
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Works on the Negro

9

TAITA VALDES, ZAMBO Y CIUDADANO Lima - 1938
EL NEGRO HAITIANO A TRAVES DE PRICE-MARS Y PATTEE Habana - 1938
UN POETA PERUANO DE COLOR Lima - 1939
RITMO NEGRO EN LA COSTA ZAMBA Lima - 1939
INSTRUMENTOS AFRICANOS EN LA COSTA ZAMBA Lima - 1939
FOLKLORE DE LA COSTA ZAMBA Buenos Aires - 1939
LA ZAMBA, ABUELA DE LA MARINERA Lima - 1939
COMO ERA LA ZAMACUECA Lima - 1939
LA CORRIENTE DE LA TRATA NEGRERA EN CHILE Lima - 1939

651-5-154

Revelations about the backward state to which African education has been confined owing to lack of funds.

Grim Picture of Native Education

By ORLANDO WELCH

MANY CARDINAL DEFICIENCIES in the present state of Native education came to light at the recent Pretoria meeting of the Native Representative Council, which considered the estimates for 1945-46.

Every phase of the system came under scrutiny, and the presence of the Chief Inspectors of Native Education in the four Provinces, whose reports for the past year were tabled, sharpened the edge of criticism from most of the Councillors attending.

Each report had the same melancholy tale to tell — shortage of classrooms, shortage of trained staffs, shortage of building materials, all stemming from an over-riding shortage of money to spend.

Taking the Transvaal as typical of general conditions, Dr. Eiselen's report showed that out of 600,000 children of school-going age, only 175,000 attend school. The percentage was very much the same in the Cape. All inspectors agreed that the urge for education was a powerful and positive force to-day among the Native people.

UNWIELDY NUMBERS

If all the applicants in the Transvaal had been accepted, the enrolment would have risen by at least 25,000 last year. As it is, the average number in a class is between 40 and 50—obviously an unwieldy number, especially in the higher grades.

It is difficult to see how the educational requirements of the African people can be met, namely, permissive primary education in the country areas and compulsory primary education in the urban areas, when there is so great a deficiency of classrooms.

It is not as if all the available schools have been registered. Quite a high percentage of mission schools have been waiting months and years to be registered. One reason given why they have not been accepted by the Provincial Education Departments is that there is a shortage of school inspectors.

These officials have anything between 100 to 200 schools to visit scattered over very wide districts. Though they may average 1,500 miles a month they cannot get round to many out-of-the-way spots, and there are bush schools which are not reached more than once or twice in two years.

TECHNICAL TRAINING

All the inspectors agree on the necessity for improving the agricultural and technical training instruction given. At present technical education for Natives is a Government affair. But sheer force of circumstances has compelled the secondary and teacher training institutions controlled by the Provinces to expand their courses of industrial, handicraft and domestic science teaching.

From the Free State came a request for an experimental grant with which to provide more specialised technical training at Bloemfontein in order to combat juvenile delinquency. The Johannesburg Municipality has established a small vocational training centre for this purpose near Orlando.

Dr. Eiselen's report said that the position on the Witwatersrand was deteriorating very rapidly. He felt that the problem needed to be tackled just as freely

in the country, and more particularly the Reserves, as on the Rand.

Councillor Champion, from Natal, was very bitter about the kind of manual instruction the children were receiving. The Select Committee which considered the estimates for Native education declared that the present system was out of touch with modern developments in the technical sphere. It asked for a committee to be appointed to study how technical and industrial education for Africans could be modified and brought up-to-date.

Great disparity in the matter of teacher training and bursary grants as between the four Provinces was revealed. Bursaries varied from £45 in Natal to £23 in the Cape.

The folly of having varying policies is best illustrated by the teacher position.

TEACHER SHORTAGE

Except for the Cape, all the Provinces are short of certificated teachers. The Cape, however, is turning them out at the rate of 750 a year, which is 260 more than it is able to employ. But these teachers are not linguistically qualified to teach in the other three Provinces. The Cape has an optional policy with regard to English and Afrikaans instruction. The two languages are obligatory in Natal, Transvaal and the Free State. And since most of the Cape teachers prefer to take their certificates in the English medium, they cannot be of service outside their own Province.

Several Native Councillors dwelt on the difficulties confronting African children who, besides their home language, must learn the two official languages, and often have lessons in another Native language as well. Dr. Moroka, however, from the Free State, who asked for Afrikaans to be made compulsory in the Cape, declared optimistically that what was required of Native children was well within their compass. "They can learn four languages as easily as an Englishman learns English," he declared amid laughter.

On the vexed question of primary teachers' salaries in the Transvaal, a special report was tabled. In this it was estimated that a teacher with a family of five required at least £17 a month to live decently. This is roughly double what he receives under the present scale.

From 1928, when the first Native Affairs Commission scales were introduced, only three increments of £3 each have been paid on that scale. When the revised scales were introduced in 1943, past services were hardly recognised and teachers who had served the Department for 20 years received only £6 a year more in basic salary than teachers who have just emerged from a Training College.

There were many more points in this report which were a damning indictment of the antiquated injustice of the African teacher's financial position.

And on the broad general issue of estimates of Native education, the Select Committee pointed out that the agreed provision of an annual increase of 10 per cent. over the previous year's expenditure was being largely spent on qualitative improvements such as relieving understaffing and payment of overdue increments instead of on the expansion of existing services.

ANSWER WAS "NO"

To the tentative inquiry of a Councillor whether the Government could not take over full control of Native education and dispense with the long-standing missionary predominance, Mr. D. L. Smit, Secretary of Native Affairs (who was in the chair) gave an unqualified negative.

Yet it is amply clear, even to the layman, that the present lack of money and the cumbersome, patched-up, half-hearted policy is only perpetuating, and indeed exaggerating, the tradition of inefficiency which the public has come to accept as characteristic of the Bantu. The only sensible approach is the scientific one which aims at converting the Native into a properly trained and useful member of our polyglot society.

MEMORANDUM OF PROTEST AGAINST GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF COCOA IN WEST AFRICA SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATION OF GOLD COAST AND NIGERIAN FARMERS TO HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE HENRY HALL, M.P., AT A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE HELD AT THE COLONIAL OFFICE, DOWNING STREET, LONDON, ON THE 27 TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1945.

42/90/179

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

Sir :

When your predecessor, the Right Honourable Colonel Oliver Stanley, visited the Gold Coast on his tour in West Africa in the autumn of 1943, the cocoa Farmers, through their own recognised Organisation known as the Farmers Committee of the Gold Coast, had an interview with him which continued for several hours. The Farmers at that time had the opportunity of discussing with Colonel Stanley in an intimate manner the various problems that confronted them in the operation of the cocoa industry, and especially the problems involved in the marketing of the crop before and during the war.

2. The Representatives of the Farmers pointed out to your predecessor the inadequacy of the existing institutions which the local Government had created and had charged with the responsibility of operating the entire economy of the country, particularly the West African Produce Control Board and the hardships that the Board had brought upon the cocoa industry. The Farmers then suggested that, as soon as the circumstances of the war would permit, they would send their own accredited Representatives to come to London to hold a Round Table Conference with the Secretary of State for the Colonies in order to discuss with him more fully the poverty, sufferings, and grievances of the producers of cocoa and other agricultural produce and present to him their own scheme for safeguarding the future of the cocoa industry and generally for the progressive economic development of the Gold Coast. A similar suggestion was put forward to your predecessor by the Farmers Committee of Nigeria.

3. Your predecessor was in sympathy with the suggestion from the Farmers, and gave assurance that he would be most happy to welcome the intended Delegation of Gold Coast and Nigerian Cocoa Farmers whenever they arrived in London and would be pleased to discuss their problems and schemes with them.

4. Now therefore, we, the undersigned, fully accredited Representatives of the Farmers Committees of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, duly appointed and charged with the responsibility of discussing with the Secretary of State for the Colonies the problems of cocoa marketing on behalf of the producers of cocoa in the two countries, respectively, do submit this Memorandum for your kind consideration and for the attention of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

42/90/180

Background of Unrest in the Cocoa Industry.

5. Since the beginning of European trade in West Africa, the object of the merchants has always been to attain a complete monopoly. With this purpose in mind, the merchants from time to time had made different kinds of trade agreements between themselves to control the prices of raw materials produced by the African Farmers and to fix the prices at which imported merchandise were to be sold to the African consumer.

6. These cartels and restrictive trade agreements had often met with great opposition from the African producers and consumers, since their operation would mean a serious danger to the entire economy of the respective countries, namely, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. However, the results of these organised oppositions by the Africans had not always been altogether successful, as the local Governments in West Africa were not courageous enough to intervene effectively in the frequent commercial disputes owing to the fact that the combines were too powerful for the Authorities to deal with.

7. In fact, for a long time the cocoa Farmers in the Gold Coast and Nigeria had maintained that the local Governments were either in the deal with the European firms or were too weak to keep a check on the growing arrogance and unbridled rapacity of the combines. But it was not until shortly before the close of the late Conservative Government that Colonel Oliver Stanley, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, admitted in a debate in the House of Commons that in the colonies sometimes the European firms had been allowed to grow so strong that on several occasions they had even threatened to challenge and overthrow the authority of the local Governments.[1]

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1. Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons Official Report (Hansard), Volume 407, No. 28, p.2100, Wednesday, 7th February, 1945.

42/90/181

8. In the autumn of 1937, all the large European firms trading in West African cocoa, with the exception of the English and Scottish Joint Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited, entered into what was called the Buying Agreement, which had as its main objective the fixing of prices of West African cocoa and the purchase of the entire crop by what was described in the agreement as the Division Scheme.[2] Under the agreement, the signatories aimed at doing away with competition and the prevention of newcomers from entering the market. The cocoa producers thought that the Buying Agreement, if allowed to operate, would play the entire West African produce into the hands of a powerful monopolistic organisation with no hope of any future recovery.

Recommendations of the Nowell Commission.

9. As a result of the Buying Agreement, all the cocoa producers of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, acting under the effective leadership of their own respective recognised Organisations, decided to withhold the sale of their produce to the European firms and to boycott all imported merchandise. This hold-up continued for about eight months, with disastrous effects on the revenues of the local Governments and also on the economies of the several countries involved. Eventually, a Royal Commission, with Mr. William Nowell as Chairman, was appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to inquire into the problems of marketing cocoa in West Africa and to submit their findings. After making careful and impartial investigations in West Africa and also in London, the Commission reported as follows :

> "We have reached the conclusion that the continuance of the Buying Agreements introduced in the Gold Coast and Nigeria in 1937 is undesirable".....and....."in all the circumstances it is our opinion that the Agreements should be finally withdrawn."[3]

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2. For terms of the Buying Agreements, refer to the Nowell Commission's Report (Cmd. No. 5845) of 1938, pp. 202-220.

3. Nowell Commission's Report (Cmd. No. 5845) of 1938, p. 151.

42/90/182

10. The Nowell Commission made several recommendations which in their opinion would go a considerable distance in solving most of the problems connected with the marketing of cocoa in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, and would in many respects improve the conditions of the producers. They recommended, among other things, that if the problems of cocoa marketing in West Africa are to be solved satisfactorily all future policy regarding the cocoa trade must be formulated on the following fundamental principles :[4]

(i) The strengthening of the economic position and morale of producers in relation to the buyers, both European and African.

(ii) The recognition of the legitimate interests of both the African community and the shipper.

(iii) The maintenance of free competition in the purchase of the cocoa crop.

11. In suggesting an effective organisation through which the principles stated above could be put into operation, the Commission observed as follows :

"After consulting many opinions and after prolonged thought, we see no other way of meeting these conditions than by.....the association of producers for the collective marketing of their produce, and for the representation of their joint interests."[5]

To be successful, any scheme of this kind must, according to the Report, include the following essential features :[6]

(i) The nature and functions of the organisation adopted should be acceptable to the agricultural community.

(ii) Producers should be associated throughout the cocoa areas in a system of local marketing groups.

(iii) Cocoa should be collected for joint sale at depots operated by such groups.

(iv) The cocoa so assembled should be offered in bulk lots freely and without discrimination to buyers already established and any newcomers to the trade.

(v) The possibility of direct export for sale should be provided.

(vi) Africans should be employed wherever possible.

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4. Nowell Commission's Report (Cmd.No.5845) of 1938, pp. 151-152.

5. Ibid, p.157.

6. Ibid, Pp. 157-158.

12. The Farmers Committees of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, respectively, agree with and accept the principles and spirit of the recommendations submitted by the Nowell Commission, but with reservations which the producers consider necessary.

13. Repeated demands made by the Farmers to the Governments of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, respectively, to assist the producers in putting into effect some of these recommendations, especially those having to do with group marketing and of sales to be conducted only from stores owned and operated by the producers themselves, have met with no favourable response whatsoever.

42/90/183

War-time Government Control of Cocoa.

14. At the outbreak of the war, the British Government, through the local Governments, announced their intention to purchase the entire cocoa crop of West Africa in order to assist the West African producers. On the surface, this action would appear to be a fine gesture on the part of the Imperial Government. However, close examination and subsequent events revealed that the British Government, in arriving at this decision, had in fact adopted the principles of the obnoxious Buying Agreement which the Nowell Commission had rejected in 1938. In the circumstances, the producers became more suspicious of the intentions and sincerity of the British Government than ever before.

15. It must be pointed out that, as far as 1938, the members of the Nowell Commission foresaw the likelihood of a Government monopoly in the future and remarked as follows :

> "A monopoly backed by statute and dominated by the Agreement firms, whose operations are already suspected as aiming at monopoly, would simply not be acceptable to African opinion. We believe that official participation would do more to weaken the prestige of the Colonial Governments than to allay the apprehensions of the Africans."[7]

16. Later events proved that the suspicions of the Farmers with regard to the Government control of cocoa were well founded. For, in a debate in the House of Commons, Mr.Harold MacMillan, then Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said :

> "We employ a different technique for different purposes. As an example, we have set up the West African Produce Control Board, to which I made some reference in answer to a question today. This has been developed out of the original Cocoa Control Board. It will arrange a steady and consistent buying and price policy for West Africa. It will deal not only with cocoa, but with oil seeds, groundnuts, and other commodities. It will fix the appropriate prices at which shippers, acting as its agents, shall buy from African producers and the prices to be paid by agreement with our main consumer, the Ministry of Food."[8]

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7. Nowell Commission's Report (Cmd.No.5845) of 1938, p. 155.

8. Reproduced from the magazine West Africa, of July 12, 1942.

42/GC/184

17. It is abundantly clear that, with the approval of the Imperial Government, the West African Produce Control Board was put in a privileged position where it is now exercising a virtual monopoly over all agricultural produce in British West Africa. This official monopoly, which was specifically denounced by the Nowell Commission, could be tolerated by the African producers to some extent only as a war measure - as both the Imperial and local Governments have repeatedly made the Farmers to understand. But the Imperial Government has now suggested the continuance of this war-time control scheme as a future policy in the post-war period. During the entire duration of the war, the Boardhad bought all the cocoa crop from the African producers at a low price and had sold it to the British public and to the United States at high profits.

18. For example, in 1941/42, the West African Produce Control Board bought cocoa from the Farmers at the rate of £14 18s. 8d. per ton and sold it in the United Kingdom at the rate of £45 perton; While in the United States the same cocoa was sold for £50 per ton. In addition to the low price paid to the producers, the local Governments further imposed a special war sur tax of 18/6 on them in respect of each ton of cocoa that was shipped out of the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The result of this situation is that today many of the Farmers have been completely impoverished and paralysed economically, and have therefore neglected their farms or have abandoned the cocoa industry altogether.

19. In contrast to the rigid monopolistic control of the entire produce of the African farmers, there had been no corresponding Government control of imported merchandise during the war period. The result was that the prices of imported goods went abnormally high. For example, in the Gold Coast the price of a piece of cotton print, which was sold before the war for 12/6, is now sold for 90/-. In Nigeria, a yard of khaki which was sold for 3/- in pre-war days is now sold for 16/-; cement, 2/- pre-war, is now 8/- per bag; iron sheets, 30/- pre-war, are now 100/- per bundle; a piece of brocade, 12/- pre-war, is now 50/-.

20. It must be emphasised that the Farmers, throughout their arduous and persistent struggles for economic freedom, have looked upon the attitude of the local Governments as being unfair, insincere, and partial. The Governments of the Gold Coast and Nigeria have persistently refused to give any sympathetic consideration to the legitimate demands of the producers - a state of affairs which, we earnestly remark, has considerably shaken whatever confidence the Farmers have in the local Governments in British West Africa.

21. These deplorable conditions have been tolerated by the African producers because of their desire to win the war. But now that the war is over, the Farmers do not consider the existence of the West African Produce Control Board as necessary any longer, and are in no way inclined to subject themselves to a continuance of the hardships and unfair treatment which the Board had imposed upon the Farmers while the war was still in progress.

42/90/185

22. The Africans view with steadied interest and a growing apprehension the action of the local Governments by which the entire merchant trade of West Africa has been placed exclusively in the charge of certain particular firms. Such an action is always a measure in restraint of legitimate trade, and the local Governments should be expected to discountenance instead of encouraging and sponsoring this evil practice. It is a breach of faith to continue to operate these various oppressive economic devices which were introduced under disguise as war measures, since the African producers acquiesced in them, but not without organised protests, only after the local Governments had given repeated assurances that the new measures would be removed as soon as hostilities had ceased.

The Future Policy of the Government.

23. In the White Paper on Cocoa Control in West Africa issued last year, the Imperial Government propose "the continuance in essence of the present system whereby all cocoa would be bought at uniform prices, fixed at any rate seasonally, and sold to the world markets by special organisations created for that purpose."[9] To achieve this purpose, it is proposed to set up organisations in the Gold Coast and Nigeria which are to be empowered by law to purchase the total output of cocoa and prescribe the prices to be paid to the producers.

(a) Centralised Marketing.

24. The Farmers accept in principle the system of centralised marketing suggested by the Nowell Commission. But the future policy of the Government as set forth in the White Paper would mean the continuance in operation of the present West African Produce Control Board, a statutory official organisation to whose existence the producers of West Africa have always raised objections.

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9. Report on Cocoa Control in West Africa, 1939-1943, and Statement of Future Policy, Cmd. No. 6554 of September 1944, p. 11, Section 34.

25. The British Government propose further "The policy of fostering and of developing the co-operative movement among West African producers,"[10] until the Co-operative Societies are efficient enough to be substituted for the present West African Produce Control Board.

26. The producers' own organisations in the Gold Coast and Nigeria object to this policy of the Government. The Co-operative Societies, as they exist in the Gold Coast and Nigeria at the present time, are in fact Government organisations, since the Governors or their deputies are, according to the laws of the respective countries, the presidents of the various Co-operative Societies. This is evidence of a flagrant abuse of the elementary principles of co-operation by the local Governments, and therefore the cocoa Farmers have lost all faith in the co-operative movement as it exists in British West Africa at the present time. The producers are in a position to assume responsibility for the collection and disposal of their own crop, and such operation is not the responsibility of the Government and should not be the monopoly of any other interests.

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27. Our objection to the Government attitude towards the Co-operative Societies is supported by the recommendations of the Nowell Commission, with which we have declared our agreement in principle. While the Report of the Commission lays a measure of emphasis on the Co-operative Movement as a possible useful approach to development and stable prosperity of the cocoa industry in the future, it also states and warns as follows : "That the Co-operative Societies should surrender their functions of cocoa marketing as the system of marketing through groups is developed."[11]

(b) Research.

28. The Imperial Government also intend to make available for research purposes a substantial part of the accumulated profits on the sales of cocoa during the control period, and the rest of the money is to be spent in financing the proposed Government monopoly Board of Control.

29. We earnestly point out that this money does not in any way belong to either the British Government or the local Governments of the Gold Coast and Nigeria. It belongs to the cocoa Farmers and they are the only people who have a right to the ultimate disposal of the outstanding credit. The cocoa industry in both countries is the result of the initiative and labour of the Africans themselves, and there is no evidence on record that the local Governments had ever assisted or subsidised the development of the cocoa industry in British West Africa.

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10. Report on Cocoa Control in West Africa (Cmd. No.6554) of 1944, p.11, Sec.38.

11. Nowell Commission's Report (Cmd. No.5845) of 1938, p. 169.

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30. Moreover, the carrying on of agricultural research is the primary responsibility of the Departments of Agriculture of the Gold Coast and Nigerian Governments. The funds for this scientific undertaking should either come from Imperial funds or provision should be made for such sums as are needed in the annual estimates of the local Governments. This has been the practice hitherto, and the research should not be undertaken at the expense of the cocoa producers, who are already impoverished and over-taxed, simply because they have realised some profit on their own labour under the strenuous circumstances of war-time economy.

31. In this connection, it is our firm conviction that the present Research Institutes in both the Gold Coast and Nigeria have not been able and cannot save the cocoa industry from deterioration. The only remedy is, and will be, a better price for the producer to enable him to keep pace with the rising cost of labour, otherwise more farms will be neglected which means further spread of the swollen shoot menace.

Proposals of the Farmers Committee.

32. In a preceding paragraph, we have declared our adherence to the principles laid down by the Nowell Commission, with certain adjustments which the producers consider necessary. The Farmers have always approached the local Governments with a view to urging them to implement these principles. However, the Governments had systematically refused to take any effective action that might be of help to the Farmers.

33. In a reply by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to a telegram transmitted to him by the Governor of the Gold Coast on behalf of the Farmers Committee on the 29th October, 1940, the British Government said : "Under war conditions, it is impossible to introduce a marketing scheme based on the Nowell Commission's recommendations without a serious dislocation of trade, and this question must await the conclusion of hostilities."[12]

34. Hostilities have now ceased in all theatres of war, and in the present circumstances, the Farmers Committees of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, on behalf of all the producers engaged in the cocoa industry, make the following demands :

I. That/

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12. Reproduced in a letter from the Colonial Secretary's Office, Accra, (Gold Coast), No. 0001/S.18/86, dated 3rd December, 1941.

42/90/188

I. That the recommendations of the Nowell Commission be implemented, since hostilities are now over, in order that the Imperial Government might make good the promise that has been made to the African producers.

II. That the price of 25/ per load of (60 lbs.) cocoa demanded by the Farmers at a meeting held at Nsawam on the 24th day of August, 1945, and further confirmed by the resolution of the meeting of the same Farmers held at Suhum, in the Gold Coast, on the 6th day of September, 1945, should be declared as the price of cocoa in both the Gold Coast and Nigeria for the ensuing crop season.

III. That the amount of £2,240,188 realised on the sale of Gold Coast cocoa, and the amount of £1,169,906 realised on the sale of Nigerian cocoa, by the West African Produce Control Board during the control period, and all accumulated profits that have accrued, or are to accrue, from the sales of cocoa since the 1939/43 control period, should be turned over to the Farmers' own existing organisations in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, respectively, in order that the Farmers may employ these funds as a starting capital for the establishment of agricultural banks in British West Africa.

IV. That the West African Produce Control Board should publish full statement of accounts covering its operations during the control period of 1939/43 and any other transactions that the Board has undertaken or is undertaking up to the present time; and that, in addition to cocoa, the statement of accounts to be published by the Board should cover all transactions in respect of palm oil, palm kernels, groundnuts, rubber and any other West African agricultural produce that has been handled or is being handled up to the present time by the Board.

V. That the operations of the West African Produce Control Board should cease immediately and that a new and fair system of centralised marketing, which takes into full consideration the legitimate claims of the producers, should be considered with the effective co-operation of the Farmers' own existing organisations.

VI. That the present systems of quota allocations and licensing be abolished and that the producers be given the opportunity and freedom to market their cocoa crop collectively through their own accredited agencies, in accordance with the principles and spirit of the recommendations made by the Nowell Commission.

VII.

42/90/189

VII. That the present war-time restrictions on export and import facilities be removed in order to allow the producers of agricultural produce in West Africa to purchase their needs and generally to trade with the United Kingdom and other countries through the producers' own accredited agencies.

VIII. That the establishment of an International Council on Cocoa should be considered, which shall adopt a comprehensive approach to all problems of cocoa as an important world commodity: and that Representatives of the producers in all the cocoa producing countries, as well as Representatives of the principal consuming countries and manufacturing interests, are to serve on the Council.

IX. That the primary responsibility of an International Council on Cocoa shall be as follows :

(a) To compile economic data which shall form the basis for the formulation of a stable price policy for cocoa and other agricultural produce, always paying due regard to the rising cost of living and labour in the cocoa producing countries.

(b) To formulate a price policy for cocoa as an important world commodity which shall apply generally to all cocoa producing countries.

(c) To allocate to the various consuming countries the percentage which each consuming country shall have out of the total stock of cocoa available in the world market.

X. That it shall not be the responsibility of an International Council on Cocoa to purchase or sell cocoa or any other commodity, but merely to formulate a general stable price policy along the lines suggested above.

XI. That fundamental changes be made in the Co-operative Ordinances of the Gold Coast and Nigeria in order to bring the Co-operative Societies into line with the real principles of co-operation, as is the practice in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. Such an action will go a long way to convince the African farmers of whatever sincere motives the Imperial and local Governments may have in mind by adopting the policy of fostering the development of co-operative societies among the producers in British West Africa.

XII.

XII. That the Imperial Government and the local Governments in West Africa should change their attitudes towards the existing Farmers' own organisations and should recognise the legitimate claims of the producers to consultation and effective participation in the formulation of any policy that affects the cocoa industry and all other West African agricultural produce generally.

42/9C/178

35. Implementation of these proposals is an urgent necessity if the cocoa industry is to be effectually and progressively developed and any degree of stability and prosperity attained in the future. The economic advantages that will follow as a result of these proposals are considerable. And the scheme that we have suggested is the only action that will restore confidence of the producers in the intentions of the Imperial Government and allay the growing apprehensions of all Africans generally.

36. This Delegation of Gold Coast and Nigerian Farmers are of opinion that there are enough men and women with goodwill in the present Imperial Government of Britain who might bring economic justice to bear on these pressing problems, and thus prevent the occurrence of a tragic economic upheaval the consequences of which unfortunately might affect the peaceful life of innocent people in all parts of the world and not only in West Africa and in Britain.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Yours most faithfully,

G. Ashie-Nikoi.

GERSHON ASHIE-NIKOI, Executive Secretary of the Farmers Committee of the Gold Coast, Leader of the Delegation.

W. J. Mould

WILLIAM JACOB KWESI MOULD, Member of the Executive Council of the Farmers Committee of the Gold Coast, Member of the Delegation.

F. O. B. Blaize

FUNSO OLADIPO BABATUNDE BLAIZE, Representative of the Farmers Committee of Nigeria, Barrister-at-Law, Member of the Delegation.

THE DELEGATION OF GOLD COAST AND NIGERIAN FARMERS.

Koi Obuadabang Larbi, Esq., M.A., B.C.L.,
Barrister-at-Law, Legal Adviser
to the Delegation.

Ako Adjei, M.Sc.,
Secretary to the Delegation.

London, 27th September, 1945.

XIX

The policy Kuomintang Nationalist Party of Sun Yat-Sen was inspired by Russia --1922 to 1927 and aimed to repudiate the uneaqual treatise of the impearial and capitalistic powers . 20-12

[1945?]

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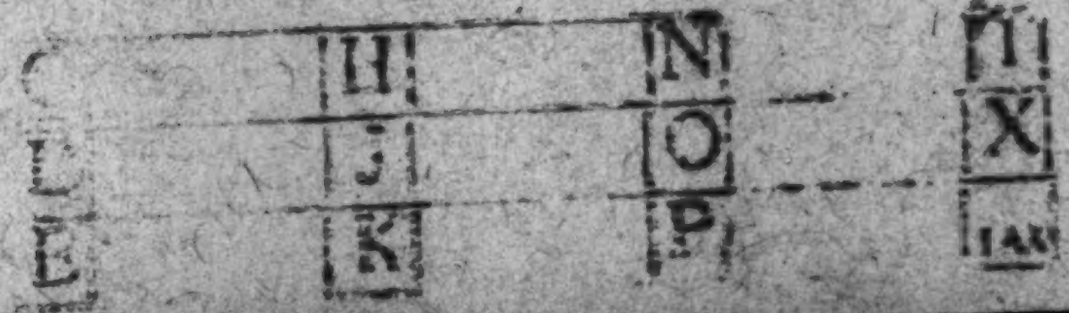

[1945?]

Paul Robeson
Council on African

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20-18

[1945?]

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Delivery charge 10.80
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[1945?]

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20-18

3825 7th Civil Right
Tom Wright Called -
Will call again at
2 P.M. about Dr. Du Bois's
Speech.

Testimony - Wants word to
Mr. George Marshall

Eldo 5-4532
Please call at 1 P.M.

Mr. Tom Wright called
again at 1:10

[1945?]

Cases for negot. in Cuts

[1945?]

Lectures — Jan. 3rd.

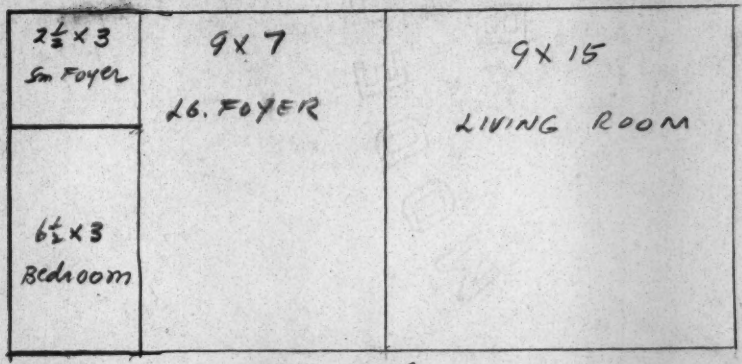
1945
1-45
1945

01-08

A Frank Lecture

20 - 18

[1945] ?



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[1945?]

Technical Committee 2 - Peaceful Settlement

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission III draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapter VIII, Section A, of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 3 - Enforcement Arrangements

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission III draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapter VIII, Section B, and Chapter XII, of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 4 - Regional Arrangements

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission III draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapter VIII, Section C, of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

20-21

COMMISSION IV - Judicial Organization

Functions: To consider and recommend Conference action upon draft proposals submitted to it by its Technical Committees and upon other matters relating to its field.

Technical Committee 1 - International Court of Justice

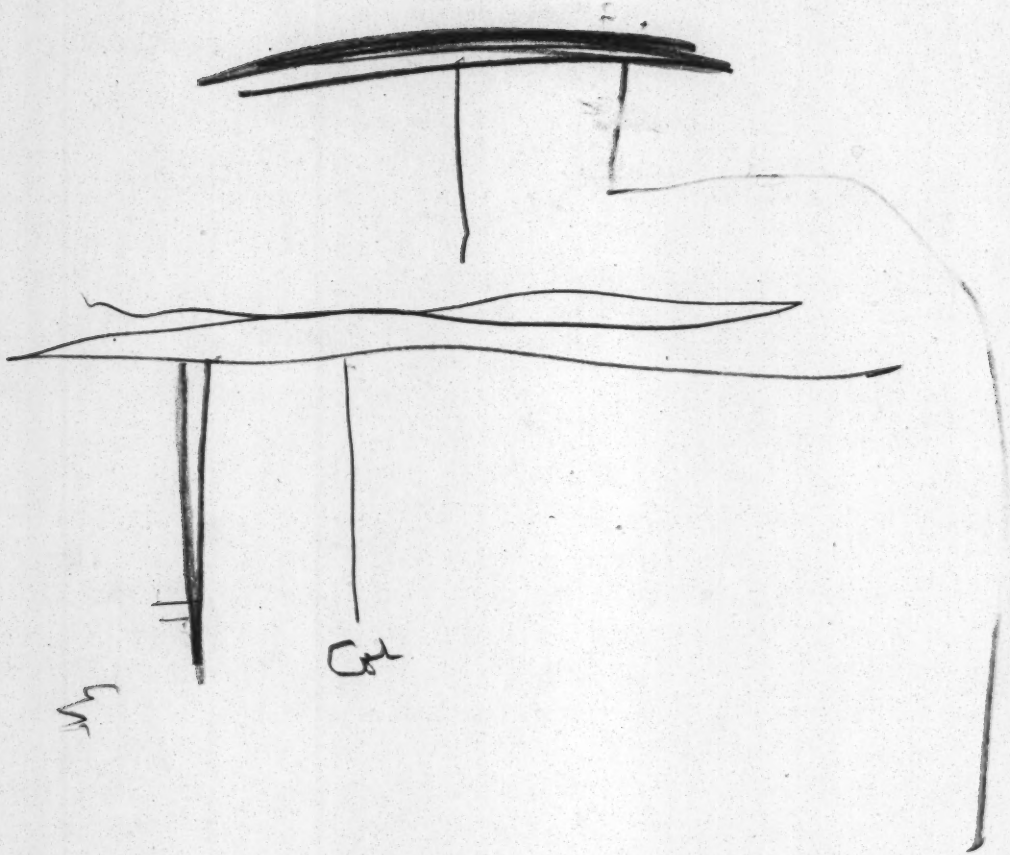
Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission IV draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapter VII, of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 2 - Legal Problems

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission IV draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in connection with the functioning of the United Nations Organization, such as registration of treaties, treaty obligations inconsistent with the Charter, the juridical status of the Organization, and privileges and immunities of officials of the Organization.

[1945?]

20-4-55



Cot

Arbour seats to user desire

[1945]

PROFIT IN COLONIES

Between World warII , British investment in Europe ~~xxxx~~ $9oo,000,000 yielded 3.55%

same sum in Far East, 7.55% (Foreign Policy reports, Feb. I, '44)

Netherlands received some years ago $I60,000,000 a year profits from Dutch Indies

(One-third Rubber, one third of tin, nine-tenths quinine)

French profits in Indo-China yielded ~~xxxxxx~~ I934-37, 7%

India pays Great Britain ~~xxxx xxxx~~ 6 7/8 % on commercial undertakings

and a total in profits and pensions of 92 millions a year (before War)
(ditto)

---

mines
Diamond of South Africa, I886-I934

investment $80,000,000 (on paper)
dividends $320,000,000

Copper in Northern Rhodesia, I937

copper exported $48,000,000

Paid, black labor, I7,000 persons		$976,000, ~~000~~
white labor, I,690	"	$3,200,000.
costs of operation, outside labor		$I9,000,000.
taxes		$2,800,000
Dividends and royalties to persons living outside Africa		$22,000,000

Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States invested in long-term foreign loans in the 20th century

I900, $I8568,000,000

I929, $3I,080,000,000

probably three-fourths of this went to colonial and quasi-colonial territorities

20-13

[1945]

THE FORTY-TWO ORGANIZATIONS

Industry 9 (including Rotary, etc.)

Education 5

Veterans 4

Farmers 4

Peace 3 (plus 2)

Labor 3

Foreign relations 3

Women 2 (plus 3)

Catholics 2

Protestants 2

Jews 2
Law 2
Negroes I

THE AMERICAN DELEGATION

20-13

Stettinius
Stassen
Gildersleeve
Connally
Blum
Eaton
Vanderburg
(Hull)

[1945]

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[1945]

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Grand United Order of Odd Fellows
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National Baptist Convention
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[1945] 151

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Conference of Presidents of Land
Grant Colleges
~~Dr. F. D. Patterson, Pres.~~
Mr. R. B. Atwood, ~~Sec.~~
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

March on Washington Movement
Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Chairman
2090 Seventh Avenue
New York City

20-21

National Medical Association
Dr. E. I. Robinson, Pres.
1108 Church Street
Norfolk, Virginia

National Society of Medical Technologists
Miss Mary A. Pope, Sec.
Provident Hospital
Chicago, Illinois

National Association of Ministers' Wives
Mrs. S. M. Thompson, Sec.
Richmon, Virginia

American Negro Music Festival, Inc.
Mr. Arthur W. Sewell
3456 S. State Street
Chicago, Illinois

Association of Music Teachers in
Negro Schools
Mrs. Alice W. Wright
Route 1, Box 616
Clarksdale, Mississippi

National Association of Negro Musicians
Mr. J. Wesley Jones, Pres.
4100 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

National Negro Congress
Miss Thelma Dale, Admin. Sec.
307 Lenox Avenue
New York City

National Negro Council
Mr. Edgar G. Brown, Pres.
1717 Euclid Street
Washington, D. C.

National Association of Negroes
in American History
Bishop David H. Sims, chairman
716 South 19th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Association for the Study of
Negro Life and History
Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Dir.
1538 Ninth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Division of Negro Research and
Planning
Mr. Joseph V. Baker
610 South Office Building
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

New Farmers of America
Dr. W. T. Spanton
U.S. Office of Education
Interior Building
Washington, D. C.

Negro Newspaper Publishers'
Association
Mr. John H. Sengstacke, Pres.
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Howard H. Murphy

National Congress of Parents
and Teachers
Mrs. A. M. P. Strong, Pres.
Box 503
Mariana, Arkansas

National Alliance of Postal
Employees
Mr. Lafayette L. Ford, Pres.
1944 Ninth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Pullman Porters and Maids Protect-
ive Association
Mr. J. R. Reese
543 E. 14th Street
Chicago, Illinois

International Association of Railway Employees
Mr. H. R. Barnett, Pres.
11 N. Jefferson Ave.
St. Louis, Missouri

Association of Colored Railway, Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen
Mr. S. H. Clarke, Pres.
408 Gainsboro Avenue, N. W.
Roanoke, Virginia

National Recreational Association, Bureau of Colored Work
Mr. Ernest T. Atwell, Pres.
315 Fourth Avenue
New York City

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York City
Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, Pres.

Association of Social Science Teachers in Negro Schools
Dr. W. Sherman Savage, Pres.
Miner Teachers College,
Washington, D. C.

Southern Negro Youth Congress
526 Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham, Alabama
Miss Esther Cooper, Sec.

National Association of Tailors, Designers, Dressmakers and Dry Cleaners
Mr. M. K. Tyson, Sec.
Box 168
Burlington, North Carolina

American Teachers' Association
Dr. H. Council Trenholm, Pres.
Box 371 State Teachers College
Montgomery, Alabama

Association of Teachers of English in Negro Colleges
Mrs. Maria W. Miller
1406 Marion Street
Florence, South Carolina

Association of Teachers of Languages in Negroe Colleges
Mr. Russell Brooks, Sec.
A. and T. College
Greensboro, N. C.

National Technical Association
Mr. Darnley C. Howard, Pres.
West Virginia State College Institute, West Virginia

True People of America
Mr. V. E. Barrett
413 E. 19th Street
Fort Worth, Texas

United Government Employees
Mr. Edgar G. Brown, Pres.
1717 Euclid Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

National Urban League
Mr. Lester B. Granger, Exec. Sec.
1133 Broadway
New York City

United Transport Service Employees of America (Red Caps)
Mr. Willard S. Townsend, Pres.
3451 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

National United Ushers Association of America
Mr. R. E. Evans,
1208 Kenyon Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Universal Negro Improvement Association
Miss Theresa E. Young
2200 E. 40th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

National Association of Colored Women
Mrs. A. E. Johnson, Pres.
3646 Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

National Council of Negro Women
Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Pres.
1812 Ninth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

National Laymen's Conference of Young Men's Christian Association
Dr. William H. Valentine, Jr.
Bordentown Manual Training School
Bordentown, New Jersey

Grand Temple of Daughter Elks
Mrs. Elizabeth Gordon
Norfolk, Virginia

Imperial Court of Daughters of Isis
Mrs. Sadie E. Barnes
405 Seventh Avenue
Newark, N. J.

Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World
Mr. J. Finley Wilson
800 N. 12th Street
Birmingham, Alabama

Order of Eastern Star
Mrs. C. N. Pitts
1221 Hunter Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

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Mr. John H. Dale, Jr.
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Washington, D. C.

Grand Household of Ruth
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Covington, Kentucky

Imperial Order of King David
Miss Mary M. Scott
1411 W. Leigh Street
Richmond, Virginia

Grand United Order of Odd Fellows
Mr. Ernest D. Cooke
Corner 12th and Spruce Streets
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Knights of Peter Claver
Mr. Archie W. Arnand
2405 London Avenue
New Orleans, La.

Supreme Lodge of Knights of Pythias
Mr. Oscar W. Adams
Detroit, Mich.

Grand Encampment of Knights Templars
Mr. Edward DeLon Allen
355 Owen Street
Detroit, Mich.

Ancient Egyptian, Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine
Mr. Raymond E. Jackson
469 West 152nd Street
New York City

Grand United Order of Moses
Mr. John Sewell
1521 T Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Benevolent Protective Order of Reindeer
Mr. Beresford T. Callender
106 Macon Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Independent Order of St. Luke
Mrs. Mattie N. F. Walker
902-4 St. James Street
Richmond, Virginia

Grand United Order of Tents
Mrs. J. B. Goldsboro
116 Engle Street
Chester, Pa.

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS

African Orthodox Church
Archbishop William E. Robertson
122 West 129th Street
New York City

Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God
Bishop W. T. Phillips
1070 Congress Street
Mobile, Ala.

National Baptist Convention of America &
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.
Rev. D. V. Jemison
1605 Lapsley Street
Selma, Ala.

National Baptist Convention of America
Rev. G. L. Prince
2610 Ave. L.
Galveston, Texas

National Baptist Evangelical Life and Soul-Saving Assembly of the U.S.A.
621 N. Rennie Street
Ada, Oklahoma

Christ's Sanctified Holy Church
Mrs. Julia Stewart
Beaumont, Texas

Church of Christ, Holiness
Rev. C. P. Jones
Los Angeles,
Calif.

Church of God and Saints of Christ
Bishop H. Z. Plummer
P.O. Box 187
Portsmouth, Virginia

Holiness Church of God
Bishop K. H. Burrus
170 N. Ashby Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Church of the Living God
Mr. John W. Christian
50 Woodlawn Street
Memphis, Stree
Tenn.

Church of the Living God, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth
Bishop A. H. White
3928 Aspen Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Fire Baptized Holiness Church of God of the Americas
Bishop W. E. Fuller
556 Houston Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Free Christian Zion Church of Christ
Rev. W. M. Benson
Nashville, Ark.

House of God, Holy Church of the Living God, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth, House of Prayer of all people.

House of the Lord
Bishop W. H. Johnson
1015 Illinois Street
Detroit, Mich.

Kodesh Church of Immanues
Rev. F. R. Killinsgworth
1509 S. Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Negro Mission of Synodical Conf.
Rev. Theo. F. Walther
6402 Easton Avenue
St. Louis, Mo.

African Methodist Episcopal Church
Bishop J. S. Flipper
488 Houston Street
Atlanta, Georgia

J. A. Gregg
1150 Washington Blvd.
Kansas City, Kansas

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
Mr. S. M. Dudley
1830-16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

African Union First Colored Methodist Protestant Church
Rev. J. W. Brown
702 Poplar Street
Wilmington, Del.

Colored Methodist Episcopal Church
Mr. W. A. Bell
14½ Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Independent African Methodist Episcopal Denomination
Dr. J. P. Green
77-D Concord Street
Charleston, S. C.

Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal Church
Bishop J. R. Privlane
45 Kenney Street
Charleston, S. C.

Reformed Zion Union Apostolic Church
Rev. G. W. Taylor
South Hill, Virginia

Union American Methodist Episcopal Church
Mr. B. M. Fernanders
58 Dixwell Avenue
New Haven, Conn.

Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America
Mr. E. F. McCarthy
222 S. Clemens Avenue
Lansing, Mich.

National David Spiritual Temple of
Christ Church Union Inc.
Bishop David W. Short
334 W. Cherry St.
Milwaukee, Wis.

Triumph the Church and Kingdom of
God in Christ
Bishop C. C. Coleman
803 Elmer Street
Biloxi, Miss.

United Holy Church of America, Inc.
Bishop H. L. Fisher
305 West 140th Street
New York City

Colored Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church
C/o Bishop Alexander P. Shaw
1206 Etting Street
Baltimore, Maryland

30-21

[1945?]

Greek Lett r Societies

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
Mrs. Beulah T. Whitby
435 E. 48th Street
Chicago, Illinois

Alpha Kappa Mu Honor Society
Mrs. Clarice Isaacs
Box 43
Tuskegee Institute,
Alabama

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Dr. Rayford ". Logan
~~101 U Street, N. W.~~ 1519 Jackson Street NE
Washington, D. C.

Chi Delta Mu Fraternity
Dr. Philip Johnson
301 T street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Miss Elsie Austin
143 W Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Iota Phi Lambda Sorority
Mrs. Lola M. Parker
10817 Greenlawn Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity
Mr. Carl R. Johnson
180 W. Washington Street
Chicago, Illinois

Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority
Mrs. Amelia G. Smith
167-04 111th Avenue
Jamaica, New York

Omega Psi Phi Fraternity
Mr. Z. Alexander Looby
1308 Broadway
Detroit, Michigan

Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity
Dr. R. A. Billings
167 W. 145th Street
New York City

Phi Delta Kappa Sorority
Mrs. Gertrude Robinson
1264 Hamlin Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Zeta Phi Beta Sorority
Mrs. Blanche J. Thompson
417 W. 145th Street
New York City

ATHLETIC ASSOCIATIONS

Negro American League
Dr. J. B. Martin
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

American Tennis Association
Dr. Ivison D. Hoage
1206 W. Dauphin Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Eastern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference
Mr. Leonard H. Robinson
State Teachers College
Fayetteville, N. C.

Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association
Mr. J. L. Whitehead
Box 455, Lawrenceville, Virginia

Midwestern Athletic Association
Mr. W. A. Hamilton
Lincoln University
Jefferson City, Missouri

Negro National League
Mr. Thomas T. Wilson
Baltimore, Maryland

Southeastern Athletic Conference
Mr. J. H. Gadson, Jr.
Georgia State Industrial College
Industrial College, Georgia

United Golfers Association
Mr. A. DeV. Crosby
265 N. 22nd Street
Columbus, Ohio

FRATERNAL ORDERS

Afro-American Sons and Daughters
Mr. T. J. Huddleston
511 Calhoun Avenue
Yazoo City, Mississippi

Supreme Camp of American Woodmen
Mr. B. H. Graham
Box 987
Denver, Colorado

American Negroes Should Not Lose Ties With Africa

(Reprinted by Permission of National Guardian

39-9-7

One of the curious results of fear and hysteria is the breaking of ties between African and American Negroes. When we think of the help which Irish Americans have given Ireland; and how Scandinavia, Italy, Germany, Poland and China have been aided by their emigrants in the U. S., it is tragic that American Negroes today are not only doing little to help Africa in its hour of supreme need, but have no way of really knowing what is happening in Africa.

When the Cotton Kingdom of the 19th century built on black slavery led to a campaign in church and society to discount Africa, its culture and history, American Negroes shrank from any ties with Africa and accepted in part the color line. By the 20th century, however, knowledge of Africa and its history spread in Negro schools and literature. Negro churches helped Africa. African students appeared here and movements looking toward closer ties with Africa spread. From the First World War to 1945, the Pan-African movement held international conferences to unite the Negro race in mutual aid, information and planning.

A council on African Affairs was formed in 1939 under the leadership of Paul Robeson, returning from his first visit to

(Continued on Page 3)

NAACP To Send Consultant To San Francisco

20-15

WASHINGTON.—The NAACP, along with 41 other national organizations, was invited this week by Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius to name a consultant to the American delegation to the San Francisco Conference.

Earlier, the NAACP had announced that Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, director of research for the NAACP, and Chicago Defender columnist, would be an observer at the conference.

Among the other organizations invited to serve as consultants and which are likely to have a formulated viewpoint on dependent territories and human rights are these: the CIO, American Jewish conference, American Jewish Committee, American Veterans' Committee, Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America, American Association for the United Nations (Commission to Study the Organization of Peace), Council of Foreign Relations, and Foreign Policy Association.

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

HAMPSTEAD 1-PM 27 FEB 1946 N.W.3.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,

20 West 40th Street,

NEW YORK CITY.

U.S.A.

First fold here

Second fold here

To open cut here

Sender's name and address:-

Peter Abrahams,
98 King Henry's Road,
London. N.W.3.
England.

To open cut here

98 King Henry's Road,
London. N.W.3.
27th February, 1946.

My Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I am afraid this letter is very long overdue, but I have been in bed for th best part of two months and after that I had to put the finishing touches to a novel my publishers want to issue in June, so I hope I am forgiven. Don't waste sympathy for my illness, I saw it coming and did not take the proper care; but its a lesson I shall not forget soon.

I saw George the other day. He told me that Mrs. Du Bois had been ill. I trust she is completely recovered now; and I hope you are keeping in good health as well. I am afraid I cannot tell you much about the Pan-African business as I am just beginning to pick up the threads again. The French have done something about it and I shall get a copy of a paper in which they deal with the Congress and send it over to you in a day or two.

22-9-19

Dorothy, who is in fine fettle, asks me to send her love (you have made a complete conquest there!) and asks to remind you to try and find a second-hand copy of 'Dark Princess' for her. She's prepared to send any book you like in exchange.

Are any of your publishing friends biting on 'Song of the City'? The Czechs and Norwegians are interested in translating it.

Keep well.

Yours sincerely

Peter Abrahams

July 15, 1946

Mr. Peter Abrahams
98 King Henry's Road,
London N.W.3.

22-9-20

My dear Mr. Abrahams:

There is absolutely no excuse for anyone neglecting good friends as I have you and Mrs. Abrahams. But I have been busy and worried since returning. Mrs. Du Bois had a bad fall last fall, and had no sooner partially recovered from that then she had a slight cerebral hemorrhage which has left her left side partially paralyzed.

She has been in the hospital for eight months, but as last, in June returned to our home in Baltimore where she is resting comfortably and recovering slowly. This came at just the time when we were to celebrate our Golden Wedding. Naturally it put rather a damper upon the celebration; nevertheless it went through and we had very pleasant messages from our friends including you.

In addition to that, as usual, I have been writing a book and have just got it in the publishers hands. We have had hectic times here in the United States and are far from being out of the woods. Our food situation is not as bad as that in England, but it's bad enough. And the thing that hurts is that it is much worse than it needs to be.

I have not had opportunity to bring your book before any publishers, I am ashamed to say. But when your new one comes out send me a copy and I will put both before the Viking Press and Harcourt Brace. Just now publication here while not impossible is difficult in various ways. The matter may clear up in a few months.

Give my regards to your wife and assure her that admiration is mutual! If I can find a copy of Dark Princess, I shall certainly send it to her. With best regards and cordial remembrances,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

Your Wedding
Anniversary

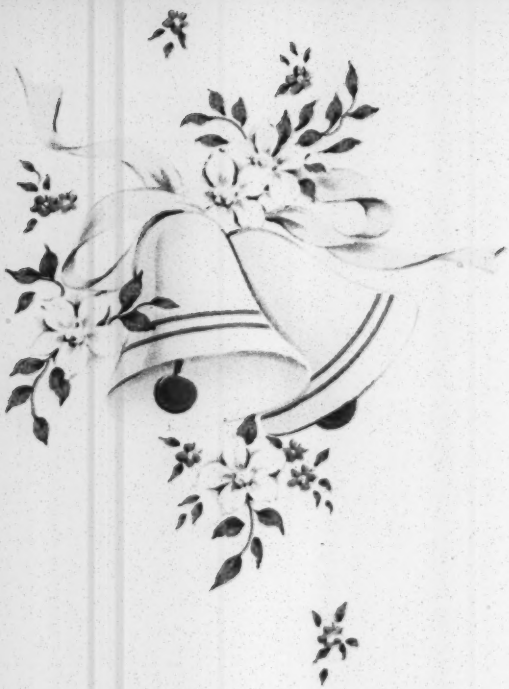
May your anniversary hold for you
Much happiness and pleasure
And many lovely memories
To think about and treasure—
May the future bring good fortune
In all the things you do
And may each year that is ahead
Hold happiness for you

(Miss) Mayme L. Abrams

25AN23
© NORCROSS
NEW YORK U. S. A.

On Your

GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY



Mrs. M. W. Adams
Spelman College
Atlanta Ga.

You've built a life together
Of laughter and of tears.
You've shared love's sweet companionship
For fifty golden years.
And every wish that's sent you
On your Golden Wedding Day
Is for memories to linger
And for happiness to stay.

Cara N. Adams

From

Mrs. Myron W. Adams

Spelman College.

Atlanta. Ga

STANLEY
USA
DAYTON
25W 2658

Joseph Adei,
C/o P.O. Box 214,
Sekondi,
W.A
30-7-46.

Dear sir,

I have heard so much about your good action in this country. Perharps you may ~~was~~ wonder how I got your address, but that is not difficult atll, you know your self that when a person became a famous as you are, his action is always publish in papers as well as in books. I am a school boy, my class is standard V, and my age is 14. I found your address in an empire at war during the war period, I felt so happy that I could not know what to do, at last, what to do is to write to you inorder that you may know how African school children were proud of this country. Reply is wanted. I am your

affectionate boy's

Adei Joseph Adei

To

THE FOUNDER OF PAN AFRICANISM.

DR. DU BOIS,

THE HEAD OF AMERICAN NEGRO, ASSOCIATION,

AMERICA.

42-8-F-31

Postage Due 14 Cents
Foreign Sect. G.P.O.N.Y.

[African Academy of Arts and Research]

SO THIS IS AFRICA

Roosevelt Memorial
Building

American Museum of Natural History

Central Park West 79th St.

-on-

SATURDAY, 3:00 to 4:45 P.M. January 19, 1946

21-27-81

P R O G R A M

Liberian National Anthem

INTRODUCTIONS . . . . . Dr. Akiki Nyabongo
(Chairman)

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois . . . . . The Government of Africa.

Egyptian National Anthem

Mbonu Ojike . . . . . The Government of Africa

Discussion Period

Ethiopian National Anthem

. . . . . .

TOUR - Ethnological Hall - Miss Ella Hill.

-- & Research
521

African Academy of Arts and Research

55 WEST 42ND STREET

SUITE 521 CHICKERING 4-2539

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

January 25, 1946

21-19-105

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr.DuBois:

On behalf of the officers and members of the African Academy of Arts and Research, I wish to thank you for the splendid manner in which you presented your talk on the Government of Africa, on January 19th, at the American Museum of Natural History.

We look forward to the time when the African Academy will be in a position to contribute in a more tangible way to men such as you, so that more could be accomplished for Africa through a margin of efforts among individuals and organizations working in the interest of Africa.

The check for your lecture fee will be forwarded as soon as possible.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Akiki Nyabongo,
Chairman of the Lectures.

AN/eh

12-13-32

Church of the Master

PRESBYTERIAN

86 MORNINGSIDE AVENUE

NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

REV. JAMES H. ROBINSON
MINISTER

TELEPHONE
UNIVERSITY 4-7363

February 4, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You are invited to be my guest at an informal luncheon on Friday, February 8 at the Stockholm restaurant, 27 West 51 Street, New York City.

During the past several weeks, the African Academy of Arts and Research has been in the process of reorganizing its program under my direction, and I would like to present its new program to you and a few of the leaders interested in Africa and its relation to America and the world. I am also concerned about the way in which the Academy can be related to other existing organizations.

The luncheon conference will begin promptly at 12:30 p.m. and close promptly at 2 p.m., for I realize that you are very busy and I want to make it as convenient as possible for you to come because I greatly value your opinion.

I would appreciate very much if you would let me know whether you will be able to attend. Would you kindly telephone your reply to my home? Edgecombe 4-8152.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. James H. Robinson

Rev. James H. Robinson
Chairman Board of Directors of the
AFRICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND RESEARCH

JHR:g

4 February 1946

20-10-1

My dear Mr. Ojike:

I should be glad if you would remit my lecture fee of fifty dollars for the lecture at the American Museum of Natural History on January nineteenth. May I refer to my letters of August twenty-third and Mr. Mbadiwe's reply of September seventeenth?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Mbonu Ojike
African Academy of Arts and Research
55 West 42nd Street
New York 18

[African Acad. of Arts + Research]

21-13-33

5 February 1946

My dear Dr. Robinson:

I sympathize with the objects of the African Academy as I have seen them stated; but I am not disposed to cooperate with the Academy until it pays its bills. It has owed me fifty dollars for a lecture since January nineteenth and I have been unable to get a remittance.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend James H. Robinson
Church of the Master
86 Morningside Avenue
New York 27

African Academy of Arts and Research

55 WEST 42ND STREET
SUITE 521 CHICKERING 4-2539
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Lectures

February 20, 1946

21-19-107

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Educational Director
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Again, we wish to thank you for the wonderful lecture at the Museum of Natural History on "THE GOVERNMENT" January 19th.

I hope by now that you received the check of $50 that we sent you about two weeks ago.

I would appreciate very much if you will be good enough to send me a copy of your lecture as they are kept on our lecture files.

Thanking you again.

Yours sincerely,

Akiki Nyabongo

Akiki Nyabongo,
Chairman of the Lectures.

AKN/eh

21-26-84

26 September 1946

My dear Mr. Nyabonga:

After careful consideration we decided not to use photographs of persons in my book, as we could not get a sufficient number and variety and the cost too would have been pretty high. Instead of that we are reproducing three or four maps and plans. I thank you very much for your cooperation and am sorry that we could not use the interesting pictures which you sent us.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Nyabonga
African Academy of Arts and Research
55 West 42nd Street
New York City

African Academy of Arts and Research

55 WEST 42ND STREET

SUITE 521 CHICKERING 4-2539

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

October 9, 1946

22-9-71

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Color and Democracy
Colonies and Peace
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am returning herewith, a copy of the memorandum, which the Pan African Congress is to present to the Assembly of the United Nations.

I have signed same, on behalf of the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon, as requested by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, its Acting-President.

Meanwhile, I will appreciate if you will send an additional copy to Rev. James H. Robinson, Chairman, Board of Directors of the African Academy of Arts and Research. 86 Morningside Avenue, New York City.

I have forwarded your letter to Rev. Robinson and further requested that he sign the memorandum on behalf of the African Academy of Arts and Research, when it reached his office.

Yours truly,

K. Ozuomba Mbadiwe

K. Ozuomba Mbadiwe,
President.

N. B. I am leaving the city in the morning and will not have time to see Rev. Robinson. However, he will act upon it promptly, I am sure.

African Academy of Arts and Research

55 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
SUITE 521 CHICKERING 4-2539

November, 1946

Dear Member and Friend:

We are happy to invite you to the next big event of the African Academy of Arts and Research, a dinner to be held at the **Hotel Capitol,** 51st Street and Eighth Avenue, on Friday, November 22, 1946, at 7:30 P.M.

The dinner is intended to close the 1946-47 campaign drive of the Academy, and as a farewell to K. Ozuomba Mbadiwe, founder and president of the African Academy, who will depart shortly for Nigeria, West Africa, after having spent seven years in America; three years of which was devoted to the work of the Academy.

His Excellency, Ras H. S. Imru, Ethiopian Ambassador to the United States will receive the Willkie Memorial Award for and on behalf of His Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie, who is the recipient of this year's award. The speakers will include:

DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN
Founder, president Palmer Memorial Institute.

DR. A. B. ZUMA,
Leader of 8 million South Africans, recently arrived to present case of his people before the U. N. Assembly

PROFESSOR JAMES P. GIFFORD
Associate Dean of the Faculty of Law, Columbia University.

BISHOP JACOB W. WALLS,
Bishop A. M. E. Zion Church.

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS
Author, scholar, founder Pan African Congress.

DR. BALINTUMA KALIBALA,
Author, scholar, Member U. N. Area Specialist.

MRS. VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT
Chairman Indian Delegation, will be one of Keynote Speakers.

Delegates to the United Nations General Assembly representing Liberia, Haiti, Egypt, India and Russia will be guests of honor and will bring greetings from their country.

Music will be supplied by: "BIG STILES and HIS ORCHESTRA." Noted artists will participate.

You cannot afford to miss this rich program. Because of the limited accomodations for only 500 persons, the members and friends of the Academy are given the first opportunity to make reservations in advance. The cost of the dinner is $6.50 per person.

Dress is optional. Dancing will take place after the dinner for those interested.

Roger N. Baldwin, will serve as Master of Ceremonies for the occasion. We invite you again to join with us in this significant affair.

Yours cordially,

Rev. James H. Robinson
Chairman, Board of Directors

Hon. Maurice P. Davidson
Chairman, Dinner Committee

Dr. A. George Daly,
Treasurer, African Academy

Mrs. James S. Watson,
Co-chairman, Dinner Committee

R. S. V. P.
Enc. Return card and envelope to facilitate your reservation.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Keep lecture

21-26-41

4 November 1946

My dear Mr. Mbadiwe:

Answering your letter of October 30th may I say that I would be glad to speak at the dinner, Friday, November 22. Let me hear from you further.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. K. Ozumba Mbadiwe
African Academy of Arts and Research
55 West 42nd Street
New York 18, N. Y.

[NOV. 22, 1946]

The African Academy of Arts and Research

cordially invites you to attend a

DINNER

FOR THE OCCASION OF PRESENTING THE

WILLKIE MEMORIAL AWARD

TO

His Majesty

Emperor Haile Selassie

and

HONORING

MR. K. OZUOMBA MBADIWE

Founder - President of

THE AFRICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND RESEARCH

Prior To His Return To Nigeria

OAK ROOM, HOTEL CAPITOL

Eighth Avenue and 51st Street, New York City

Friday evening, November 22nd *7:00 p. m.*

$6.50 per person Dress Optional

Dancing Following Dinner

Music by Big Styles and His Orchestra

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. . . "To foster understanding between Africa and America, by striving to erase popular misconceptions about Africa, through the widespread, objective dissemination of accurate information on the economic, cultural and social life of that country, and to provide a center for African students."

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—FOREWORD, African Academy of Arts and Research

●

. . . "We are not living in several worlds. It is One World—Or None. We must encourage men's aspirations for freedom in the world."

—Wendell Willkie

●

. . . "Every bridge we build is an added link in the peace of the world."

—Eleanor Roosevelt

●

. . . "My congratulations to all members and friends of the African Academy of Arts and Research for their constructive efforts in promoting understanding between the people of the United States and the people of Africa."

—Henry A. Wallace,
Former Secretary of Commerce

●

. . . "To us of the United Nations, who are greatly interested in the cultural progress of all peoples, your achievement is most encouraging indeed."

—Mr. B. Cohen,
Assistant Secretary General,
United Nations Organization

●

. . "It is a pleasure both personallv and as governor to wish you the fine success you so richly deserve in this notable work."

—Thomas E. Dewey,
Governor of the State of New York

-:- *Programme* -:-

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Toastmaster

HIS EXCELLENCY, RAS H. S. IMRU

Ethiopian Ambassador to the United States, Washington, D. C.

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Mrs. Vijaya Laskhmi Pandit

Chairman, Indian Delegation, United Nations Assembly

Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown

Founder - President, Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

Director, Department of Special Research National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples

Prof. James P. Gifford

Associate Dean of the Faculty of Law, Columbia University

Bishop W. J. Walls

Chicago, Illinois

United Nations Organization Representatives

from

Ethiopia -:- Liberia -:- Egypt -:- Haiti

DUE TO SHORTNESS OF TIME, PLEASE RESERVE IMMEDIATELY
CALL: CH. 4-2539

AFRICA LOOKS AHEAD • *SUPPORT AFRICA HOUSE*

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Dr. Alfred B. Xuma,
President General,
African National Congress,
Johannesburg, S. A.

African Academy of Arts and Research

55 WEST 42ND STREET

SUITE 521 CHICKERING 4-2539

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

November 30, 1946

21-27-41

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I wish to thank you for your participation in the One World Dinner of the African Academy held at the Hotel Capitol, on November 22nd.

I am sure you will overlook several aspects of shortcomings in the dinner, because we have to work at terrific handicaps and could not do all of the things we would have wished to do.

We are very grateful for the copy of your speech, which we will in turn release to the West Indian and African newspapers.

I want to assure you that your presence lent weight and dignity to the dinner.

Yours truly,

K. Ozuomba Mbadiwe

K. Ozuomba Mbadiwe,
President.

1909
1897
12
1905

Lecture

3 December 1946

My dear Mr. Mbadiwe:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 30. I am enclosing the text of the speech which I prepared for the dinner.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-27-5

Mr. K. Ozumba Mbadie
African Academy of Arts and Research
55 West 42nd Street
New York 18, N. Y.

The African Development Association.

Founded 28th March, 1924.

OBJECTS :

To maintain Charity Home for the indigent of all races in the Colony, and have erected an Auditorium to develop talent that lies dormant and School for Adults and Juveniles.

Cable Address:
"Middleview," Demerara.

Registered 25th Nov., 1925
Office:
92 Middle Street,
Georgetown, Demerara.
Founder:
F. C. ARCHER,
Elected Sec.-Treasurer.
Banker:
Royal Bank of Canada.

17th October 1946.

Mr W.E.B.Dubois. President of the Pan African Congress.

Sir,

Your letter and proposed petition were received. Thanks very much for remembering us.

I must first let you know that we are now known as The African Development Association. As Africans domiciled in these parts strongly object to be called Negroes . We have read and heard much of the last conference held in England and we are proud of the Pan African Congress and the International work it is doing. The time is quite ripe that Africa be for the African at home and abroad. God never intended that any one nation should boss the whole world. It is now looking like an insult to Intelegence that we should be begging and begging to have our birthright given to us. Anyhow they have their big guns, so we must do the begging. God has promised to take the mighty from their seats and prophesy is being fulfilled.

We cannot add anything to the petition. The African Development Association beg to be associated with the Pan African Congress and to endorse the petition.

Hoping for entire success in the near future.

Yours faithfully,

F. C. Archer.

42-8F-56

LAF: AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

21-21-33

SESQUICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION—1945-46

Second Episcopal District, A. M. E. Zion Church

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Telephone: Kenwood 9094
Chicago, Illinois

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Executive Committee:
Federal Council of Churches

October 26, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New Y ork

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your letter of October 11th which was awaiting my return from a hurried visit East, hence I did not have my mail forwarded.

I quite agree with all that you say and with the contents of the document you propose to submit, with inter-organizational backing, to the United Nations.

I am appointing Rev. Dr. B. C. Robeson, pastor of Mother Zion Church, to represent our Church and the New York Conference on the committee, as requested in your letter. You will kindly confer with him on the same.

God bless you, Sir, and the laudable and much-needed undertaking. With high personal esteem, I am

Yours very friendly,

W. J. Walls

WJW:mg

EST. 1892..CARRYING "GOOD NEWS" FOR 50 YEARS

THE afro AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

EXECUTIVE OFFICES: 628 N. EUTAW STREET, BALTIMORE, 3, MD.

December 16, 1946

21-15-27

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Research Specialist
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

What are your predictions for 1947? Will the new Republican-dominated Congress enact such needed legislation as FEPC, anti-poll tax and antilynching bills? Do you foresee increasing racial tensions as the result of unsettled economic conditions and the predicted recession with its consequent widespread unemployment?

Does the return to power of such bigots as Talmadge and Bilbo, as well as the enactment of the nefarious Boswell amendment in Alabama and the promised re-establishment of the white primary in Georgia and Florida foreshadow a setback in our struggle to achieve first-class citizenship?

In retrospect, what two achievements by colored Americans during the past year do you consider most helpful in advancing the cause of colored Americans? What two happenings by colored Americans during the past year do you consider most harmful to our cause? Who is the most outstanding colored American of 1946 and why?

The AFRO desires to print the replies of a dozen nationally known Americans to whom these queries have been addressed. Please answer in not more than 200 words by return mail. If possible, also send a photograph of yourself.

Will you join in this helpful discussion? Formality is unnecessary. Just write your views on the back of this letter and send them along.

Very truly yours,

C. W. Mackay

C. W. Mackay
Managing Editor

cwm/w

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Lecture

The State Teachers College
At
Montgomery, Alabama

FOUNDED IN 1874

H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM, PRESIDENT

October 17, 1946

21-27-16

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am pleased to have your confirmatory telegram and will look forward to your speaking to our college and community student and adult group on Friday evening, October 25, in a public program in our college auditorium. I do appreciate your indicating your availability for a contribution at this time. We will look forward to the payment of the fee of $100 for this service. We will also anticipate being advised as to the time of your arrival.

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:S

[ALABAMA - State Teacher's College]

~~Repeat~~ Lectures

18 October 1946

21-27-18

My dear Mr. Trenholm:

I have wired you saying that I would speak Friday, October 25th. I suggest that my subject be the "United Nations and the Negro Race." Would you be kind enough to secure for me on the 26th either a reservation by airplane to New York or a lower berth or compartment on a good through railway train? I shall be much obliged. You may pay for it out of my fee. I will let you know the exact time of my arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. H. Councill Trenholm
Colored Normal School
Montgomery, Alabama

21-27-17

28 October 1946

My dear Mr. Trenholm:

I arrived in New York safely and on time, after a very pleasant trip. May I thank you and Mrs. Trenholm and your mother for your kind hospitality while I was in Montgomery. I always enjoy visiting the State Teachers College.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. H. Councill Trenholm
State Teachers College
Montgomery, Alabama

ALABAMA ... J.

Social me

November 1, 1946

Dear Mr. Trenholm:

I meant to include a postscript in my letter asking you to see if your Mr. Campbell could find me two pounds of prime breakfast bacon and mail it to me. I shall be glad to pay any price which he charges.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-26

Mr. H. Councill Trenholm
Colored Normal School
Montgomery, Alabama

For the 12 May 1946 21-28-58

MRS. ERNEST RAYMOND ALEXANDER
GREEN PASTURES
MONROE, NEW YORK

Our Very Dear Friends:

On this Golden Anniversary we greet you! For many years it has been our joy to share your friendship; to rejoice in your accomplishments and greatly deserved honors; to grieve with you in

adversity.

We look back with a feeling of joy in all the years we have known you both and hope for still many years of peace and gracious living for you.

With devoted friendship

Ernest and Sally

Alexander

[Alexander]

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
MACEO W. HUBBARD
SADIE T. MOSSELL ALEXANDER

RITTENHOUSE 9960

LAW OFFICES
RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
40 SOUTH NINETEENTH ST.
PHILADELPHIA 3, PA.

September 19th, 1946

21-25-18

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I unfortunately am going to have to relax for a few weeks to have repaired a part of my aging organisms. This accounts for my failure to have answered promptly your letter of September 3rd, 1946. I have been clearing my desk of matters which require my personal attention.

This note merely comes to let you know that I would not be able to help prepare the memorandum suggested in your communication of August 26th, 1946to Mr. White, if Mr. White accepted your suggestion. Please be assured that my failure to do so is due to matters far beyond my control.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

STMA:ga

Sadie

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

To
AIR MAIL EXPRESS SERVICE
NOT AVAILABLE
BUT SURFACE ROUTE

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
20, West, 40 St.,
New York,
AMERICA.

Code - 66

Sender's name and address :—

General Secretary
All-India-Students-Congress,
23 Cadell Road,
Dadar, Bombay.

← To open cut here

Fold here →

Seal here →

To open cut here →

[2]

ALL INDIA STUDENTS' CONGRESS
CENTRAL OFFICE

Bombay September 1946.

To

Mr. W. E. D. Du Bois

Dear Sir,

21-26-65

We are pleased to inform you that the All India Students Congress, the Premier National Organisation of Indian Students has decided to convene a conference of Asiatic and Colonial students at the end of December along with the annual session of the All India Students Conference. The object of the conference is to revive the cultural bonds that existed between all the Coloured and Asiatic peoples and to promote greater understanding and co-operation between them. I am quite sure you will realise the importance and significance of such a conference aiming at the unity of all Asiatic and Colonial peoples.

We earnestly seek the co-operation of your organisation in this task.

We may mention here that the decision to convene such a conference has been taken in prior consultation with Pandit Javaharlal Nehru, the President of the Indian National Congress and now, the First Minister of our interim National Government and the Minister-in-charge of foreign affairs.

We desire that all Asiatic and African Students believing in the unity of all coloured peoples against oppression and imperialist slavery and working for democratic freedom should participate in our conference. We shall feel highly obliged if you will kindly put us in contact with proper organisations and also write to them on our behalf about this conference. We learn from Professor N.G.Ranga, M.L.A., and India's representative to the World Producers Conference that he has discussed this proposal with you and that you have agreed to give us your best co-operation. A copy of our draft manifesto has been given to you by him. In any case the printed copies will be despatched to you very soon.

As the time at our disposal is short, I would request you to send an early reply, on the address given below.

(3)

Thanking in anticipation.

I beg to remain,
Yours faternally,

Dinkar Sakrikar

GENERAL SECRETARY,
ALL INDIA STUDENTS CONGRESS.

Address:

83 Cadell Road,)
Dadar, Bombay.)

First fold here

FREEDOM PEACE PROGRESS

ALL-INDIA STUDENTS' CONGRESS

RAMSUMER SHUKLA President
DINKER SAKRIKAR Gen. Secretary
B. P. HIMATSINGKA, CHANDRAKANT DALAL Treasurers

Central Office
CONGRESS HOUSE
BOMBAY 4

Ref. No.

Bombay, 17th Septr. 1946.

To,
Dr. W. E. D. Du Bois.

21-26-63

Dear Friend,

I have great pleasure in extending a cordial invitation to you for the ensuing Annual Conference of the All India Students Congress, the Premier National organisation of Indian Students. The conference will be held at Lahore, Punjab in the Christmas vacation. The conference would provide a good opportunity for strengthening the bonds of comradeship which have been forged during a common struggle against Fascism and Imperialism.

The Indian students would welcome the opportunity of meeting the representatives of organisations in other countries which have stood against world Imperialism.

It may be mentioned here that along with our conference will be held at the same place the first conference of all Asiatic and Colonial Students. Your personal presence would be highly appreciated by those meeting in that conference too. India and the entire colonial people are at cross roads fashioning a new destiny, creating a new history. At this crucial juncture in our movement we are meeting in this conference under the shadow of great epoch making events. Hence our eagerness to see amongst us representatives of all other nations sympathising with our movement and the aspirations of colonial peoples. We hope the invitation may be accepted and we will have the privilege of your attendence at our conference.

21-26-64

If urgent work prevents you from coming personally any representative from your orginisation would also be welcome. And if even that is not possible send us your good-wishes, a message a good-wish.

Thanking in anticipation,

Yours faternally,

Dinkar Sakrikar
GENERAL SECRETARY,
A.I.S.C.

Address:
33 Cadell Road,
Dadar, Bombay.

[ΑΦΑ, c April, 1946]

May? 1946

My dear Mr. Logan:

Here is an invitation. Please bring it to the attention of the fraternity.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

a1-10-34

[Alpha Phi Alpha; Washington D.C.]

RAYFORD W. LOGAN
GENERAL PRESIDENT
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

JOSEPH H. B. EVANS
GENERAL SECRETARY
101 S STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

M. G. FERGUSON
GENERAL TREASURER
CITIZENS SAVINGS AND TRUST CO.
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REID E. JACKSON
EDITOR OF THE SPHINX
SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
SCOTLANDVILLE, LA.

8-10-35

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DIR. OF EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

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GENERAL COUNSEL
2001 ELEVENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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221 WEST 139TH STREET
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ΑΦΑ

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity

(INCORPORATED)

OFFICE OF
Director of Inter-~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~national Relations
Among Minorities
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

May 1, 1946

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have brought to the attention of Mr. Belford V. Lawson, Jr., 2001 Eleventh Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., the newly elected president of Alpha Phi Alpha, the invitation to the Du Bois fiftieth wedding anniversary.

Most sincerely,

Rayford W. Logan

Rayford W. Logan

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Let's Celebrate Victory in Chicago

21-29-52

BELFORD V. LAWSON
General President
2001 Eleventh St. N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

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First Vice-President
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Cincinnati 6, Ohio

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Troy, N. Y.

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150 You Street N. W.
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VERTNER W. TANDY
Jewel
221 West 139th St.
New York City

CHARLES H. WESLEY
Historian
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.

OFFICE OF
GENERAL PRESIDENT
2001 ELEVENTH ST. N.W.
WASHINGTON 1, D.C.

May 2, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Dear Brother DuBois:

News has come to us that you are celebrating your fiftieth wedding anniversary on May 12, 1946. Ten thousand Brothers in Alpha Phi Alpha felicitate you and Mrs. Du Bois on this occassion. We are deeply aware and grateful for the contributions you have made to the public life in the last fifty years and we know that Mrs. Du Bois was the inspiration for your high endeavor and notable achievement.

In grateful acknowledgment and appreciation we greet you and wish you both the deserving happiness which comes with the grace and wisdom of your rich and fruitful years.

Fraternally,

B. V. Lawson, Jr.

B. V. Lawson, Jr.
General President

alpha phi alpha

August 14, 1946

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University
Theresa Hotel
New York, N. Y.

Dear Brother Frazier:

At the suggestion of Brother Rayford W. Logan, I am writing to ask that you represent the Fraternity at a planning committee meeting to be held for the purpose of drafting a statement on behalf of Negroes which will be presented to the Assemby of the United Nations when it meets in New York in September. Dr. DuBois has called the meeting and I am requesting him to advise you of the time and place, should you be able to accept.

You will be doing the Fraternity a great service if you can find it possible to attend this meeting.

Fraternally yours,

B. V. Lawson, Jr.
2001 Eleventh Street Northwest
Washington 1, D. C

Copies to
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Rayford W. Logan

Alpha Phi Alpha

[AMBEDKAR]

Dr. B.R.Ambedkar, M.A.,
Ph.D., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law.

"Rajgrah",
Hindu Colony,
Dadar,
Bombay-14.

Air Mail

21-21-24

Dear Prof. Dubois,

Although I have not met you personally, I know you by name as every one does who is working in the casue of securing liberty to the oppressed people. I belong to the Untouchables of India and perhaps you might have heard my name. I have been a student of the Negro problem and have read your writings throughout. There is so much similarity between the position of the Untouchables in India and of the position of the Negroes in America that the study of the latter is not only natural but necessary.

I was very much interested to read that the Negroes of America have filed a petition to the U.N.O. The Untouchables of India are also thinking of following suit. Will you be so good as to secure for me two or three copies of this representation by the Negroes and send them to my address. I need hardly say how very grateful I shall be for your troubles in this behalf.

Yours Sincerely

B R Ambedkar

To

Prof. Dubois,
University of Atlanta,
Georgia, U.S.A.

[AMBEDKAR]

21-21-25

31 July 1946

My dear Mr. Ambedkar:

I have your letter concerning the case of the Negroes of America and the Untouchables in India before the United Nations. As you say a small organization of American Negroes, The National Negro Congress has already made a statement which I am enclosing. I think, however, that a much more comprehensive statement well documented will eventually be laid before the United Nations by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. If this is done I shall be glad to send you a copy.

I have often heard of your name and work and of course have every sympathy with the Untouchables of India. I shall be glad to be of any service I can render if possible in the future.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
Rajgrah
Hindu Colony
Dadar
Bombay, India

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, Inc.

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National Headquarters, 45 EAST 65TH ST., NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
Telephone: BUtterfield 8-8000

September 12, 1946

42/185/39

TO: Chapters and Cooperating Groups
Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Clark M. Eichelberger

Because of the postponement in the opening of the General Assembly to Wednesday, October 23rd, the Association, the National Broadcasting Company and National Education Association have agreed that it would be best to postpone United Nations Week to coincide with that later date. Therefore, the new dates are October 20 to 26, inclusive.

We appreciate the difficulties that this will cause in your plans which are quite well along, as are ours in New York. However, it seems strategic to have a nation-wide observance of this character coincide with the Assembly meeting, so that there will be a focal point to the activities. We hope that this will be the last postponement, and have reason to believe that it will be. We urge you to continue with your plans for United Nations Week, and take advantage of this extra time to build an even better celebration than was previously planned.

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October 3, 1946

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, INC.

62-58-24

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I shall bring your proposed petition which the Pan African Congress wishes to present to the United Nations Assembly to the attention of our Executive Committee at its next meeting, in about a week, and then shall write you their action.

Faithfully yours,

Clark M. Eichelberger

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cme:la

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WW

21-14-23

December 26, 1946

37299 DEC27'46

To the Joint Committee of American
Agencies on Human Rights:

There will be a meeting of the Joint Committee of American Agencies on Human Rights at 8 o'clock Wednesday, January 15th, in the conference room on the ground floor at 45 East 65th Street.

Among the items on the agenda will be discussion of the memorandum prepared by Mr. Read Lewis on the subcommissions on minorities and discrimination.

There will also be consideration of the progress made by the General Assembly in the field of human rights, the forthcoming meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and future plans for the Joint Committee.

We are asking members of the Divisions of Human Rights of the United Nations and the State Department to meet with us.

We would appreciate your indicating on the enclosed card whether you will be able to come.

Sincerely yours,

Roger N. Baldwin

Clark M. Eichelberger

enclosure

Att'd Feb 1st
Can you attend?
I hope able to do so.
RNB

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[Amer. Assn. of Univ. Women]

HOTEL STATLER WASHINGTON D.C.

21-20-32

July 14, 1946.
2635 Overridge Dr.
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Prof. Dubois.

Dear Sir,

I am trying to arrange a program for the monthly meetings of the Ann Arbor Branch of the American Association of University Women. Are you available as a speaker at such meetings? If you are to be in the middle west at any time during the winter of 1946-1947 perhaps we could take advantage of your presence there and

Have the great good luck of getting you in Ann Arbor for one of our meetings.

Please write to me soon at the above address. Our meetings usually occur in the afternoon with from 50 to 150 women present. We would like to hear your views on the race question.

Very truly yours,

Agnes C. Tries

Mrs. Charles C. Tries

[American Association of University Women]

Lectures

21-20-33

31 July 1946

My dear Mrs. Fries:

I am sorry to be so late in answering your letter of July 14. Usually sometime during the winter or early spring I deliver lectures in the middle west. I shall probably do so in 46-47, but I have as yet made no arrangements. My regular charge is a fee of one hundred dollars per lecture.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Charles C. Fries
2635 Overridge Drive
Ann Arbor, Michigan

[American Assn of University Women]

4 December 1946

21-14-9

My dear madam:

Referring to your letter of July 14, 1946, I beg to say that I am lecturing in Detroit March 30, 1947. I could arrange to be in Ann Arbor shortly before or after that date. My fee is $100 out of which I pay my own expenses.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Charles C. Fries
2635 Overridge Drive
Ann Arbor, Michigan

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

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264

STATUE OF LIBERTY ANNIVERSARY DINNER HOTEL ASTOR ROOF OCTOBER 27 1946

Dear Friend:

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, of which both you and I are sponsors, is honoring the 60th anniversary of the dedication of the Statue of Liberty with a dinner to be given on Sunday evening, October 27th, at the Hotel Astor Roof.

I note the approaching anniversary celebration of the Statue with enthusiasm. I can think of no occasion which merits more whole-hearted support.

There She stands, Statue of Liberty, at the eastern gateway to our country, her head unbowed, her dignity unblemished, her beauty undefiled.

During these anguished war years, anxious eyes have kept day and night vigil over her, scanning the seas and the heavens for invading forces which might seek to bow her head. Thousands of American boys have fought for her, shed their precious blood for her, died for her.

Throughout the sixty years of her life, eighty million men, women and children, seeking all that She symbolizes, have passed under the shadow of her splendor, bringing to us their gifts of culture, adding to our industries and spiritual life in return for the blessings that are America.

High and hazardous winds still blow around Miss Liberty's beautiful head but, even though She remains in tact and undefiled, eternal vigilance is the price of her security. No matter how high the gales that may beat about her beautiful head, her torch of Liberty must continue to burn on, with the Light that is America.

May we count on your presence at this Stirring Anniversary Dinner? May we hope that you will take a table, and that among your friends there will be others who will do likewise?

A complete program of sponsors and speakers will reach you shortly. Please do what you can to help us make this Statue of Liberty Anniversary Dinner a real tribute to the foreign-born of all countries who helped to build these United States.

Sincerely,

Fannie Hurst
Dinner Chairman

uopwa-16

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23 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 4-3457

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HON. STANLEY NOWAK

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Dr. Carleton Washburne
Max Weber
Dr. Helen C. White

21-13

Dear Sir or Madam:

I invite you to join me in serving as a sponsor for the Statue of Liberty Anniversary Dinner to be held at the Hotel Astor on October 27, 1946. This dinner will commemorate the 60th Anniversary of the dedication of the Statue of Liberty, which has been, throughout these years, a symbol of hope and freedom from oppression to millions of newcomers to our great land.

A distinguished list of speakers of national prominence will honor our American citizens of foreign birth, and a special tribute will be paid to the life and work of the late Sidney Hillman.

I enclose, for your convenience, a postcard which we would appreciate your signing and returning to us, indicating thereby your willingness to serve as a sponsor for the Statue of Liberty Anniversary Dinner.

I wish to thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Stanley Nowak

Stanley Nowak
National Chairman

uopwa
16-96

American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, Inc.

119 WEST 57th STREET Circle 7-3987 NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

21-20-42

Honorary President
ALBERT EINSTEIN

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SHOLEM ASCH

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B. Z. GOLDBERG

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JEWISH BLACK BOOK COMMITTEE
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WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
JEWISH ANTI-FASCIST COMMITTEE, USSR
VAAD LEUMI, PALESTINE
and
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RUBIN SALTZMAN
DR. HENRI SINDER
BARUCH ZUCKERMAN

February 5, 1946

Lectures

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Independent Citizens Committee of
the Arts and Sciences
Hotel Astor
45th St. & Broadway
New York City

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Dr. Einstein and I extend to you a cordial and urgent invitation to speak at a dinner given by our Committee to honor Albert E. Kahn, co-author of "Sabotage,!" "The Plot Against the Peace," and "The Great Conspiracy; The Secret War Against Soviet Russia." The dinner will be held on Monday evening, February 25 at the Hotel Commodore in New York City.

The purpose of the dinner, besides giving honor to a young author who is one of the best representatives of liberal America fighting fascism and working for international peace, is to focus the attention of the public upon the grave dangers in the present tide of anti-Soviet propaganda now flooding this country. Your staunch support of democracy, your militant attacks against all disrupters of peace at home and abroad, and your awareness of the necessity for bringing these issues to the people, make your presence at this dinner absolutely vital for its success.

May I hope that you will be with us on that evening.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Brainin

Joseph Brainin
Acting Chairman

uopwa
1-bm

10

[American Comm. of Jewish Writers ...]

21-20-43

13 February 1946

My dear Mr. Brainin:

Your letter of February fifth has just reached me. I shall be glad to attend the dinner February twenty-fifth and to speak. Will you kindly let me know how long a speech you would want? I am rather a stickler for keeping within time limits and also the subject.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Joseph Brainin
Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists
119 West 57th Street
New York 19

American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, Inc.

119 WEST 57th STREET Circle 7-3987 NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Honorary President
ALBERT EINSTEIN

President
SHOLEM ASCH

Chairman
B. Z. GOLDBERG

Executive Secretary
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BARUCH ZUCKERMAN

21-22-93

Lectures

February 21, 1946

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Thank you very much for your generosity in agreeing to speak at the dinner for Albert E. Kahn on Monday, February 25 at the Commodore Hotel.

Enclosed is your reservation card to the dinner. I am looking forward to seeing you on Monday evening. Many, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Joseph Brainin

Joseph Brainin
Acting Chairman

uopwa
1-bm

10

American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, Inc.

119 WEST 57th STREET Circle 7-3987 NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

21-20-436

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JEWISH BLACK BOOK COMMITTEE
Sponsoring Organizations
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DR. RAPHAEL MAHLER
RUBIN SALTZMAN
DR. HENRI SINDER
BARUCH ZUCKERMAN

Duplicate

February 21, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you very much for your generosity in agreeing to speak at the dinner for Albert E. Kahn on Monday, February 25 at the Commodore Hotel.

Enclosed is your reservation card to the dinner. I am looking forward to seeing you on Monday evening. Many, many thanks.

Sincerely,

uopwa
1-bm

(signed) Joseph Brainin
Acting Chairman

10

American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, Inc.

119 WEST 57th STREET Circle 7-3987 NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Honorary President
ALBERT EINSTEIN

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DR. HENRI SINDER
BARUCH ZUCKERMAN

21-19-108

Lectures

February 27, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On behalf of the Committee I wish to thank you for your great contribution to the success of our dinner to Albert E. Kahn. We heard the most laudatory remarks from the guests about your speech.

We are very grateful to you for your participation in this event.

Sincerely,

Joseph Brainin

Joseph Brainin
Acting Chairman

uopwa
1-bm

10

[American Committee of Jewish Writers ...]

1 March 1946

My dear Mr. Brainin:

The enclosed card which you mailed February twenty-first was left by the postman at 24 West 40th Street and delivered to us March first. I am sorry for the delay and would be glad if you would complain to the Post Office.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Joseph Brainin
Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists
119 West 57th Street
New York City 19

AMERICAN COMMITTEE
TO AID THE ITALIAN-NEGRO GI BABIES

File

615 PELHAM PARKWAY NORTH
BRONX 67, N. Y.

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MARY PINTO
ELVIRA RIGGI
JOSEPHINE TROIANI
ANGELA SIMEONE
ESTHER LACEY

21-14-47

November 1, 1946

Dr. William E. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Md.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The purpose of this letter is to solicit your interest, advice and assistance in solving one of the tragic problems created by World War II.

In Italy there are several thousand abandoned children who were born of American Negro soldiers and Italian girls. Like many of the abandoned children throughout Europe, they are homeless and illegitimate. In most cases, these children have been deserted by their white mothers because of the social stigma that would result from rearing a Negro child. Unfortunately, our own American troops, as well as the Fascist ideologists, have left in Italy the roots of racial prejudice and discrimination.

These unfortunate children, half-Americans, face a hostile world that refuses to accept them. They are part of the backwash of war. Many of them have found temporary shelter in Foundling Homes throughout Italy. They need help.

In an effort to aid these Italian-American Negro children, a group of women have formed an inter-racial organization, known as the American Committee to Aid the Italian-Negro GI Babies. We plan to send food, clothing and toys to meet immediate needs and, in some way, to provide an opportunity for these children to develop into normal human beings and to become integrated into the life of Italy.

We need your advice and assistance in the work we plan to do and would deeply appreciate your sponsorship of our efforts. Will you be one of our sponsors?

Sincerely yours,

Caroline Brescia

CAROLINE BRESCIA, Chairman
615 Pelham Parkway North
Bronx 67, N. Y.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

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Secretary

42/8F/20

September 24, 1946

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
President of the Pan African Congress
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of September 18, which was delivered in Mr. Liveright's absence. He will return to the office the third of October; at that time I shall call your letter and the proposed petition to his attention.

Very truly yours,

Hazel M. Wickliffe

Hazel M. Wickliffe
Secretary to Mr. Liveright

[AMER. FED. OF LABOR]

21-21-14

My dear Mf. Green:.

The Pan African Congress is preparing the enclosed petition for presentation to the Assembly of the United Nations. We would like very much to have the endorsement of as many unions as possible in the American Federation of Labor.

Will you kindly advise me as to whom I may write. I shall be under obligation for any help you can give me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. William Green
American Federation of Labor Building
Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Executive Council
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Eleventh Vice-President, W. C. DOHERTY, 408 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Twelfth Vice-President, DAVID DUBINSKY, 1710 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Thirteenth Vice-President, JOHN L. LEWIS, United Mine Workers' Bldg., Washington, D. C.

LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE NATIONAL 3870-1-2-3-4
CABLE ADDRESS AFEL.

Washington 1, D. C.
September 25, 1946

22-9-64

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Department of Special Research
Color and Democracy Colonies and Peace
20 W. 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

In order to help you secure endorsement of the petiton which you have prepared for presentation to the Assembly of the United Nations, a copy of which you enclosed in your letter dated September 18th, I enclose a list of the names and addresses of the representatives of State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies chartered by the American Federation of Labor. You may communicate with the officers of these organizations calling their attention to your petition and requesting them to support you and endorse the petition which you brought to my attention.

Very truly yours,

Wm. Green

President,
American Federation of Labor

ds

request for recommendation

25 November 1946

21-13-51

My dear Mr. Loescher:

I have not been recently in contact with Miss Hawes and her work. Members of her family were in my class for many years and I knew her as a social worker pretty well between 1920 and 1940. She was an efficient and careful student and good executive. Since 1940 however I have scarcely seen her and would not be able to give any report as to her recent development.

I regret to say that I cannot fill out the blank which you sent me. Frankly I think that blanks of that sort are damned foolishness as methods of knowing human beings.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

[American Missionary Assn.]

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches

287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

FRED L. BROWNLEE
GENERAL SECRETARY
RUTH A. MORTON
DIRECTOR OF SCHOOLS
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR OF RACE RELATIONS

Request to quote from writings

February 11, 1946

12-13-53

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Nat'l Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The American Missionary Association is celebrating its centennial in 1946. I have just completed a manuscript covering its achievements and projecting its future lines of activity.

I have a chapter entitled "Diverse Views" which deals with liberal and vocational education. Your chapter in Dusk of Dawn on this issue contains the best material I have seen anywhere on specific phases of the problems, particularly concerning Atlanta University and the leanings of the A. M. A. always in the liberal direction.

I should also like to quote briefly from your article "Education and Work", published by the Howard University Bulletin, January 1931.

This is to ask permission to make these quotations. It is important, due to printing time limitations, that I hear from you very soon. I shall appreciate it very much if you will write me immediately, if possible.

Yours cordially,

Fred L. Brownlee

Fred L. Brownlee

flb hd
sd
enc

13 February 1946

21-13-54

My dear Mr. Brownlee:

I shall be very glad for you to use the extracts mentioned in your letter of February eleventh. You will have to get permission from the publisher also for the chapter in Dusk of Dawn.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Fred L. Brownlee
American Missionary Association Division
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10

[American]

The American

NOBEL ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE

740 West End Avenue
New York 25, N. Y.

RIverside 9-0953

November 1, 1946

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Honorary Chairman
MRS. HJORDIS SWENSON
Chairman
WALDEMAR KAEMPFFERT
Vice-Chairman
JACQUES F. FERRAND
Secretary
HARRY G. SANDSTROM
Assistant Secretary
NATHAN L. ROCK
Treasurer
MONA M. KARFF
Assistant Treasurer

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We take great pleasure in extending to you a cordial invitation to become a member of the Reception Committee for the Sixth Nobel Anniversary Dinner, to be held in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Astor on Tuesday, December 10th. Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, former Minister to Norway, has kindly accepted chairmanship of this committee.

As this marks the fiftieth anniversary of Nobel's death, we hope to make it a most significant event, and as you will see from the enclosed program, leaders in many fields will give us their constructive thoughts in brief addresses on the general theme "Progress for Peace".

There will be a Reception and Cocktail Party from 6:30 to 7:30 for speakers and honor guests. Dinner will be served from 7:30-9:00, and the Speakers' Program will run from nine to eleven o'clock. (We expect to have the entire program broadcast as in previous years.)

Please let us know as soon as possible if you are able to accept our invitation, as we would like to complete our membership list for the committee.

Yours very sincerely,

Hjordis Swenson

Hjordis Swenson
Chairman

HS/tok

Dinner tickets $8.50 incl. gratuities - tables seat 10.

46-7-165

American Nobel Anniversary

7 November 1946

My dear Mrs. Swenson:

In accordance with your circular of November 1, I shall be glad to become a member of the reception committee for the Sixth Nobel Anniversary dinner to be held December 10.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Hjordis Swenson
The American Nobel Anniversary Committee
740 West End Avenue
New York 25, N. Y.

American J

The American

NOBEL ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE

740 West End Avenue

New York 25, N. Y.

RIverside 9-0953

November 23, 1946

SIR NORMAN ANGELL
Honorary Chairman
MRS. HJORDIS SWENSON
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Vice-Chairman
JACQUES F. FERRAND
Secretary
HARRY G. SANDSTROM
Assistant Secretary
NATHAN L. ROCK
Treasurer
MONA M. KARFF
Assistant Treasurer

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Color & Democracy Colonies and Peace
20 West 40th St., New York City

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

On behalf of our Committee, it is my pleasure to extend to you our cordial invitation to be a Guest of Honor at the Sixth Nobel Anniversary Dinner on December 10th. As this year marks the fiftieth anniversary of Nobel's death, we hope to make it a most significant event. Enclosed please find our printed invitation listing our Speakers' Program. The name of Benjamin Cohen, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, speaking for the United Nations, is being added.

Our Reception Committee, of which Mrs. Borden Harriman is Chairman, will meet with the Speakers and Guests of Honor between 6:30 and 7:30 preceding the Dinner. Our Speakers' Program will run from nine to eleven.

Sincerely hoping that you will be able to accept our invitation, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Hjordis Swenson
Hjordis Swenson
Chairman

HS/tok

Mrs
Dear Madam:
I shall be glad & request
at the Nobel Anniversary dinner,
Dec. 10, 1946
Sent

46-7-164

8-7-8

26 November 1946

Dear Madam:

I shall be glad to be guest at the Nobel Anniversary dinner December 10, 1946.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Hjordis Swenson
Nobel Anniversary Committee
740 West End Avenue
New York 25, N. Y.

American Nobel
[1]

The Sixth American

Nobel Anniversary Dinner

Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of
the death of

Alfred Bernhard Nobel

44-4-153

Tuesday, December Tenth
Nineteen Hundred and Forty-Six
at Seven O'clock

in the Grand Ballroom
Hotel Astor
New York

under the auspices of
The American
Nobel Anniversary Committee

[2]

Dinner

Coupe of Fruit California

Giblet Soup

Celery — Pickles

Filet of Sole Bonne Femme

Mushrooms Poullette

Roast Turkey Americaine

Homemade Dressing

Cranberry Sauce

Candied Yams

New Peas

Bombe Patriot

Petit Fours

Demi Tasse

[37]

Program

Theme — "Progress for Peace"

Invocation:
DR. WILLIAM P. MERRIL

National Anthem:
IVAR IVARSON

Welcoming Address:
HJORDIS SWENSON

Chairman:
PEARL BUCK

Speakers:
HIS EXCELLENCY WILHELM MORGENSTIERNE
HONORABLE LENNART NYLANDER
DR. BENJAMIN COHEN
DEAN MILDRED THOMPSON
EDWARD R. MURROW
DR. OTTO MEYERHOF
HAL WALLIS
~~HONORABLE HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS~~
NORMAN CORWIN
~~MICHAEL STRAIGHT~~
DR. GOTTFRIED SALOMON DELATOUR
CHARLES BOLTE

Chairman of Reception Committee:
MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN

Vice Chairmen:
MRS. HERMAN T. ASCHE
MRS. GEORGE P. JOHANSEN

[4]

Among Speakers and Honor Guests at Previous Anniversary Dinners have been:

Jose Antonio de Aguirre
Dr. Ernest F. W. Alexanderson
*Dr. Carl D. Anderson
*Sir Norman Angell
Dr. Henry A. Atkinson
Governor R. E. Baldwin
William L. Batt
Dr. C. H. Best
Dr. J. S. Bonnell
Minister W. Bostrom
Leonard Brockington
*Pearl S. Buck
Elmer A. Carter
Chancellor H. W. Chase
*Dr. Arthur H. Compton
Kent Cooper
Norman Corwin
*Dr. Henrik Dam
Dr. Carlos Davila
*Dr. O. J. Davisson
*Dr. Peter J. W. Debye
Sir Owen Dixon
*Edward A. Doisy
Dr. John R. Dunning
Dean F. Ericcson
*Dr. Joseph Erlanger
Robert Erskine Ely
*Dr. Enrico Fermi
*Dr. James Franck
Sen. J. W. Fulbright
*Dr. Herbert S. Gasser
Rev. R. I. Gannon, S.J.
Dr. Hans Halban
Dr. Michael Heidelberger
*Dr. Victor Francis Hess
Dr. C. L. Hsia
Will Irwin
Dr. Alvin Johnson
Edgar Kobak
Halvdan Koht
*Dr. Irving Langmuir
*Dr. Ernest O. Lawrence
*Dr. Otto Loewi
Erika Mann
A. O'Hare McCormick
*Dr. Otto Meyerhof
Ambassador W. Morgenstierne
*Dr. William P. Murphy
Samuel F. Pryor
*Dr. Isidor I. Rabi
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Richard de Rochemont
Nelson A. Rockefeller
Ruth Bryan O. Rohde
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Dr. George N. Shuster
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Lloyd Stratton
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*Sigrid Undset
Harry M. Warner
*Dr. George H. Whipple
Roy Wilkins
Dr. Lin Yutang
Darryl F. Zanuck
**Nobel Prize Winners*

Executive Committee—The American Nobel Anniversary Committee

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American Nobel-J

PROGRAM
SIXTH NOBEL ANNIVERSARY DINNER
GRAND BALLROOM, HOTEL ASTOR
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1946

THEME - PROGRESS FOR PEACE

PEARL BUCK - Nobel Prize Winner for Literature 1938 - Dinner Chairman

SIR NORMAN ANGELL - Nobel Prize Winner 1933 - Honorary Chairman of American Nobel Anniversary Committee

HIS EXCELLENCY WILHELM MORGENSTIERNE - Norwegian Ambassador - speaking on the NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

EDWARD R. MURROW - Vice President and Director of Public Affairs of the Columbia Broadcasting System - speaking for RADIO

HAL WALLIS - Producer of "The Story of Louis Pasteur", "The Searching Wind" and others - speaking for MOTION PICTURES

MICHAEL STRAIGHT - Author, Editor of New Republic - speaking for the PRESS

DR. OTTO MEYERHOF - Nobel Prize Winner in Physiology - 1922 - speaking for THE SCIENTISTS

HONORABLE SOL BLOOM - Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, and United States Delegate to the General Assembly of the U.N. - speaking on FOREIGN POLICY

DEAN MILDRED THOMPSON - of Vassar College - speaking for UNESCO

HONORABLE HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS - United States Alternate Delegate to the General Assembly of the U.N. - speaking for THE WOMEN OF THE WORLD

CHARLES BOLTE - National Chairman for the American Veterans Committee speaking for THE VETERANS

DR. G. S. DELATOUR - Professor of Sociology of Columbia University - speaking for SOCIOLOGY AND PEACE

MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN - former United States Minister to Norway - will be Chairman of the Reception Committee.

46-7-166

[American Numismatic Society]

21-20-80

13 December 1946

My dear sir:

I have tried several times by telephone to make appointment with you but have been unsuccessful in finding you in. I therefore venture to address you by mail.

I have had the enclosed photostat of several ancient Italian coins, found in a book by R. Garrucci "La Monete dell Italia Antica, Part II Etruria Aenei LLXXV Plates 11-15, and the text concerning them. I enclose copies of these and also a translation of the text.

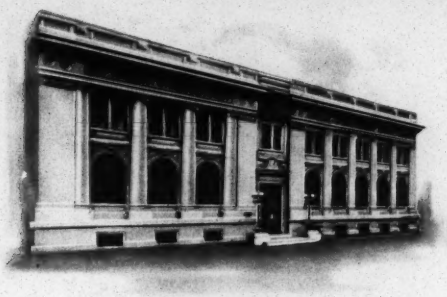
I should like to come and see you and get your judgment of these coins, their date and significance. Can you kindly give me such an appointment? I can be addressed as above.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Curator of the Numismatic Society
Broadway and 156th Street
New York City

Re for appointment



CABLE ADDRESS
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X

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THE·AMERICAN·NUMISMATIC·SOCIETY
BROADWAY·BETWEEN·155TH·AND·156TH·STS·
NEW·YORK·32, N.Y.

19 Dec., 1946.

21-20-68

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 W. 40th Street,
New York, 18, N. Y.

Attention: Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director,
Department of Special Research

Dear Sir:

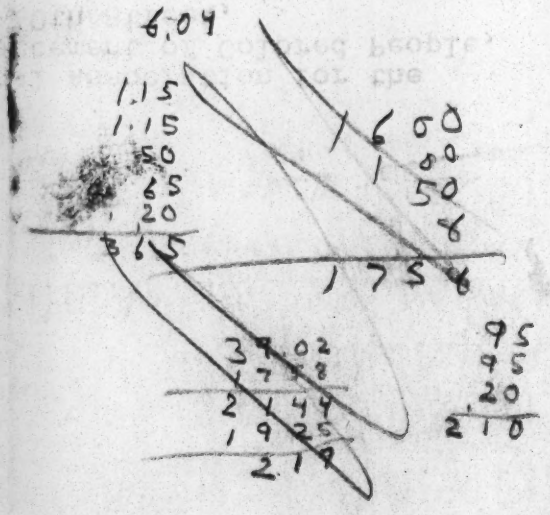
Your letter of 13 December was awaiting me upon my return from Pittsburgh. I expect to be here on Tuesday, next. If you could come then I should be glad to see you either in the morning or afternoon (before 4:00 P.M.). If this is not a convenient date for you - if you will telephone me I can possibly arrange another day next week although Christmas may prevent me from being definite as to which of the other days I shall be here.

Very truly yours,

Sydney P. Noe

Sydney P. Noe
Secretary

SPN:rm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1750
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20
210
3402
178
2144
1925
219

31 December 1946

21-20-69

My dear sir:

I was out of town when your letter of December 19th came. I therefore thought it best to wait until after the holidays. I will call you up a few days after New Year's.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Sydney P. Noe
American Numismatic Society
Broadway & 155th Street
New York 32, N. Y.

American Peoples Encyclopedia

153 NORTH MICHIGAN AVE. CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS

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January 29, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
c/o N. A. A. C. P.,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, New York

21-19-39

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On the 25th of last September you wrote us that you hoped to prepare soon the biographies of John Brown, Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver and Frederick Douglass assigned to you in our letter of July 25th.

We are eager to get the material for our encyclopedia together as soon as possible, and I wonder if it will be possible for you to complete these biographies within a short time.

With thanks and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Walter Dill Scott

Walter Dill Scott

WDS:VG

10 May 1946

21-19-40

My dear Mr. Scott:

I am very sorry that I have not yet been able to do anything on the biographies which you wanted for the American Peoples Encyclopedia. I have been compelled to be out of the office for several months and could not get at it. However, if you still want me to do these biographies and will give me a deadline, I will see that you get them.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter Dill Scott
American Peoples Encyclopedia
153 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 1, Illinois

American Peoples Encyclopedia

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May 21, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
N. A. A. C. P.,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, New York.

21-19-38

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am delighted to learn that you still contemplate doing the biographies for us. Work on the American Peoples Encyclopedia has slowed down a bit while we revise Nelson's Encyclopedia, so there is less urgent need for the copy. If I could have it by July 1st or even August 1st, that would be satisfactory. I hope that this will be satisfactory to you, and I look forward to receiving your contributions.

Sincerely,

Walter Dill Scott

Walter Dill Scott

WDS:VG

[AMERICAN Peoples Enc.

25 July 1946

My dear Mr. Scott:

In accordance with your letters of July 25, 1945 and May 21, 1946, I am enclosing biographies of John Brown, Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver and Frederick Douglass. I hope they will meet your requirements.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-C-274

Dr. Walter Dill Scott
American Peoples Encyclopedia
153 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 1, Illinois

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(See Reserse Side for Other Officers)

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

(Formerly The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools)

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
P. O. Box 271, Montgomery 1, Alabama

August 13, 1946

42-8F-51

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, President
Pan African Congress
C/o National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your recent letter in which you direct attention to the very serious plight facing Colonial peoples and for which there is also the interest and need in seeking a way by which the people of Africa may be more properly represented in the United Nations Assembly.

The American Teachers Association is pleased to share in such efforts as may be made in this direction, and will be pleased to cooperate in the enterprise as it develops under your direction. We shall be pleased to have indication of the proposed date for the meeting in New York at which time there will be an effort made to secure ways and means of implementing this plan. We shall seek to have some official representative at this meeting if it is at all possible.

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:ecb

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[AMER. TEACHERS ASSOC.]

21-21-08

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AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

(Formerly The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools)

Office of The President
Virginia State College
Ettrick, Virginia

26 September 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, President of the Pan-African Congress
C/o National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of September 18th. The American Teachers Association has great interest in movements designed to bring greater freedom to all people. We realize that we must cooperate in these activities and we hope that our participation will increase as time goes on.

I regret that I will not find itpossible to attend your meeting on October 5th at 2 p.m. However, I shall endeavor to have a representative of the American Teachers Association present. I shall forward you the name of this individual as soon as I have cleared it.

I have discussed with several officers and key members of the American Teachers Association, the petition which you enclosed in my letter, as well as the purposes of this movement. In the name of the Association, I endorse the petition and I wish to indicate our intentions to support the purpose of the movement.

I trust that I shall be able to attend some of your future meetings personally. Please know of our interest in your work and call upon us when you feel the need.

I shall hope to receive any materials which are gotten out in this connection, from time to time.

Very sincerely yours,

Walter N. Ridley

Walter N. Ridley,
President of the American Teachers Association.

CC: Dr. H. Councill Trenholm,
Executive Secretary of the American Teachers Association.

WNR/dn

[AMER. TEACHERS ASSOC.]

AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

(Formerly The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools)

Office of The President
Virginia State College
Ettrick, Virginia

19 November 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West Fortieth Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In a letter sometime ago you requested, as a follow-up of the American Teachers Association's approval of a petition relating to colonial peoples, that a representative of the A.T.A. be appointed to work with your committee.

I am appointing Dr. John A. Brodhead, 1239 N. 57th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, as this representative.

Dr. Brodhead has worked in many activities of the American Teachers Association. You will find him a person of wide knowledge and great interest and capacity. He was elected as Vice-President at large of the A.T.A. at our recent convention held in Durham. I am asking that you forward to him materials describing the work of the committee, as well as copies of the petition.

I hope for your committee a great future. I am sure that I need not indicate the American Teachers Association, in its activities.

Very sincerely yours,

Walter N. Ridley.

Walter N. Ridley.

WNR/dn

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Virginia State College
Ettrick, Va.

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21-11-54

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[American Youth for Democracy]

New York State

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21-20-26

February 1, 1946

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
c/o NAACP
20 West 40th St.
New York City

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The New York State American Youth for Democracy is planning a mass observance of Negro History Week, Friday, February 15th, at Washington Irving High School, New York City.

We hope that this meeting will lend a fuller understanding to many hundreds of young people, in and outside of our organization, of the Negro people in our country. We expect that it will also add impetus to our efforts in the fight for Negro rights, which we regard as one of the main cornerstones of our organization.

With reference to our telephone conversation today, we would appreciate having you as one of our guest speakers on this Negro History Week observance. We hope it will be possible for you to accept.

Sincerely yours,

Leon Wofsy

Leon Wofsy
President

LW:gd

[American youth for Democracy]

4 February 1946

21-20-27

My dear Sir:

I think perhaps I could speak for your meeting February fifteenth but you do not mention the hour. Kindly let me know and I will give you a definite answer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Leon Wofsy
American Youth for Democracy
150 Nassau Street, Room 417
New York 7

Reg. To ~~Harlem~~ Negro Affairs

AYD

NEW YORK STATE

American Youth for Democracy

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Director . . . .

November 13, 1946

21-13-21

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

On Friday evening, December 20th, American Youth for Democracy of New York State will celebrate its third birthday at a youth rally in Manhattan Center.

In the past, American Youth for Democracy has made its birthday celebrations salutes to young Americans who have made significant contributions to the cause of democracy. This tradition will be carried on at the Manhattan Center affair, when awards will be presented to a number of outstanding young people who have helped promote inter-racial, inter-faith fellowship and world youth friendship during the past year.

Among those to whom we hope to present awards are: Henry Wallace, for his work in international youth friendship; Jackie Robinson, the first Negro to enter major league baseball; Willie Craft, who courageously survived attack by a lynch mob in Mississippi; Louis Burnham, leader of the Southern Negro Youth Congress; and Bess Meyerson, Miss America of 1945, who has toured many high schools and colleges with a message against anti-semitism and discrimination. In the field of international friendship, we hope to give awards to Technical Sergeant Leonard Bernhardt of the U.S. Army Air Corps, who after being shot down over Hungary, fought with the anti-Nazi underground and later with the Red Army. Another award will be give to Ignazzio Galego, head of the Spanish Republican Youth.

We hope to have outstanding adults present the awards, among them: Marc Blitzstein, organizer of a Negro Army chorus in England; Rockwell Kent and Branch Rickey.

We would be highly honored to have you present one of the awards at our birthday celebration, to Dorothy Burnham of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, for the outstanding and heroic work of that organization in the struggle against Southern reaction. We feel that you, above all others, are most qualified for this presentation. We sincerely believe that your inspiring activity on behalf of world friendship and democracy has given you a special place of high honor among all forward-looking people, and particularly young people. Your ideas and your energetic efforts for peace and friendship represent the deepest hopes of young people for a democratic, secure and happy future.

21-13-22

Should you find it possible to accept, you may be assured that your presence will inspire thousands of young people of New York to greater confidence and initiative in the cause of equality and international friendship. May we also say that we feel that you will derive considerable pleasure from what we expect will be a spirited gathering of severalt thousand enthusiastic young citizens from the industries, colleges and high schools of New York.

If you should wish to discuss this matter further with us, we would be more than happy and honored to see you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

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21-13-23

14 November 1946

My dear Mr. Mellman:

I regret very much that I cannot accept your invitation for December 20. I must on that date be out of town with my wife on account of her severe illness. I have every sympathy with your organization and its objects.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Martin L. Mellman
American Youth for Democracy
150 Nassau Street
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Chicago Ill
Jan 1st 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 - W. 40th St
New york 18, N.y.

Dear Dr Du Bois

This is to wish you and yours a Happy New year, and advise you we have announced your appearance as the Speaker of our Forum Feb 13th 1946 8.00 P.M..

If you will wire me at this address 1435 W. 112th place, we will provide for your transportation. My Telephone Cedarcrest 0795.

Very Truly yours

James T. Townsend
1435 W. 112th place 43, Chicago. Ill

[Arnett AME Church]

********** 20 West 40th Street

21-27-66

4 January 1946

My dear Mr. Townsend:

I regret that I cannot speak for your forum in February. I have arranged my lecture trip this year for March and can very soon, if you wish, give you dates. The date I have in mind now is March sixth. If I hear from you, I will write you more specifically.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. James T. Townsend
1435 West 112th Place
Chicago 43, Illinois

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1444 W. 112th Pl. Phone Bev. 2998

21-22-67

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REV. W. N. REID, MINISTER. J T. TOWNSEND, SECRETARY.

WADE SCRUGGS, TREASURER. JAMES A. LUM, PRESIDENT.

Jan 7th 1946

Dear Dr Dubois

your letter of the 4th received, and the date you have in mind March 6th will be O.K. for our Forum, or any date in march that is best for you.

Very Truly yours

James T. Townsend

1435 W. 112th place

Chicago 43, Ill

21-27-68

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OF ARNETT A. M. E. CHURCH

1444 W. 112th Pl. Phone Bev. 2998

An Intelectual, Cultural and Religious Center.

REV. W. N. REID, MINISTER. J T. TOWNSEND, SECRETARY.

WADE SCRUGGS, TREASURER. JAMES A. LUM, PRESIDENT.

Chicago 43, Ill
Feb 6th 1946

Dr W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St
New yark 3, NY

Dear Dr DuBois

Receiving no reply to my letter of Jan 6th, I am anxios to know if you have made up your lecture trip.

Please advise if date you will be available to speak for our Forum.

Very Truly yours

James T. Townsend
1435 W. 112th place
Chicago 43, Ill

[Arnett AME Church]

21-22-69

21 February 1946

My dear Mr. Townsend:

I have finally arranged my lecture tour. I am going to lecture during April in California and shall, therefore, be passing through Chicago early in April and could lecture at your church April third. The charge, as I have said, to be one hundred dollars.

Kindly let me hear from you at your earliest convenience as the beginning of my California trip will depend upon your answer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend James T. Townsend
1435 West 112th Place
Chicago 43, Illinois

21-22-20

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WADE SCRUGGS, TREASURER. JAMES A. LUM, PRESIDENT.

Chicago Ill
Feb 25th 1946

Dr W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St
New York 18 N Y

Dear Dr DuBois

We regret that we can not accept your date april 3rd, if you have a date on your return the trip would be glad to have you. Many peoples are disappointed because we had announced your appearance last month.

Best wishes for a successfull trip.

Yours very Truly yours

J. T. Townsend
1435 W. 112th Pl.

[Arnett AME Church]

21-27-71

27 March 1946

My dear Mr. Townsend:

It is possible that I could lecture at your church April twenty-eighth. Let me know if this would be possible. The fee would be one hundred dollars.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend James T. Townsend
1435 West 112th Place
Chicago 43, Illinois

[Ernest AME Church]

8 April 1946

21-27-64

My dear Mr. Townsend:

Dr. Du Bois write me from California saying that he intended that the date for his lecture in your church should be Wednesday, May first. If this is satisfactory, will you please let me know immediately?

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Reverend James T. Townsend
1435 West 112th Place
Chicago 43, Illinois

The Men's Club

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REV. W. N. REID, MINISTER. J. T. TOWNSEND, SECRETARY.

WADE SCRUGGS, TREASURER. JAMES A. LUM, PRESIDENT.

21-27-76

April 12th 1946

Mrs Irene Diggs
20-W. 40th St
New york. 18 N y

Dear mrs Diggs

Regret to advise that may first is already filled. we will look forward to next year for Dr Du Bois

Very Truly yours

James T. Townsend Jr
11305 S. Carpenter St
Chicago 43 Ill

[Arnett AME Church]

21-14-15

4 December 1946

My dear Mr. Townsend:

I am planning to be in Chicago for a few lectures March 23 to 27. If you wish my services, would you kindly get in touch with Mr. Metz T. P. Lochard, editor of the Chicago Defender?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. James T. Townsend
1130-5 South Carpenter Street
Chicago 43, Illinois

ASIATIC-AFRICAN UNITED FRONT COMMITTEE

invites

All Colonials and British Friends of Subject Peoples

to come and hear all about the

Anglo-Egyption Sell-out of the Sudan.

HOLBORN HALL

on Mon. Dec. 2nd. 1946 at 7.30 p.m.

Prominent Coloured Speakers include :-

ABDULLA BEY KHALIL
YAAGOUB OSMAN
M. MAHGOUB
} Members of the Sudanese Delegation

NORMAN MANLEY, K.C., President, People's National Party, Jamaica.

NOEL NETHERSOLE, President, Jamaica T.U.C.

Dr. M. JOSEPH MITCHELL, Secretary, League of Coloured Peoples.

T. R. MAKONNEN, Secretary, Pan-African Federation.

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FENNER BROCKWAY, British Centre against Imperialism.

Chairman :

Prof. N. GANGULEE, Federation of Indian Associations in Great Britain.

Causeway Press (T.U.), 113, Newington Causeway, S.E.1. HOP 3087.

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[1946]
[Associated Hospital Service, NY]

CREDIT ALLOWANCE TOWARD YOUR OUT-OF-TOWN HOSPITAL BILL

Benefits under our Blue Cross Plan are available to subscribers who move or are traveling outside the area served by Associated Hospital Service of New York.

However, since Hospital Service as described in the contract can be provided only in member hospitals in our area which have agreed to render such service, a subscriber who enters a non-member hospital receives instead only a credit allowance* toward the total bill for services covered by the Plan and personally pays the balance of the hospital bill. The amount of this allowance shall not exceed the rates we are paying to our member hospitals.

During the first 21 days of hospital service in any contract year, these allowances are:

1 day	$15.00	8 days	$71.00	15 days	$115.00
2 days	25.00	9 days	78.00	16 days	121.00
3 days	34.00	10 days	85.00	17 days	127.00
4 days	42.00	11 days	91.00	18 days	133.00
5 days	50.00	12 days	97.00	19 days	139.00
6 days	57.00	13 days	103.00	20 days	145.00
7 days	64.00	14 days	109.00	21 days	151.00

After 21 days the allowance is $3.00 per day for an additional period not to exceed 180 days in any contract year.

* If the subscriber is admitted to a hospital which is a participating hospital of another Blue Cross Plan with which we have a reciprocity agreement to provide the latter's benefits to our subscribers, benefits greater than the above allowances may be available. The subscriber should, therefore, inquire of the hospital whether its local Blue Cross Plan has such a reciprocity agreement with us and the benefits available thereunder.

The allowance in maternity cases and for conditions arising out of and during pregnancy, shall not exceed $6.00 a day for a maximum period of 10 days. (These benefits are only provided under those contracts in which the certificate number is followed by one of the following letters: "F", "R", "S", "W", or "X".)

The allowance rates above set forth are subject to increase or decrease without notice to subscribers, with the approval of the Departments of Social Welfare and Insurance of the State of New York.

When admitted to a hospital the subscriber should present his identification card and request the hospital to communicate with us immediately.

ASSOCIATED HOSPITAL SERVICE OF NEW YORK
370 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

GEN 14 (8-46)

4 November 1946

Gentlemen:

I have your certificate of contract for hospital service No. 2760415 type A. My wife, Nina G. Du Bois who lives with our daughter in Baltimore, was admitted to the Douglass Hospital, Division Street, Baltimore, Saturday, November 2, 1946 on account of the dislocatetion of a ligament in her back. I write to ask if your hospital service covers that institution.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Associated Hospital Service
370 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Nina G. Du Bois

11 November 1946

Gentlemen:

On November 4, I wrote you a letter, a copy of which is enclosed, to date I have had no answer. May I ask the reason of this delay; also on the enclosed card you say that I have changed my address. I have not changed my address for the last three years. My residence is 409 Edgecombe Avenue, Apt. 13H, New York 32, N. Y. My office is at 20 West 40th Street. May I hear from you immediately?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Associated Hospital Service
370 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Nina Du Bois

The Hospital Sponsored Blue Cross Plan

ASSOCIATED HOSPITAL SERVICE OF NEW YORK

370 LEXINGTON AVENUE • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 4-5900

November 18, 1946

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o Color & Democracy
Colonies and Peace
20 West 40th. Street
New York, N. Y.

21-6

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Re: Nina Du Bois
Certificate No: 2,760,415 A
Claim No: 1306894

We regret that you did not receive a direct reply to your letter November 4th, 1946. However, we wish to assure you that upon receipt of your communication, we established claim number 1306894 to cover Mrs. Du Bois' admission to the Douglas Hospital on November 2nd.

On November 8th, we notified the Douglas Hospital that this request for benefits has been approved for a maximum of 21 days plus 180 days at discount. Just as soon as our service report has been completed and returned to us by the hospital, we will be in a position to arrange for payment in settlement of your claim.

Enclosed is a summary of benefits extended to subscribers hospitalized outside the area served by this Plan.

We have adjusted your home address on our records to 409 Edgecombe Avenue, Apt. 13 H, New York, 32, N. Y.

Very truly yours,

Mary P. Barden

Mary P. Barden
Hospital Department

MPB:MMT
Encl.

To: COMMUNITY MEDICAL CARE, Inc.

[ENC.?]

370 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y.
Murray Hill 4-5940

SUBSCRIBER'S NOTICE of CLAIM and ASSIGNMENT

TO BE COMPLETED AND SIGNED BY SUBSCRIBER OR FAMILY REPRESENTATIVE

Date_____

As a subscriber under your Surgical Expense Indemnity Plan Contract, Certificate No._____
I hereby notify you that an operation has been or will be performed on

Name_____ (Please Print) Age_____ Address_____ (Please Print)
as follows:

Date of Operation_____ Name of Surgeon_____ (Please Print) M. D.

Hospital_____ (Please Print) Hospital Address_____

IF YOU WISH THE PLAN TO PAY YOU — SIGN HERE

The surgeon's fee has been paid and receipted bill is attached. Please reimburse me in the amount available to me for such operation, pursuant to the provisions of my above mentioned contract.

Signature of Subscriber or Family Representative

IF YOU WISH THE PLAN TO PAY YOUR SURGEON — SIGN HERE

I have not paid the surgeon's fee for such operation and I hereby assign and direct you to pay, without further notice to me, to the above named surgeon such amount as may be reimbursable to me for such operation pursuant to the provisions of my above mentioned contract. I acknowledge that the remainder, if any, of such surgeon's fee in excess of the amount which you shall pay to the surgeon pursuant to this assignment, is my personal obligation.

Signature of Subscriber or Family Representative

21-8

SURGEON'S CERTIFICATE

TO BE COMPLETED, SIGNED BY SURGEON AND FORWARDED TO COMMUNITY MEDICAL CARE, Inc. IMMEDIATELY

Date_____

I, a duly licensed physician, certify to you that I performed the following operation upon the patient, on the date and in the hospital indicated above:

Type of Operation_____

My fee for the Operation - $_____ Is this a possible compensation case? ☐ Yes ☐ No

PLEASE SIGN WHICHEVER OF THE FOLLOWING IS APPLICABLE

My fee for the operation has been paid and your remittance should be made directly to the subscriber.

_____ M. D.
Signature of Surgeon

My fee for the operation has not been paid and I accept the foregoing assignment to me toward payment of such fee, TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH YOU SHALL MAKE PAYMENT TO ME.

_____ M. D.
Signature of Surgeon

Address_____

(Not binding unless and until filed with and accepted in writing by Community Medical Care, Inc.)

DO NOT WRITE BELOW THIS LINE – FOR OFFICE USE ONLY Claim Number

A.M.S. Claim No. 130694

Hospital Admissions

Office Dates—Current

Previous Claims

Claim No.	Date Pd.	Amount

Pay Doctor $_____

Subm. $_____

Auth. by_____ Date_____

Date Pd._____ Chk. No._____

HAC-1-CHM-(1-43)

SCHEDULE OF OPERATIONS AND MAXIMUM AMOUNTS OF REIMBURSEMENT

The amounts of reimbursement enumerated below are not intended to fix the value of physicians' services or relate to such value and physicians are privileged to charge their usual fees for services

Abdomen

Appendectomy	$100.00
Gastrectomy	150.00
Other cutting into abdominal cavity for diagnosis or treatment of organs therein (unless otherwise specified below)	100.00

Amputation of

Thigh	75.00
Leg, entire foot, arm, forearm or entire hand	50.00
Fingers or toes, each	10.00

Blood Transfusions, each

Recipient of	25.00

Breast

Simple amputation	50.00
Radical amputation	100.00
Removal of cysts or benign tumors	20.00
Abscess, deep (furuncles excepted)	25.00

Chest

Complete thoracoplasty, or removal of portion of lung	150.00
Other cutting into thoracic cavity for diagnosis or treatment (tapping excepted)	40.00
Initial induction of artificial pneumothorax	25.00

Dislocation, Reduction of

Hip or knee joint (patella excepted)	35.00
Shoulder, elbow or ankle joint	25.00
Lower jaw	15.00
Collar bone or wrist	10.00

For dislocation requiring open operation, the maximum amount of reimbursement will be twice the corresponding amount shown above.

Excision or Fixation by Cutting

Shoulder, hip or sacro-iliac joint	100.00
Knee joint	75.00
Elbow, wrist or ankle joint	50.00
Diseased portion of bone, including curettage (alveolar processes and amputations excepted)	50.00

Ear, Nose or Throat

Mastoidectomy: One side	75.00
Both sides	100.00
Tonsillectomy, adenoidectomy or tonsillectomy and adenoidectomy:	
Subscribers under 12 years of age	25.00
Subscribers of or over 12 years of age	35.00
Sinus operation by cutting (puncture of antrum excepted)	35.00
Submucous resection of nasal septum	35.00
Bronchoscopy for drainage, biopsy or removal of foreign body or obstruction	35.00
Cutting into the trachea	35.00
Other cutting operation (puncture of antrum and tapping excepted)	10.00

Eye

Removal of cataract	75.00
Needling of cataract	50.00

Eye (cont.)

Any cutting operation into the eyeball (through the cornea or sclera)	$50.00
Removal of eyeball	50.00
Cutting on extrinsic eye muscles	35.00
Other cutting operation on eyeball or eye muscles	20.00

Fracture, Treatment of

Thigh, leg, kneecap, upper arm, vertebra or vertebrae, or pelvis (coccyx and vertebral processes excepted)	50.00
Lower jaw (alveolar processes excepted), skull, collar bone, shoulder blade or forearm	25.00
Wrist, hand, ankle or foot	15.00
Fingers or toes, each	10.00
Nose, rib, or ribs	10.00

The amounts shown above are for simple fractures—single or multiple.

For compound fracture, the maximum amount of reimbursement will be one and one-half times the corresponding amount shown above.

For fracture requiring open operation, the maximum amount of reimbursement will be twice the corresponding amount shown above.

Genito-Urinary Tract

Removal of kidney	150.00
Cutting into or fixation of kidney (other than removal of tumors or stones)	100.00
Removal of tumors or stones in kidney, ureter or bladder:	
By open operation	100.00
By crushing, cauterization or endoscopic means	25.00
Stricture of urethra:	
Open operation	50.00
Intra-urethral cutting operation	25.00
Removal of entire prostate by open operation (complete procedure)	150.00
Removal of part of prostate:	
By endoscopic means	40.00
By other cutting operation	75.00
Circumcision (only of subscribers of or over 12 years of age)	15.00
Varicocele, cutting operation on	25.00
Hydrocele, excision, or incision and treatment of sac (tapping excepted)	25.00
Orchidectomy or epididymectomy	35.00
Complete removal of uterus, tubes and ovaries	150.00
Other cutting operations on uterus and its appendages:	
With abdominal approach	100.00
Without abdominal approach	50.00
Dilation and curettage (non-puerperal)	25.00

Goitre

Thyroidectomy (complete procedure, including ligation of thyroid arteries, to be treated as one operation)	150.00

Goitre (cont.)

Ligation of thyroid arteries not followed by thyroidectomy:	
One or more at one operation	$50.00
Two or more stage operation (complete pocedure to be treated as one operation)	75.00

Hernia, Cutting Operation for Radical Cure

Single hernia	50.00
More than one hernia	75.00

Joint

Incision into (tapping excepted)	25.00

Ligaments or Tendons

Cutting operation	25.00
Suturing of tendons:	
Single	25.00
Multiple	40.00

Paracentesis, tapping of

Abdomen, chest, or bladder (other than catheterization)	10.00
Ear-dum, hydrocele, joint or spine	10.00

Rectum

Abdomino-perineal resection	150.00
Cutting operation or injection treatment for radical cure of hemorrhoids (complete procedure):	
External	15.00
Internal	25.00
Cutting operation for prolapsed rectum or fistula in ano	25.00
Cutting operation for fissure	10.00

Skull

Cutting into cranial cavity ("drill taps" excepted)	150.00
"Drill taps"	25.00

Spine or Spinal Cord

Operation with removal of portion of vertebra or vertebrae (coccyx and vertebral processes excepted)	150.00
Removal of part or all of coccyx	50.00

Tumors

Removal of, by cutting operations:	
Malignant tumors (except those of face, lip, or skin)	100.00
Malignant tumors of face, lip, or skin	25.00
Benign tumors, one or more	25.00

Varicose Veins

Cutting operation or injection treatment (complete procedure on all veins)	40.00

*Obstetrical Cases and Conditions Arising out of and during Pregnancy

Delivery of child or children	50.00
Caesarean section, including delivery	100.00
Abdominal operation for extra-uterine pregnancy	100.00
Miscarriage (abortion)	25.00

*Available only under Family Group (Husband, Wife and Children) Contracts.

For any operation not listed in this Schedule of Operations, CMC reserves the right in its sole discretion to determine the amount of reimbursment, if any, to be paid.

Postage Will Be Paid by Addressee

No Postage Stamp Necessary If Mailed in the United States

BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE

FIRST CLASS PERMIT 27,880 SEC. 510, P. L. & R., NEW YORK, N. Y.

UNITED MEDICAL SERVICE, INC.

370 LEXINGTON AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

21-8

[ASSOC. HOSP. SERVICE OF N.Y.]

The Hospital Sponsored Blue Cross Plan

ASSOCIATED HOSPITAL SERVICE OF NEW YORK

370 LEXINGTON AVENUE • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 4-5900

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
% Color & Democracy Solonies & Peace
20 West 40th Street
New York,N.Y.

December 17, 1946

Dear Subscriber:

WE HAVE APPROVED BENEFITS . . .

for the recent hospital admission reported under your contract and have notified the hospital to extend benefits to you.

We note that you are also a subscriber to United Medical Service, Inc. If you wish to file claim for benefits under that contract and have not already done so, please complete the enclosed form and forward it to United Medical Service in the enclosed envelope which requires no postage.

To be taken to the hospital is something that happens to most of us at one time or another, and in your case you have very wisely prepared for it.

More than 250,000 of the Plan's 2,600,000 members are admitted to hospitals annually. If any of your friends are not members of the Plan you may help them by giving them one of the enclosed cards.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Sesan

HARRY SESAN
Vice President

ASX-U

CASS DC. NEGRO PRESS]

do not type

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PHONE OAKLAND 6400

ERNEST E. JOHNSON, CHIEF
WASHINGTON BUREAU
1915 14TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MICHIGAN 6400

22-9-42

July 30, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
N. A. A. C. P.,
20 E. 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are in receipt of the copy of your letter to various organizations, proposing that some step be taken to present the cause of African Colonials before the United Nations Council this fall.

A story is being fashioned from your letter. We will be appreciative if you will keep us abreast of your plans as rapidly as they develop. This channel is at your disposal in any fashion in which it may serve to bring information to the public. Personally, your idea seems the sound approach if an audience can be had with any degree of official recognition.

Sincerely,
THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS,

C. A. Barnett

Claude A. Barnett.

ir

21-25-3

The Associated Negro Press Inc.
National News Service
3507 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO

11 September, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
20 W. 40th Street
New York, 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I thought you would like to have a few of these clippings. I suggest you keep us in touch with your plans.

Sincerely yours,
THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS

Claude A. Barnett

jhr
Incl.

21-25-2

23 September 1946

Dear Mr. Barnett:

Here is a scoop directly from Uruguay. I am sending it to you alone. Thursday, September 12, Dr. Irene Diggs, Research Assistant to Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, and now representing the Department of State on a cultural study in Uruguay, held a press conferance in Montevideo. The American Embassy says only two others have exceeded hers in the number of reporters, that of the late President Roosevelt and that of Admiral Halsey. It lasted two hours and was conducted entirely in Spanish. The following day every one of the ten papers in the city carried stories, five with photographs. Mundo Uruguayo, on the type of Life, had an article the following week.

I enclose two clippings. They are worth translating.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Claude A. Barnett
Associated Negro Press
3507 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

21-25-4

26 September 1946

My dear Mr. Barnett:

Thank you for your letter of September 11th and the enclosures. I appreciate the publicity which you achieve.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Claude A. Barnett
Associated Negro Press
3507 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

21-25-5

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PFC. JARVIS ROBINSON
PFC. LEONARD VAUGHN — U.S.M.C.

PHONE OAKLAND 6400

ERNEST E. JOHNSON, CHIEF
WASHINGTON BUREAU
1915 14TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MICHIGAN 6400

28 September, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40th St.
New York, 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your note and also for sending the material on Miss Diggs.

We wish you would inform us whether the inclosed release is correct? Will you be at Columbia for the Southern Youth Congress?

Very truly yours,
THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS

C. A. Barnett

Claude A. Barnett

jhr
Incl.

2 October 1946

21-27-54

My dear Mr. Barnett:

The announcement that I am to speak at the Southern Negro Youth Congress, October 20th is correct.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Claude A. Barnett
Associated Negro Press
3507 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

request for information

21-24-24

102 Hamilton Avenue
Columbus, Ohio
January 31, 1946

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am at present a graduate student in the Department of English at Ohio State University, working towards a Master of Arts degree. I am considering the preparation of a thesis on the life and works of Countee Cullen, in which I hope to deal with the problem of interpretation and evaluation of his works, and a disclosure of the relationship between his works and his experiences.

I have been informed by those whose judgment I respect, that you are in a position to advise, guide, or help me in this venture. I am also advised that you are well qualified to acquaint me with other pertinent sources of information.

Will you be kind enough to write and give me any information which you may have, and which you feel will be of service to me? I shall indeed be grateful to you for whatever services you may render, whether they be large or small.

Most appreciatively yours,

(Miss) A. Geraldine Avery

A. Geraldine Avery

AGA:S

21-24-25

10 September 1946

My dear Madam:

I have just had opportunity to read your letter of January 31, 1946, with regard to the work of Countee Cullen. I would advise you to write to his widow whose address is c/o Harper & Bros. 49 East 33rd Street, New York City.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss A. Geraldin Avery
102 Hamilton Avenue
Columbus, Ohio

Avery Institute

CHARLESTON 16, S. C.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

An
American Missionary Association
School

December 13, 1946

21-26-21

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH, N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Avery Institute will be very pleased to present you as lecturer on the subject, "The United Nations and The Negro" on February 16, 1947.

We plan to have the program begin at five o'clock and it will be supplemented with a few musical selections from the high schools. Since this is a Sunday afternoon, I feel reasonably sure that we can have a large and receptive audience to hear your message.

We understand that your terms are one hundred dollars per lecture, and that we have no responsibility for bearing your travel expenses. During the time you are here, however, I would like to have you as our guest, and you may stay with us in the Director's Home. I hope this date has not been asked for by any other institution because we are particularly anxious to present you on a Sunday afternoon.

Very truly yours,

John F. Potts

John F. Potts
Director

JFP:DEMcD

This is to acknowledge my engagement
I speak in Charleston Feb 16 for
I be $100. I shall be glad to stop
at your home

[Avery Institute]

21-26-22

16 December 1946

My dear Mr. Potts:

This is to acknowledge my engagement to speak in Charleston February 16th on the subject, "The United Nations and the Negro". The fee to be $100. I shall be glad to stop at your home.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John F. Potts
Avery Institute
Charleston, South Carolina

[AZIKIWE]

Assassination Story: True Or False

42/90/155

By NNAMDI AZIKIWE, M.A., M.Sc.
Chairman, Zik Group of Newspapers

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

AFRICAN BOOK COMPANY, LIMITED
Nigerian Spokesman Building
ONITSHA, Nigeria.
1946.

ASSASSINATION STORY: TRUE OR FALSE

42/90/156

> Persecution is not wrong because it is cruel,
> but cruel because it is wrong. RICHARD WHATELEY,
> Archbishop of Dublin.
>
> Wherever you see persecution, there is more than
> a probability that truth is on the persecuted side.
> BISHOP HUGH LATIMER.

The following are statements of facts in connection with the alleged attempt to assassinate me, during the General Strike, last year. Originally, I had no intention of making these statements publicly, but for the fact that my character and reputation had been unwarrantedly and maliciously vilified. I have narrated the facts, according to my knowledge and I leave the rest at the bar of public opinion.

In the words of Abraham Lincoln, "With malice towards none, with charity for all," I have disclosed some secrets which were only known by certain persons, all these seven months. If these revelations would lead to a better understanding of the part I have played in the matter and an appreciation of my silence to the inspired attacks on my person in certain circles, then this pamphlet should have rendered some constructive service in the cause of inter-racial and inter-tribal relations in this country.

The facts, so far as I know them, are as follows:

1. On June 21, 1945, the technical workers of the civil service of Nigeria went on strike at the instance of the African Civil Servants Technical Workers Union. They demanded an increase in the cost of living allowance due to rise in the cost of living and Government refused to accede to their demands.

2. On July 13, 1945, at 5.45 p.m. or thereabouts, Mr C. U. M. Gardner, Managing Editor of the ***West African Pilot***, handed to me a wireless message. (Appendix I) which, he said, Mr Paul West, one of the three Wireless Operators of the ***West African Pilot***, a licensed station in accordance with the laws of Nigeria, told him he had intercepted in Metre 51.5 at 5.15 p.m. or thereabouts on that day.

3. I took delivery of the wireless message and read same. I was shocked and terrified, as would any other human being, to observe that my assassination was contemplated. It was suggested therein that assassination of "two most important persons" should take place between that day and Monday, July 16. Targeters were alleged to have been detailed to watch cinema and dancing halls. Arrangement was said to be in the offing to get Mr "A" to give lecture "where all possibility of assassination can take place in the hall." If that proves futile the targeter will shoot into blue car by night. The targeter was alleged detailed to watch King George Avenue.

4. Now, my surname starts with "A" and I am well known throughout West Africa as a lecturer. I have a blue car and I frequent cinema halls. Occasionally, I attend dances, and I reside at 72 King George Avenue, Yaba Estate. On the day in question, Mr Herbert Macaulay and Dr Olorun Nimbe and myself were in a car that afternoon at King George Avenue. In the light of these, and considering the circumstances under which the wireless message was handed to me, naturally I became apprehensive of my safety.

5. I decided to leave Lagos as a fugitive from unknown assassins, and I drafted a cablegram to be forwarded to certain persons and organizations in the United Kingdom including the Right Honourable Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies at that time. (Appendix II). Before my flight from Lagos, I wrote my last testament. (Appendix III).

6. On July 16, 1945, the Chief Secretary sent me a personal note urging me to visit him for a tete-a-tete. (Appendix IV). I was already out of town. Later, he sent another letter explaining the object of the interview. (Appendix V). On July 18, he sent a reminder. (Appendix VI). Mr Gardner replied that I was **incommunicado**. (Appendix VII).

7. On July 26, 1945, I telegraphed the Chief Secretary informing him that I had just received his letters, which were redirected to me at Onitsha. I added that I had forwarded my reply by post (Appendix VIII). The telegram was franked by the Resident of Onitsha Province, because it was during the strike and telegraph service was not open to the general public at the Onitsha Post Office.

8. On the same day, I posted a confidential letter addressed to "G. Beresford Stooke, Esq., Nigerian Secretariat, Lagos, Nigeria," at the Onitsha Post Office. I could not register the letter because it was during the strike and registration facilities were not open always to the public. My letter to Mr Stooke. (Appendix IX) enclosed a petition to the Secretary of State together with text of the evidence at my disposal in respect of the alleged plot to assassinate me. (Appendix X).

9. On October 27, 1945, the Public Relations Officer published in the ***Daily Service*** and the ***Nigerian Eastern Mail*** a garbled communique alleging that I had not submitted any evidence either to the Police or to the Government regarding the alleged attempt to assassinate me and that no reply was made to Mr Stooke's letters of July 16 and 18, until July 26, which is not true. The Public Relations Officer made another false statement by saying that "Mrs Azikiwe" sent a telegram from Onitsha promising to forward a reply by mail. (Appendix XI). That these mistatements contained in an official communique are not only misleading but unfair cannot be doubted. Mr Gardner did reply to Mr Stooke's letter on July 19. (see Appendix VII). Why Mrs Azikiwe was brought into the matter, I cannot appreciate. Strangely, the Public Relations Officer did not publish this communique in other sections of the Nigerian press,

to my knowledge. It will be recalled that the **Pilot** was banned on the one-sided evidence of this self-same Public Relations Officer.

10. On November 15, 1945, I forwarded another letter to the Chief Secretary enclosing a petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, pleading that the Nigerian Government should be requested to make good the loss of £4,749 sustained by the ***Pilot*** and the ***Comet*** as a result of the ban which had been universally condemned as highhanded in the extreme.

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11. On December 16, 1945, Sir Arthur Richards, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Nigeria, made reference to the assassination story in his address to the Legislative Council, as follows: "I do not propose to dwell on the many attempts to fog the issue and to disturb the public mind — such as the impossible story that I had paid secret visits to Nigeria during my leave or even the sillier invention that a certain journalist was in danger of his life. I am sure that he had nothing to fear than the dark shadows of his own imagination." This is an expression of opinion, and the right to express an opinion cannot be questioned.

12. On December 27, 1945, the ***Daily Service*** published a long and apparently inspired leader in its columns alleging that the assassination story was "a colossal falsehood." It did not adduce any evidence to substantiate this generalisation. It quoted the Public Relations Office communique referred to above and repeated the lie about "Mrs Azikiwe" and after employing expressions of a most vulgar and scurrilous type to besmirch my character, concluded that I owed Nigeria an unreserved apology for having dared to call attention publicly to the fact that I felt apprehensive that my life was endangered.

13. On January 3, 1946, I forwarded another letter to the Chief Secretary calling his attention to the fact that he had not acknowledged receipt of my letters dated July 26, 1945 and November 15, 1945, enclosing petitions to the Secretary of State, regarding the plot to assassinate me and the reimbursement of losses sustained by the ***Pilot*** and the ***Comet***. I reminded him that the evidence of the assassination plot, which was denied by the Public Relations Officer was enclosed in the letter of July 26, 1945. I indicated my willingness to furnish him with copies of same together with the evidence, if he had not received them and if it was his pleasure. I emphaised the unfairness of the action of the Public Relations Officer in making an untrue statement about my wife, without justification. (Appendix XII).

14. For about six weeks, the ***Daily Service***, with unabated fury and regularity, continued its apparently inspired attack on my person and insisted that I had no reasonable ground to be apprehensive about my life, that I had manufactured the story in order to transform myself into a martyr, that I had fabricated the news in order to gain cheap popularity, and that the story was fantastic as it was a figment of the imagination. It did not adduce any evidence to justify its accusations. I maintained studied silence. It should be borne in mind that never for once did the ***Daily Service*** attempt to find out from me the truth about the assassination story. It did not try to investigate: (1) whether it

is true that Mr Gardner handed the wireless message to me ? (2) whether it is true that Mr Paul West intercepted the wireless message ? (3) whether it is true that the ***West African Pilot*** has a wireless receiver ? (4) whether it is true that that newspaper has a Class B Licence under the Wireless Telegraphy Ordinance ? (5) whether it is true that we have three qualified Wireless Operators, one of whom is an ex-Service man, and all of whom can and do receive Morse signals by wireless ? Had these been done, then the ***Daily Service*** might be justified in making a ***carte blanche*** denial of the story and thus impeach the credibility of my allegation

15. On January 23, 1946, Mr A. K. Blankson, General Manager of Zik's Press Limited, sent a telegram from Lagos informing us that the Government of Nigeria had refused to renew our Class B Broadcast Listeners Wireless Licence which had been in our possession for about five years, giving no reason for its act, and returning our cheque for £50 which we had sent for the licence.

16. On January 24, 1946, I sent a telegram to the Chief Secretary asking him to elucidate Government policy on this score or to state reason for the refusal to renew our wireless licence. Up to the time of writing, no reply has been forthcoming from him. I was obliged to circulate the news to the outside world, because I believe that this official act is not only inexplicable but cannot be consistent with the liberty of the press, for which thousands of Nigerians had sacrificed their lives and limbs, their moneys, their resources and their prop of existence.

17. On January 28, 1946, I forwarded a telegram to Doctor the Honourable Abu Bakr Ibiyinka Olorun Nimbe, the Third Member for Lagos in the Legislative Council, informing him of the refusal of Government to renew our wireless licence without reason, the non-acknowledgment by Chief Secretary of my letters of July 26, 1945, November 15, 1945 and January 3, 1946, and also the false statement which was circulated by the Public Relations Officer about my wife.

18. On February 4, 1946, I received a letter from the Chief Secretary informing me that his office did not receive my letter of July 26, 1945 (which was addressed to him personally) but that his office did receive my letter of November 15, 1945 (which was addressed to him officially). He said that the petition enclosed in the letter of November 15, 1945, had been transmitted to the Secretary of State. In connection with the communique of the Public Relations Officer, he admitted that the allusion to "Mrs Azikiwe" "was due to a typographical error which is regretted." He added that I was at liberty to forward a copy of my letter of July 26, 1945, if I so desired. (Appendix XIII). The letter of the Chief Secretary was dated January 25, 1946 and was franked by the despatch section of the Nigerian Secretariat on January 28, 1946.

19. On February 4, 1946, I forwarded a letter to Mr G. Beresford Stooke enclosing a copy of my letter of July 26, 1945 together with copies of a petition to the Secretary of State and the evidence of the plan to assassinate me, which

Mr Stooke had requested me to furnish him, vide his letter of July 16, 1945. (Appendix XIV).

CONCLUSION

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I have stated the facts in connection with the assassination story according to my knowledge. I have not embellished same. As a British Protected Person, I have a right to tell my fellow citizens if I have reasonable ground to be apprehensive of the safety of my person. That is a civic duty, so long as I did not accuse any person and so long as I did not incite any person to commit lawlessness.

It is up to any person to believe or disbelieve the assassination story, for whatever it may be worth, but none with justice can question my right to be apprehensive of the safety of my person when I know that I have reasonable ground for doing so. If any person denies my right to do so, then it is evidence of intolerance. Even His Excellency did not question that right. He merely mentioned that it was a silly invention whose merits or demerits he was unwilling to discuss.

I think that it is unfair to vilify my reputation on this matter, as a section of the press had done wantonly. To attack successfully the assassination story, any doubting Thomas must not attack the person of the story-teller, but the credibility of his story. It is my evidence which should be scrutinised in order to know whether, as a matter of fact, Mr Gardner did deliver to me the wireless message, and whether Mr West did intercept that message. Failure to probe into the credibility of the story from these material points is evidence of malice. I cannot but regard such attitude as one of needless persecution buttressed by prejudice.

Charles Simons, an American clergyman and litterateur, wrote some years ago: "The resource of bigotry and intolerance, when convicted of error, is always the same; silenced by argument, it endeavours to silence by persecution, in old times by fire and sword, in modern days by the tongue."

Perhaps, Willlam Ernest Henley was in this predicament when he wrote:

"In the fell clutch of circumstance
I have not winced nor cried aloud.
Under the bludgeonings of chance
My head is bloody, but unbowed.

"Beyond this place of wrath, and tears
Looms but the Horror of the shade,
And yet the menace of the years
Finds, and shall find me, unafraid."

APPENDIX I

WIRELESS MESSAGES

1. Station: WAPYEL
2. Receiver: Paul West, Wireless Operator
3. Date: Friday, July 13, 1945
4. Metre: 51½
5. Time: 5.15 p.m. (GMT)

.....xxx reference.....air letter.....first item.....assassination of the two most important persons.....xxx already started on steps towards.....but proposed assassination will take place before.....xxx.....targeters are detailed watch cinema halls and dancing halls xxx arranging get round people beg "A" give lecture where all possibility assassination can take place in hall xxx reward of hundred guineas to..... targeter who will get at him xxx if that proves futile they will watch by night to shoot into blue car xxx strictly.....and till then

(2)

.....xxx air letter not received yet xxx suggest all messages come by code next time fear interception xxx also suggest postpone assassination till.....but advise.....before then xxx

(3)

.....xxx suggest.....demand.....before.....xxx shall give personal opinion on tragic move xxx

(4)

.....xxx air letter unreceived yet xxx shall suggest.....immediately given and hold on bloody act yet unless.....xxx

(5)

.....xxx am still of opinion assassination takes place between now and monday xxx just informed two of them were in a car this afternoon xxx.....was just late who was detailed to watch king george avenue xxx shall take your various advice then till .....xxx there shall.....but.....ready.....cold blood xxx.....no interception of message xxx.....all is safe.

APPENDIX II

OMNIBUS CABLEGRAM

Colonel Oliver Stanley 10 Downing Street London
National Council of Civil Liberties 11a Kings Road London
Fabian Colonial Bureau 11 Dartmouth Street London
League of Coloured Peoples 19 Old Queen Street London
Antislavery Aborigines Society 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road London
George Padmore Press Room Ministry of Information London
Magnus Williams 181 Sutherland Avenue Maida Vale London
Reuters 85 Fleet Street London

IM 7 x NLT x eye implore you humbly for last time contact highest authorities enable me escorted officially to London at my expense lay before his majesty through secretary state incontrovertible and conclusive evidence definite plot to murder me stop please insist that local government be instructed protect my life otherwise this is last cablegram from me alive.....

APPENDIX III

MY LAST TESTAMENT

1. Some unknown persons have planned my assassination. It was suggested today Friday, July 13, 1945 and incorporated in a wireless message (Metre 51½). My living witnesses are Paul West (Wireless Operator, who received the message), Collins Gardner (Managing Editor of the West African Pilot, who delivered the message to me) and Herbert Macaulay (who was apprised by us of the plot).

2. One of the unknown persons advised that the assassination should be postponed.

3. Another of the unknown persons said that he would give his personal opinion on this tragic move later.

4. Another of the unknown persons counselled that the bloody act should not be perpetrated "yet unless....."

5. Another of the unknown persons insisted that the assassination should take place between today (July 13) and Monday (July 16).

6. According to the wireless message, the hired assassin is said to have been offered one hundred guineas in order to get at me.

7. I go away to the Niger whence I came. If it is the will of Providence that I should depart from this world through the bullet of an assassin, then I have no choice. Otherwise, I will yet live to witness the Scriptural dictum: "The wicked shall never go unpunished."

8. I have made no will. All I have in life, I leave to my..... and my..... to do as they please with same.

9. I hope the Board of Directors of Zik's Press Limited will make life worthwhile for all our employees and carry out the reforms which I had already approved, forthwith.

10. Into the unknown, let me go, having served the will of my maker. But I go full of supreme confidence and spiritual satisfaction that I have served Mother Africa to the limit of my physical ability — and even gave my most priced possession — my life — for the redemption of Africa.

(Sgd) NNAMDI AZIKIWE

July 13, 1945, 9.45 p.m.
72 King George Avenue,
Yaba Estate, Lagos.

APPENDIX IV

LETTER FROM NIGERIAN SECRETARIAT
16 JULY 1945

Sir,

The Chief Secretary to the Government has asked if you would be good enough to come and see him at the Secretariat at 10.30 this morning, Monday the 16th July.

I am, Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

(Sgd) E. C. CAMPBELL
for Chief Secretary to the Government.

NNAMDI AZIKIWE ESQ.

APPENDIX V

REQUEST BY MR STOOKE

16th July, 1945.

Dear Mr Azikiwe,

I am so sorry to hear that you are not well to-day and trust that it is not serious.

The reason why I asked you to be good enough to come and see me this morning is that we have been told by the Secretary of State that he has received a telegram from you stating that your life is in danger and that you have incontrovertible and conclusive evidence of a definite plot to murder you. I at once communicated with the Commissioner of Police, to find that he knows nothing of this at all.

If you are unable to come and see me I would ask you to be so kind as to make the evidence you refer to available to me at the earliest possible moment in order that I may see that suitable steps are taken in the matter.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sgd) G. BERESFORD STOOKE

Mr Nnamdi Azikiwe
72 King George Avenue
YABA.

APPENDIX VI

REMINDER BY MR STOOKE

No.33362|S.1|
Nigerian Secretariat,
Lagos; Nigeria,
18th July, 1945

Dear Mr Azikiwe,

I have to refer to my letter of the 16th of July, a copy of which I enclose for easy reference,

As I have not so far received any reply I should be glad to learn when a communication from you on this subject may be expected.

Yours sincerely,
(Sgd) G. BERESFORD STOOKE

Mr Nnamdi Azikiwe,
72 King Gege Avenue,
YABA.

APPENDIX VII

LETTER FROM MR GARDNER

The Honourable
The Chief Secretary to the Government
Nigerian Secretariat
Lagos

West African Pilot
34 Commercial Avenue,
YABA Estate
July 19, 1945

Dear Sir:

With reference to your second letter of July 16 and your third letter dated July 18, 1945, addressed personally to Mr Nnamdi Azikiwe, I regret to inform you that he is not in town.

The two above-mentioned letters have, however, been forwarded to him for necessary action.

Yours obediently,
(Sgd) C. U. M. GARDNER.
Editor.

CUMG|AOO

APPENDIX VIII

TELEGRAM FROM MR AZIKIWE

Franked by D. P. J. O'Connor Resident

Chiefsec Lagos
have just arrived Onitsha after touring certain towns western provinces stop found your letters dated 16th and 18th awaiting my attention stop regret delay stop forwarding reply by mail.

26. 7. 45. NNAMDI AZIKIWE.

APPENDIX IX

LETTER TO MR STOOKE

CONFIDENTIAL

P. O. Box 46
Onitsha
July 26, 1945

G. Beresford Stooke Esq.
Nigerian Secretariat
LAGOS, Nigeria

Dear Mr Stooke:

This is to confirm my telegram of even date, which reads as follows: "Have just arrived after touring certain towns Western Provinces stop found your letters dated 16th and 18th awaiting my attention stop regret delay stop forwarding reply by mail. Nnamdi Azikwe."

As requested, I enclose herewith a communication in the nature of petition to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies together with the evidence you asked me to furnish you, for transmission, without abridgement, through His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government of Nigeria.

Please acknowledge receipt.

A/O

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) NNAMDI AZIKIWE

APPENDIX X

PETITION TO SECRETARY OF STATE

P. O. Box 46,
ONITSHA, Nigeria.
July 26, 1945.

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for the Colonies
Downing Street, London
Through His Excellency
The Officer Administering the Government of Nigeria
Government House
LAGOS, Nigeria.

The humble petition of NNAMDI AZIKIWE, Chairman, Zik's Press Limited, of 72 King George Avenue, Yaba Estate, Lagos, respectfully showeth:

1. That G. Beresford Stooke, Esquire, has informed me of your desire to peruse my

evidence in respect of the plot to assassinate me, as alleged in my cablegram of July 14, 1945 to the Right Honourable Oliver Stanley. He has also requested me to furnish him with the evidence, vide Appendix I attached. The evidence is attached hereto as Appendix II and the two appendixes form part and parcel of this humble petition.

2. That as will be observed, after perusing same, the plan to commit assassination is incorporated in a wireless message which was handed to me on Friday, July 13, 1945, at 5.45 p.m. or thereabouts, by Mr Collins Ulric Maximillian Gardner, Managing Editor of the **West African Pilot**, with the information that the wireless message was intercepted in Metre 51.5 at 5.15 p.m. or thereabouts, by Mr Paul West, and submitted to him for transmission to me for my information and necessary action. Mr West is one of the Wireless Operators of the **West African Pilot**, a licensed station in accordance with the Laws of Nigeria.

3. That the facts contained in the wireless message are very startling indeed, and being a British Protected Person, by birth, I am appealing through you to His Majesty's Britannic Government, to protect my life and my business interests from those who appear to be after my life and are bent on ruining my business, and to be more reasonable and sympathetic towards me and my business.

4. That as indicated in my cablegram of Saturday, July 14, 1945, I desire to travel to the United Kingdom in order to place my case before His Majesty the King, through the Colonial Office, but in view of the portents in the wireless message, I am afraid that at present I do not feel secure in my person.

5. That I submit that, if any British Protected Person, like me, cannot feel safe and secure in his person, even under the canopy of the Union Jack, then I fail to appreciate the necessity for the sacrifices in Men, Money, Man Power, and Material Resources which the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria had contributed, and are contributing, to the wa efforts of the British Empire and the United Nations.

6. That I beg the liberty to say, in conclusion that, in proceeding to England, I desire to be accompanied by my Private Secretary, and I suggest that I be accepted in bona fide and be treated as a guest and friend of Great Britain, at my expense, if need be.

7. That I very respectfully reiterate my appeal to you for the protection of my life and my business under the jurisdiction and protectorate of the British Government, as a Protecting State.

And your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray etc.

(Sgd) NNAMDI AZIKIWE

APPENDIX XI

COMMUNIQUE BY PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER GOVERNMENT NOTICE

ALLEGED PLOT AGAINST MR AZIKIWE

In an article by "ZIK" published in the West African Pilot of the 24th of October, it is suggested that the writer informed this Government of the alleged plot against him.

The facts are as follows.

On the 11th of July, Mr Azikiwe sent a telegram direct to the Secretary of State and to other persons in the United Kingdom alleging that his life was in danger. The Secretary of State sent a telegram to this Government asking for information on the subject. This was the first intimation that this Government had had of the alleged plot.

The Chief Secretary immediately asked Mr Azikiwe to come and see him but was informed that Mr Azikiwe was unwell. On the 16th of July a letter was addressed to Mr Azikiwe asking him to make available to Government at the earliest possible moment the evidence of the alleged plot. No reply was received until the 26th of July when Mrs Azikiwe sent a telegram from Onitsha acknowledging the Chief Secretary's letters of 16th and 18th of July and promising to forward a reply by mail. No further communication on this subject has since been received from Mr Azikiwe.

Mr Azikiwe at no time asked for Police protection nor has he at any time made available to the Police or to the Government the evidence which he says is in his possession of the alleged plot against him.

APPENDIX XII

REMINDER TO CHIEF SECRETARY

P. O. Box 46
ONITSHA, Nigeria
January 3, 1946

The Honourable
The Chief Secretary to the Government
Nigerian Secretariat
Lagos

PETITIONS OF MR NNAMDI AZIKIWE

Dear Sir:

On July 26, 1945, I wrote and forwarded to you by ordinary post a confidential letter, together with a petition for transmission to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, through His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government. This letter was in response to the request of the Secretary of State (as indicated by you) that I should produce evidence to support my fears that certain individuals had planned my assassination. Up to the moment of writing, I have not received any acknowledgment of same.

2. On November 15, 1945, I wrote and forwarded to you by registered post, a letter together with a petition for transmission to the Secretary of State for the Colonies through His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government. This petition was in connection with the ban placed on the **West African Pilot** and the **Daily Comet**. Up to the moment of writing, I have not received any acknowledgment of same.

3. The Public Relations Officer has published in the **Daily Service** and the **Nigerian Eastern Mail** certain statements to the effect that I had not forwarded my evidence to the Government, contrary to what was published in certain local papers. In the same publication, the Public Relations Officer made an untrue statement that "Mrs Azikiwe" sent you a telegram on July 26, 1945. Naturally, it is embarrassing to read this official communique because I actually posted you a letter on July 26, 1945, and the telegram -- which was forwarded to you on the same date and franked by the Resident of Onitsha Province -- was from "Nnamdi Azikiwe."

4. Apparently for political reasons, the **Daily Service** has made an unnecessary publication of this subject, reproducing the official communique referred to in Paragraph 3 above, thus repeating the unfair allusion to my wife and vilifying my reputation.

5. It is obvious from the above that it is possible you are not in possession of my letters of July 26, 1945 and November 15, 1945.

6. I will be too happy to furnish you with copies of the above correspondence, if it is your pleasure that I should do so, in view of the fact that all the while, I had acted in good faith, without any ulterior motive.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) NNAMDI AZIKIWE

APPENDIX XIII

LETTER FROM CHIEF SECRETARY

Nigerian Secretariat
Lagos Nigeria
25th January, 1946.

Sir:

I am directed to refer to your letter of the 3rd of January, 1946, and to say that your letter of the 15th of November, 1945, has been received and the petition enclosed therewith has been forwarded to the Secretary of State.

2. The letter dated the 26th of July, 1945, to which you refer was not received in this office. The statement in the Press communique to which you refer that no further communication on this subject had been received, was therefore correct. The statement that the telegram of the 26th of July came from Mrs Azikiwe was due to a typographical error, which is regretted.

3. You are, of course, at liberty to forward a copy of your letter of the 26th of July if you so desire.

I am, sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Sgd) G. BERESFORD STOOKE
Chief Secretary to the Government.

Mr N. Azikiwe,
P. O. Box 46,
ONITSHA.

APPENDIX XIV

ANOTHER LETTER TO MR STOOKE

P. O. Box 46
ONITSHA, Nigeria
February 4, 1946

Mr G. Beresford Stooke
Nigerian Secretariat
Lagos, Nigeria.

Dear Sir:

With reference to your letter No. 33362/S.1/122 dated January 25, 1946, stating that

my letter dated July 26, 1945, was not received in your office, I forward herewith the ollowing

(a) Copy of my letter dated July 26, 1945 addressed to you.

(b) Copy of my petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies together with appendixes in triplicate which were attached to my letter under reference.

Please acknowledge receipt of this letter together with the enclosures. Your letters dated July 16 and 18, 1945 addressed to me, refer.

Sincerely Yours,
(Sgd) NNAMDI AZIKIWE

Printed by Zik's Press Limited Onitsha.

5 February 1946

21-25-15

Dear Pearl:

I arrived in Philadelphia, Sunday night at seven-thirty, lectured at eight and took the train back to New York at half past eleven. I should liked to have called but it seemed impossible to get from Twenty-First and Columbia to Germantown during that time. Meantime when the wrist gets well enough to manipulate the kitchen utensils, let me know. And don't drink Jamaican rum during freezing time.

My best regards to you and the Doctor.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. R. Wellesley Bailey
212 West Penn Street
Germantown, Philadelphia
Pennsylvania

On Your GOLDEN
Wedding
Anniversary
50

Life has no gifts more precious
Than those you two have shared
Through fifty happy golden years,
Made glad because you've cared;
And may this rich companionship,
Its blessings and its cheer,
Bring harvests of bright memories,
Made sweeter every year!

[BAILEY]

Life has no gift —

Mr. + Mrs. J. Wellesley Bailey
1945
Phila. 44, Pa.

21-27-52

18 December 1946

My dear Pearl:

I had just written a triumphant invitation to you and Dr. Bailey to lunch with me the 4th, when I found I am speaking to the National Lawyer's Guild in Washington on that date. Well at any rate Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

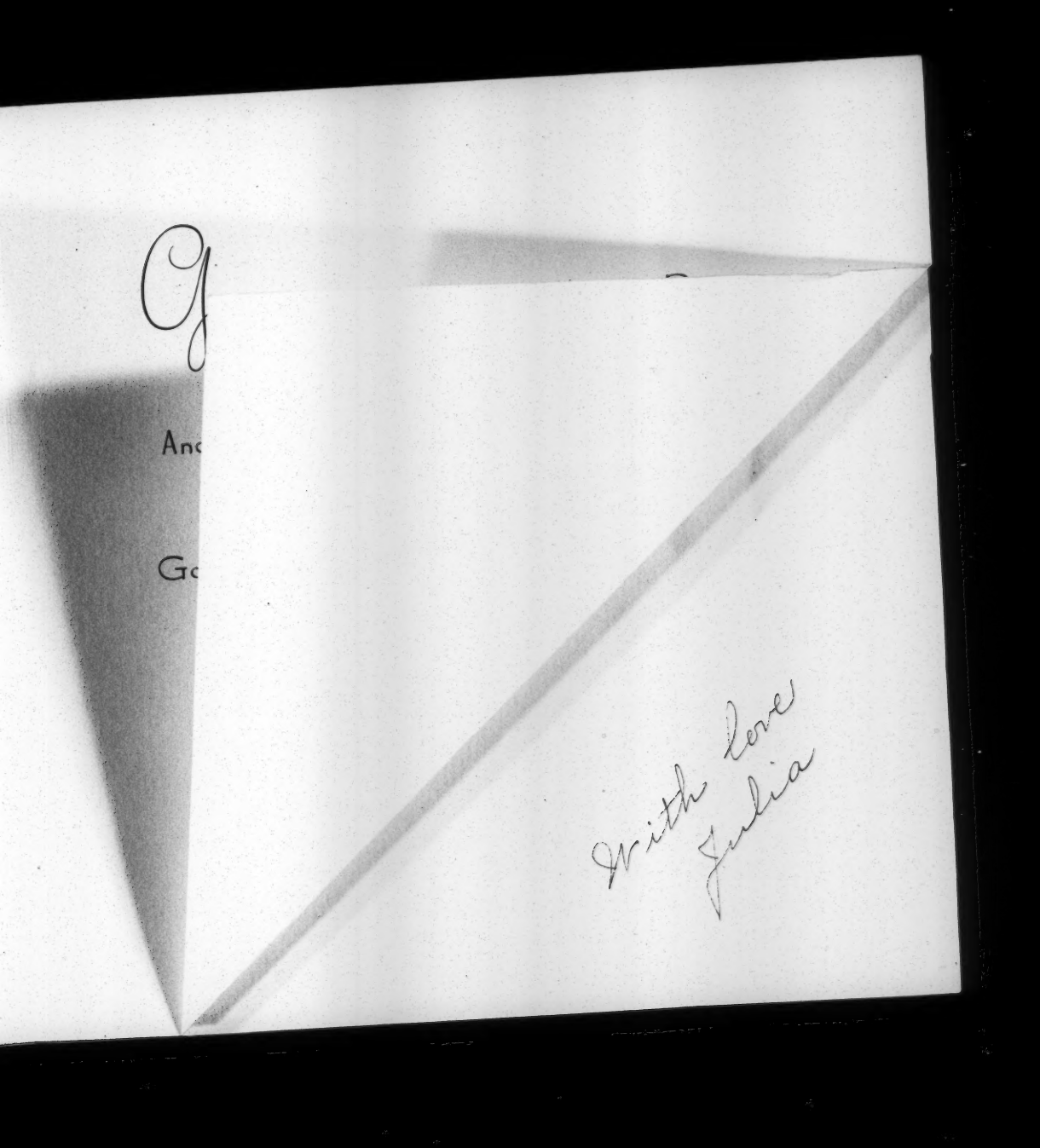
Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Pearl Bailey
212 West Penn Street
Germantown, Philadelphia
Pennsylvania

[BAKER]

God bless you on this Happy Day
That makes a dream come true,
And crowns with gold the hopes you've had
Since first you said "I do!"
God bless you both, and keep you, too,
In health, and free from care,
With golden memories in your hearts
And golden joys to share.


With love
Julia

[Baker]

17 Savin Street
Roxbury Mass.
May 20. 1946

21-28-8in

Dear Cousin Nina:

I am sorry I am so late writing to you, but I am so glad that you are well enough to leave the hospitall. I have been praying that your health would be restored and that you wouldnit get discouraged. It seems that gaining ones health is such slow work

I am so glad you could be home for your wedding

anniversary.
I had hoped to be able to see you again before you left New York. I have not had a letter from Alice in some time, although she sent me a bouquet for Mother's Day. I do hope you won't try to do things, but will get good and well first. You have been such a good wife and mother, the kind that cannot be spared.
I hope Cousin William is well and Yolande and little Du Bois. She must be getting to be quite a big girl now. You remember the last time I saw her was when she was in that play.
Helen Freeman Hyatt and her sister asked how Cousin William was. Helen Hyatt lost her husband last fall. She has quite a family, four or five sons and two daughters and about twelve grandchildren I guess.

I shall be thinking of you and wishing you and Cousin William the best of health and much happiness.

With love
Julia

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

DIVISION OF GENERAL STUDIES

March 28, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

21-20-64

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am enclosing some material which will indicate to you the kind of study that Mr. Chivers and I are planning to undertake. I wonder if you will permit us to publish a short sketch of your life and work in the field of race relations. If so, I wonder if you would prepare some material for us along the lines suggested in the memorandum which I am enclosing. We will not hurry you in the preparation of this material. In fact, we would be willing to give you at least three months to prepare it.

We are anxious to have your suggestions in regard to those whose life and work should be included in the monograph. We would also be glad to have your suggestions regarding the agencies that should be studied and reported upon. Would you be willing to give us the names of any interracial leaders you feel should be included in the study and the names of interracial agencies you feel should be a part of this book?

I hope you will forgive the carbon copies which are enclosed. We are undertaking the study without outside financial aid and are not able to present the material in the form which we would like. We will appreciate whatever cooperation you find it possible to give us.

Sincerely yours,

Paul E. Baker

Paul E. Baker

PEB:cb
Encls.

[Enc.]

(Letter to Secure the Life History of Those Who Have Been Pioneers in the Race Relations Movement)

Professor Walter R. Chivers and I are writing a supplement to my book, Negro-white Adjustment, which was published in 1934. We would like to have a section of the book devoted to a short life history of those who have made a special contribution to the interracial movement in the United States. I wonder if you would permit us to include a thumb-nail sketch of your background and work, especially your contribution to the interracial program, in this monograph.

Some of the things we are thinking of including are as follows:

1. The background of the human relations pioneer.
2. The reason for his becoming interested in the problems related to race relations.
3. Some of his significant contributions to the interracial effort.
4. The agencies or organizations through which he expressed his race relations interests.
5. Some conslusions this interracial leader has drawn as a result of his years of experience in the field.
6. Some recommendations he would like to make for the guidance of those who work for better race adjustment or integration during the next twenty-five years.
7. Some of the trends which he regards as significant in the interracial movement.

Could you record four or five pages of data about your life along the lines suggested above. Please do not hesitate to add anything about your life and work which you regard as significant to the interracial movement, even though it does not fit intb the pattern suggested above. We shall deeply appreciate your co-operation in this research which we are undertaking. Of course, we will submit anything which we plan to publish about you to you before it goes into print.

FOR THE STUDY OF "NEGRO-WHITE ADJUSTMENT"

A Suggestive List of Leaders in the Inter-racial Movement:

Will W. Alexander
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Mrs. Mary Bethune
Jackson Davis
W. E. B. DuBois
R. B. Eleazer
Leo Favrot
Clark Foreman
John Hope
Robert R. Moton
Howard W. Odum
Arthur Raper
N. C. Newbold
A. Philip Randolph
Miss Lillian Smith
Channing H. Tobias
Willard S. Townsend
Booker T. Washington
W. D. Weatherford
Walter White
T. J. Woofter
Arthur D. Wright
Max Yergen

A Suggestive List of Interracial Agencies:

American Race Relations Council
Catholic Race Relations Service
C. I. O. and A. F. of L.
National Council of Negro Women
Permanent Council, F. E. P. C.
Race Relations Department of A. M. A.
Race Relations Department of Federal Council of Churches
Race Relations Department of Friends Service Committee
The Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Southern Regional Council
The Springfield Plan
National Negro Congress

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

DIVISION OF GENERAL STUDIES

May 2, 1946

21-20-65

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

My Dear Dr. DuBois:

I wrote you in March to see if you would be willing for us to publish in the book which we are planning, a history of your life and work in the field of race relations. In case you are willing for us to publish this material we wonder if you could record certain data for our use. The previous letter outlined the types of questions we would like for you to keep in mind as you record the material.

We set August 1 as the date for the material to be mailed to us hoping that would give you sufficient time. As you can readily understand we are anxious to know if you are willing for us to publish your record and if we can have your co-operation in its preparation. A number of people feel that this would be of great help to the whole interracial cause.

Very truly yours,

Paul E. Baker

PEB:cb

10 May 1946

21-20-66

My dear Mr. Baker:

I have been absent on the Pacific Coast which is the reason you have received no answer for your letters of March 28 and May 2. I would be glad to have you prepare any material that you want to concerning my life but I am afraid ~~so~~ I cannot undertake to write it. You will find, I am sure, sufficient data in my DUSK OF DAWN.

I am glad to hear you are at Hampton.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Paul E. Baker
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

DIVISION OF GENERAL STUDIES

May 17, 1946

21-20-63

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

We were glad to have your letter of May 10 and to know that you will be willing for us to include a sketch of your life in the book we are writing at this time. No doubt, as we prepare the materail, we will need to trouble you, either through correspondence or by conference, in order to check up on certain data we will need. We would be pleased if you could check the final draft for accuracy.

We believe that any listing of the most dynamic and influential leaders would be incomplete if it did not contain your name. We are hoping that the book which we are writing will make a contribution to the interracial cause.

Sincerely yours,

Paul E. Baker

Paul E. Baker, Director
Division of General Studies

PEB:NH

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

DIVISION OF GENERAL STUDIES

May 29, 1946

21-15-25

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am accepting a position at the Montecito School for Girls at Santa Barbara, California and will report for work late in June.

Your correspondence in the future, regarding our book on race relations, should be addressed to Mr. Walter R. Chivers, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia. The material which you prepare on your life and work should also be forwarded to the same address.

We appreciate your willingness to have this material about yourself included in our publication.

Most sincerely yours,

Paul E. Baker

PEB:cb

Glenluce,
St. Marys Road,
Long Ditton.
Surbiton. SURREY. England.

27th May. 1946.

21-24-48

Dear Dr. du Bois,

May I first of all introduce myself and then introduce my project?

I am an Englishwoman,who, for many years has taken a keen interest in the coloured problem, mainly as it affects Negro folk.

I have recently been reading some comments by an astute English observer on the colour problem as he now finds it in post-war America. It made sad reading. Two points in his commentary stand out clearly in my mind: one,- that the coloured men returning from overseas war service with an enlargened outlook are determined to better their lot in America; and two - that white America is equally determined to "keep the Negro in his place".

And now I would like to present to you my idea to offset this hardening of the heart against the coloured peoples.

I would suggest that the supreme Negro artists of America (e.g. Marian Anderson, Paul Robeson, The Inkspots, The Mills Brothers and others whose names I do not know) should be asked to give their services free to a series of broadcast programmes designed to present Negro problems direct to the mind of America.

Funds would have to be raised to pay for - (a) time on the air over nation wide systems: (b) space in national newspapers to advertise the radio programmes and their theme.

The programme (which might be called - "The Conscience of America") would be built up of musical and humorous items by top line artists only. A few minutes before the end of the programme one of the artists should then present the idea to be sown into American consciousness: e.g.:-

> "This is Marian Anderson calling the conscience of America - 300,000 Negroes in Harlem live in 20,000 houses: an average of 10 families to each house. Dirt and disease abound. Build more houses and apartments and give coloured people the chance to become normal self-respecting citizens."

This is but a crude example of what I mean. The facts would be prepared by experts and the idea must be "put over" the air simply and artistically. The wording would very with each broadcast and every major Negro problem could be dealt with singly, simply and tellingly.

The press advertisements should appear some time before the broadcast series begin. These advertisements could be built up around the central idea of the"American Conscience" - e.g. "Nation as a whole cannot progress economically, politically or spiritually whilst colour problems weigh heavily on America's conscience, etc.."

Dear Dr. du Bois can you not get something like this going? It would sow the seeds of many reforms even if it did not

produce the necessary change of heart of white America. I make my appeal to you because I feel I know you a little. Some while ago I read "The Souls of Black Folk" and I knew that somewhere beyond the veil I was identified with the Negro race.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs) Winifred Baker

P.S. Possibly my idea has already been tried - I have no means of knowing. I think it could and should be done now during this period of flux and transition.

21-24-49

3 October 1946

My dear madam:

I am late in answering your letter of May 27th, but that is not because I do not think it is an important idea. There have been broadcasts of the sort which you have in mind, but confined to America or small neighborhoods. Nothing international has been tried and even the national broadcasts of this sort have been limited and unusual. The chief difficulty is to get the right and to do this sort of thing the money to pay for it. Time on the radio costs a great deal and it would be a question as to whether the large sum needed could not be better spent for some other object. Nevertheless it is an idea which ought to be entertained and which some time will be tried. I thank you for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

Mrs. Winffred Baker
Glenluce
St. Marys Road
Long Ditton
Surbiton, Surrey, England

22 May 1946

21-12-61

My dear Mr. and Mrs. Banks:

I have been going to write to you for sometime but first Mrs. Du Bois had a cerebral hemorrhage and has been in the hospital for six months. She is much better and we hope to have her home June first. Meantime I had to go to California and had thought that perhaps I could come back by way of Texas but that was not possible.

I want to congratulate you on joining the ranks of the retired and hope you are going to be as philosophical about it as I have been and particularly that you will find something interesting to keep you busy. I have, if anything, been too busy since I came here and have got to let up a little. I understand you are still connected with Prairie View and have some duties. I hope this is true.

I trust Mrs. Banks is keeping well and that you are keeping happy. I have been doing a good deal of lecturing and have just sent another book to the Viking Press.

Miss Diggs joins me in best wishes. Let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President and Mrs. W. R. Banks
Prairie View University
Prairie View, Texas

Prairie View University

Prairie View, Texas

May 26, 1946

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL

21-12-04

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Consequent to my next birthday — August 8 — bringing me to the end of 65 years, I shall go on modified service, which means that I give only 2/3 of my time to institutional matters. Dr. E. R. Evans is my successor. I am in a position now to be of greater service to the school and state than formerly because I shall not be tied down with details. Dr. Evans has been my understudy for 20 years. I shall be here for five more years before I am retired under the law. Yes, I am happy over the situation. I shall have the time to do some things that I have put off 30 years.

You have been so busy with world affairs that we have not had the opportunity to invite you to Prairie View this year. Your name is on our list of lecturers. You should see Prairie View now.

Mrs. Davis is well. She makes the Commencement address at Texas College, Tyler, Texas tomorrow.

We are sorry that Mrs. DuBois has been ill. I trust that she will soon recover & be back home again.

Let us know when you contemplate a trip in this direction. I hope to get to New York this summer.

Mrs. Davis joins me in best regards to you & the members of the family.

I am
Yours truly
W R Davis

3 December 1946

My dear Mr. Banks:

I remember you quite vividly as a student at Atlanta University up to your graduation in 1909. I came in 1897 and you must have come not long afterwards, because I seem always to think of you as there during my whole stay. I left in 1910. Those were days when a student presented two aspects: as student and worker. And you gave great satisfaction in both roles. You were especially the strong and reliable helper for Miss Pingree and the Dean and the other professors. And for me, you were the careful and absolutely honest student whose curiosity and sincerity carried you on.

22-9-106

Since your graduation I have been always in pretty close touch with you. I knew well the fine girl, Virginia Perry, whom you married in 1911, and who has been so fine a companion and helpmate for you in your career.

I knew you at Fort Valley; I was interested in Will Benson's experiment at Kowaliga; and I remember my trip to Texas College, very vividly.

Finally came your long years work at Prairie View which I followed from year to year, talked about and rejoiced in. It was at last my privilege to visit you and Mrs. Banks there on several occasions and I hope to see you again this year.

It is hard to find words with which to congratulate upon what you have done: first of all, your single-hearted devotion to a cause; secondly, your utter indifference to salary and money return; and finally the interest in which you always have had in students as human beings.

I hope that you will live many years and do still more excellent work by word and contact, to round out the life which you have already ornamented.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. W.R. Banks
Prairie View College
Prairie View, Texas

G. HERBERT ADAMS
B.A., M.C.P., BARRISTER-AT-LAW
President.
M.E.COX
~~H. COULSTON~~
Vice-President.

J. BARRY SPRINGER
Treasurer.

H. W. SPRINGER
B.A., M.C.P., BARRISTER-AT-LAW
General Secretary.

Ref. No.....

The Barbados Progressive League.

(PARENT BODY OF UNIONS)

Corner Nelson & Fairchild Streets,
Bridgetown,
Barbados, B. W. I.

October 15th 1946

42-8-58

Dear Dr Du Bois,

I have to acknowledge on behalf of the Barbados Progressive League the receipt of your letter of the 18th September together with a copy of the petition which the Pan African Congress proposes to present to the Assembly of the United Nations.

I have much pleasure in informing you that the petition has been endorsed by the Progressive League.

Yours very sincerely,

H.W. Springer

General Secretary.

Dr W.E.B.Du Bois,
Director, Dept of Special Research,
N.A.A.C.P.,
20 W. 40th St.,
New York 18.,
N.Y.

THE BARBADOS WORKERS' UNION

(REGISTERED OCTOBER, 1941)

PRESIDENT
G. H. ADAMS, B.A. M.C.P.
TREASURER
H. T. WILLIAMS
GENERAL SECRETARY
H. W. SPRINGER, M.A., M.C.P.

CORNER NELSON AND
FAIRCHILD STREETS
BRIDGETOWN
BARBADOS

October 15th 1946.

Dear Dr Du Bois,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th September, with which you enclosed a copy of a petition which the Pan African Congress proposes to present to the Assembly of the United Nations.

I have placed the petition before the Executive Council of this Union and I have pleasure in informing you that the petition has receive the endorsement of the Barbados Workers' Union.

We have also taken the liberty of publishing the text of the petition with our endorsement in the "Beacon", the recently started weekly paper of the B.W.U. Copies of this paper are being sent to you regularly. I hope that you will receive them safely.

I am

Yours very sincerely,

H. W. Springer

General Secretary.

Dr W.E.B.Du Bois,
Director, Dept of Special Research,
N.A.A.C.P.,
20 W. 40th St.,
New York 18.,
N.Y.

42-8F-57

21-12-02

4 September 1946

My dear Mr. Barclay:

I am enclosing a letter which I have just written to the President of Liberia. I trust you will be interested and will use your good offices to have a invitation sent to the Pan African Congress. With assurances of profound respect,

I beg to remain,

Yours very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Honorable Edwon Barclay
Monrovia, Liberia

1637 W 13th St, Oakland 7,
Calif
5/23/46

Dear Dr DuBois:-

I met you Sunday afternoon April 14th here in the University High School where you spoke on "The Color of World Politics". However this is not enough to cause you to recall or remember me. But a recital of the following incident may do so.
I was among the first five persons who congratulated you on your fine address and told you I had met you about 40 years ago in New Jersey. To be more specific I had a little book on

21-26-91

leadership I wanted to dis-
pose of among the members
of an organization you
headed, I don't just recall
the name now, which was
having its annual session
in a small town in
New Jersey. I think the
organization preceded
the "Niagra Movement." You
did not encourage me to sell
my book because you said you
had given the late Rev.
Francis Gregory all the time
you could spare from your
regular program. I am
sending you under seper-
ate cover the 6th edition
of my book on Negro
unity and cooperation.

21-24-92

I hope you will see the practical side of my discussion as it affects the uplift and betterment of the race and like the book.

I want to congratulate you most sincerely for your long life of service. Having entered Phillips Academy Andover, a few years after you left Harvard University, and living in and around Boston, I began to follow your career even up to the present time. I remember also a few of your most intimate friends, men like the late Clement G. Morgan, Harvard's first Negro class orator, the late Geo W. Forbes of the Boston Public Library,

21-26-93

of Amherst College, the late
Wm Monroe Trotter one of your
classmates at Harvard, and
Wm H. Lewis of Amherst
and Harvard. There were a
a few others associated with
you, no doubt many, if not
all of them, have passed on.
Although late I also want
to congratulate you and
your dear companion on
the anniversary of your
golden wedding. May
God continue to give you
strength, and many more
years, to continue to fight
for fair play and freedom
of all underprivileged
peoples. Fraternally
Samuel Barrett Sincerely yours

21-26-94

21-26-95

3 October 1946

My dear Mr. Barrett:

May I thank you very much for your kind letter of May 23rd and memories of our mutual friends.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Samuel Barrett
1639 W. 13th Street
Oakland 7, California

Samuel Miller

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

November 4, 1946

Mr. W. E. Burghart DuBois
Wendell Wilkie Building
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I am writing you on behalf of a student of mine whom I wish to have consult you. He wishes to talk with you about a project he is doing as a Ph.D. dissertation in our department. The student's name is William Miller and he is teaching this year at Upsala College, East Orange, New Jersey. He is doing a study of the development of Negro thought between the end of the Civil War and either the turn of the century or possibly the date of the first years of the Crisis. He is very eager to get suggestions from you both about people to talk to and about sources of information, both printed and manuscript. I am much interested in the subject and hope you can be of help to him.

22-9-90

I still remember the delightful afternoon you gave me and two of my students in your apartment at Atlanta the last time I saw you. I shall be in New York during the holidays and rather hope I may see you at that time. You have heard, I suppose, that my former student and your colleague, Bill Dean, has been appointed to the staff of the United Nations.

Yours cordially,

Howard K. Beale

Howard K. Beale

HKB:cfm

[BEEKMAN]

NEVINS 8-1432

BROOKLYN 17, N. Y. April 1 1946. 194

Miss DuBois Williams.

409 Edgecombe Ave. New York.

TO WALTER N. BEEKMAN, D. D. S.
746 FULTON STREET

21-19

For Professional Services:

PAID
WALTER N. BEEKMAN D.D.S.
APR -5 '46
780 FULTON ST
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

$ 28.00

Received Payment

NEVINS 8-1432

BROOKLYN 17, N. Y. April 1 1946. 194

M Dr. W.E.B. DuBois.

409 Edgecombe Ave. N.Y.

21-19

TO WALTER N. BEEKMAN, D. D. S.
746 FULTON STREET

For Professional Services:

PAID
WALTER N. BEEKMAN D.D.S.
APR -5 '46
780 FULTON ST
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

$ 5.00

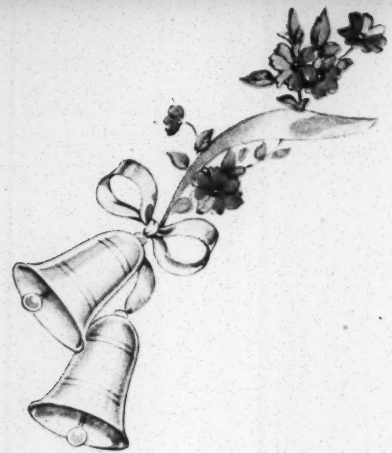
Received Payment

BECKMAN

On Your 50th

Wedding Anniversary

Mary R. Beckman.
wife of
Walter N.



Best wishes as you celebrate
Your Golden Anniversary Date!
Fifty years of wedded life,
Loving, sharing, man and wife;
Fifty years in which you've known
Joys and blessings all your own,
Treasured, golden years, each one,
Filled with thoughts of things well done!
May all the days and years to be
Bless you both abundantly.

1821 McCulloh St. 21-28-28

21-29-32

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

PC86 NL PD=NEWARK NJER 11

[redacted] 11 [redacted] 12

DR AND MRS W E DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLO TER BALTO=

=OUR SINCERE AND HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS YOUR GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY AND BEST WISHES FOR MANY MORE YEARS OF HAPPINESS=

:THE THOMAS BELLS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

27 June 1946

21-19-85

Dear Mrs. Bell:

I am so grieved over the death of Dr. Bell. This morning just after I had talked with Katherine a special delivery letter came from Los Angeles with these words: "Please tell your friends Dr. Bell and family, that they are welcome to stay with us. I am in the midst of the preparations for the Alpha Kappa Alpha Boule, but my friends do not arrive until around August first so it will not inconvenience me in the least to have your friends come. Please let me know when to expect the folks and I shall be glad to meet them." I wired them.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Thomas Bell
340 Belmont
Newark, New Jersey

Social News

21-26-78

340 Belmont Ave
Newark, N. J
July 12. 1946

Dear Dr DuBois,

This is the day that we were to start on our vacation west. I wish to thank you for finding a home for the Bells among your friends during our planned visit while in Los Angeles.

To have you present on the day of our deep sorrow brought us much comfort. Love to Mrs. DuBois. Yolande and DuBois.

Sincerely, Pearl M. Bell

(BELLEGARDE)

21-25-17

14 November 1946

My dear Mr. Bellegarde:

I trust that this is going to find you in Washington. I wanted to ask you about the case of the Bondelschwartz on which you made a speech in the Assembly of the League of Nations, September 20, 1922. Have you a copy of that speech which you could give me or loan me? Have you the facts concerning just what occured in that massacre? I shall be greatly obliged for any help. I trust this will find you well.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

His Excellency
Monsieur Dantes Bellegarde
Haitian Embassy
Washington, D. C.

[fragment]
[Bellegarde]

Dantès Bellegarde
Port-au-Prince
Haiti

Port-au-Prince, le 25 novembre 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18,N.Y.

Mon cher Dr DuBois,

Votre lettre du 14 novembre, adressée à Washington, m'a été remise seulement hier à Port-au-Prince, où je suis rentré depuis le 6 septembre dernier. Vous vous expliquerez donc le retard que j'ai mis à y répondre.

21-22-1

Je regrette de n'avoir pas conservé le texte du discours que je prononçai à la Société des Nations, le 20 septembre 1922, au sujet de l'affaire du Bondelswartz. Notre ami Logan, qui en a fait mention dans son importante brochure sur les Mandats Coloniaux, peut vous fournir sur la question tous les renseignements nécessaires. Je peux simplement vous rappeler les circonstances dans lesquelles se produisit mon intervention.

Les Hottentots Bondels formaient une tribu d'environ 1.500 personnes vivant dans un petit coin de l'extrême sud de l'ancienne colonie allemande sud-africaine placée sous le mandat du Gouvernement du Sud-Afrique. C'étaient des éleveurs de chèvres et de moutons et menaient une existence misérable. Pour garder leurs troupeaux il leur fallait des chiens. C'est sur ces chiens que les nouveaux administrateurs de la colonie mirent une taxe très lourde que les Hottentots refusèrent de payer. L'administrateur, M.Hofmeyer, considéra ce refus comme un acte de rébellion et conduisit contre les prétendus rebelles une expédition punitive de 400 hommes, avec artillerie de montagne et deux avions de bombardement. Au retour de l'expédition, Hofmeyer adressa au Général Smuts un rapport dans lequel il disait que "cette campagne laissera une impression indélébile sur les indigènes". La tribu fut en effet presque détruite. Des femmes et des enfants périrent dans cette cruelle affaire.

J'avais été mis au courant de cette brutale répression par Sir John H. Harris, secrétaire de la Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society de Londres. Mais M.William Rappard, directeur de la Section des Mandats, m'avertit que le membre suédois de la Section (une femme, Mme Bugg-Wicksell) avait accepté de porter la question à la tribune de l'Assemblée. Mais le 20 septembre, au moment où j'allais monter à la tribune pour parler sur le rapport du Secrétaire Général, M.Rappard me dit que Mme Wicksell, par crainte sans doute de déplaire à la Gde-Bretagne, refusait de tenir sa promesse. Je parlai donc, à la fin de mon discours, de l'affaire des Bondels en demandant qu'une enquête fût faite à ce sujet par la Commission des Mandats et que des réparations fussent accordées aux victimes.

Mon intervention produisit une énorme sensation. Dans

21-25-16

3 December 1946

My dear Mr. Bellegarde:

Thank you very much for your kind response to my letter. I had hope that you were still in the United States and I still trust you will return. My best regards to yourself and your family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Dantes Bellegarde
Port-au-Prince
Haiti

Lectures 1947

BENNETT COLLEGE

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 20, 1946

21-26-31

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are very anxious to have you visit us here at Bennett and speak to our students and faculty. Your coming would be of real inspiration to us. The dates of February 9, 10, 11 and 12, however, are just packed full here at the college. Is it possible that you might have open any other dates which you could suggest? We hope that this is possible.

We send you the seasons best greetings.

Very truly yours,

David D. Jones

David D. Jones
President

ddj/g

7964-8, 18-21

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

21-26-27 (11)

Dec 27, 1926

President David D. Jones,

Bennett College,

Greensboro, N.C.

Can speak any night February four to eight but must have quick decision.

W.E.B. Du Bois.

OK
12-27
D. Parker

Lectures 1947

21-26-32

31 December 1946

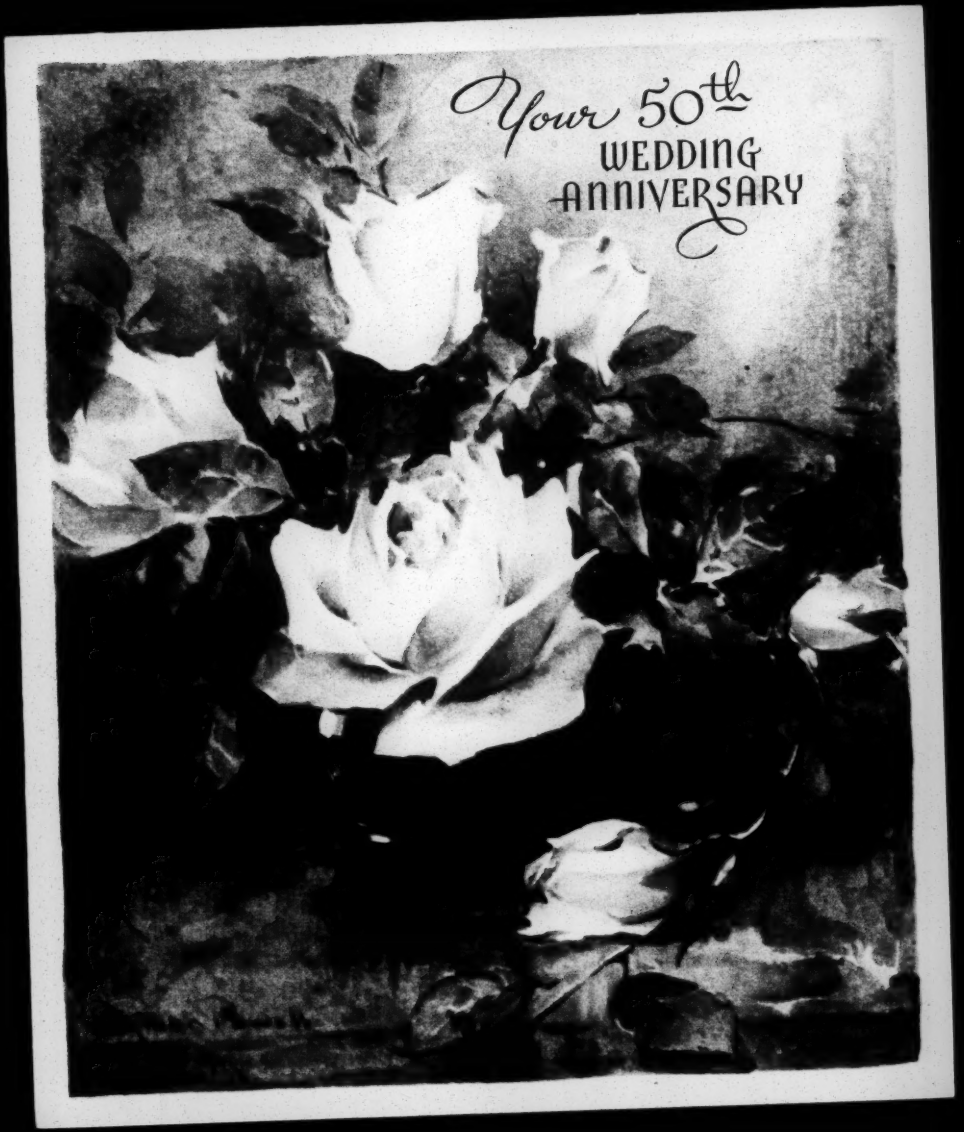
Dear President Jones:

I have your letter of December 20th and I wired you saying that I could arrange to come February 4-8. I have as yet had no answer from the wire, and presume that the change cannot be made. The best regards of the season to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President David D. Jones
Bennett College
Greensboro, North Carolina


Your 50th
WEDDING
ANNIVERSARY

It's your golden anniversary,
What a lovely time in life
To know you've shared together
All the joys of man and wife;
What a pleasure just to send a wish
And hope these years of gold
Will bring you all the happiness
That your two hearts can hold.

From P. H. Benson Fisk 1900
Brother of Maria A. Benson
Nixon your classmate
Fisk 1888

21-96-77

21 November 1946

My dear Mr. Bernstein:

Some time ago you did some translation out of the Italian. Today I have several letters from the Belgian Congo in French which I wish translated. I wonder if you could undertake to do this. Will you either call me by phone or come in or let me hear from you by mail?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Joseph M. Bernstein
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

21-26-112

25 November 1946

Dear Mr. Bernstein:

Pay no attention to the pencil interlining which an amateur has tried to translate. On the back of the two photographs are some faint remarks which I wish you also to translate.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Joseph M. Bernstein
386 Fourth Avenue
New York City

JOSEPH M. BERNSTEIN
386 FOURTH AVENUE (ROOM 812)
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 5-2458

Nov. 27,1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

21-7-01

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am herewith enclosing translations of the letters from the Belgian Congo, together with the originals. I have indicated by a pencil mark in the upper left-hand corner of each original which translated version corresponds to it.

Where individual words were not too clear, I have so indicated. However, there are only one or two cases of this, particularly in the writing on the back of the photographs.

Should you have any question about the translations, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me.

Very sincerely yours,

Joseph M. Bernstein

Joseph M. Bernstein

JOHN J. DICKIE
PRESIDENT

CHARLES STETTLER
VICE-PRESIDENT

RICHARD J. BERRY,
SECRETARY AND TREASURER

BERRY, DICKIE & STETTLER, INC.

Office Furniture

Filing Equipment

TELEPHONE
RECTOR 2-1477

38 WARREN STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

January 18, 1946

National Association For The
Advancement Of Colored People,
20 W. 40th St.,
New York 18, N.Y.

att.:Dr. Dubois

21-25

Dear Doctor Dubois:

The secretarial desk which you ordered for your secretary is on the way from the factory and will arrive next week.

Please advise if you still want us to deliver it. The price is $110.00.

Yours very truly,

BERRY, DICKIE & STETTLER, INC.

RJB:VD

Sec'y. & Treas.

21 January 1946

21-25

My dear Mr. Berry:

Answering your letter of January 18, please deliver the secretarial desk at your earliest convenience according to my former order and also we are awaiting impatiently for the shelving.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Richard J. Berry
Berry, Dickie & Stettler, Inc.
38 Warren Street
New York 7

To National Assn for Advancement of Colored People
20 W 40 St.

YOUR ORDER No.

OUR ORDER No. 2490

DATE 1/20/46

21-25

BERRY, DICKIE & STETTLER, Inc.
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Lm 402 - W. DuBois

1 - JSt 40-1 - Wal nut check left pen -

Received in good condition.

Signature W. E. B. Du Bois

JOHN J. DICKIE
PRESIDENT

CHARLES STETTLER
VICE-PRESIDENT

RICHARD J. BERRY,
SECRETARY AND TREASURER

BERRY, DICKIE & STETTLER, INC.

Office Furniture

Filing Equipment

TELEPHONE
RECTOR 2-1477

38 WARREN STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

February 5, 1946

21-25

National Association For The
Advancement Of Colored People,
20 W. 40th St.,
New York 18, N.Y.

att.:Dr. DuBois

Dear Doctor DuBois:

Would it be possible for you to arrange for a check to be sent us covering the furniture?

I did not know what the final decision was between you personally and the Organization regarding payment, so I did not like to call them.

Yours very truly,

BERRY, DICKIE & STETTLER, INC.

RJB:VD

Sec'y. & Treas.

6 February 1946

My dear Mr. Berry:

Answering your letter of February fifth, will you please send the bill for the furniture to Mr. White. The NAACP will settle the bill and if there is any refund to them, the arrangement is between me and Mr. White since I had authority to make the purchase.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Richard J. Berry
Berry, Dickie & Stettler
38 Warren Street
New York 7

(Uniform Domestic Straight Bill of Lading, adopted by Carriers in Official, Southern, Western and Illinois Classification Territories, March 15, 1922, as amended August 1, 1930, June 15, 1941, and September 21, 1944.)

THIS SHIPPING ORDER MUST BE LEGIBLY FILLED IN, IN INK, IN INDELIBLE PENCIL, OR IN CARBON, AND RETAINED BY THE AGENT.

Shipper's No.

Company Agent's No. 1730-1908

RECEIVE, subject to the classifications and tariffs in effect on the date of the issue of this Shipping Order.

From **GENERAL STEEL PRODUCTS CORP.** At Long Island City, N. Y. 2/19 194 6

The property described below, in apparent good order, except as noted (contents and condition of contents of packages unknown), marked, consigned, and destined as indicated below, which said company (the word company being understood throughout this contract as meaning any person or corporation in possession of the property under the contract) agrees to carry to its usual place of delivery at said destination, if on its own road or its own water line, otherwise to deliver to another carrier on the route to said destination. It is mutually agreed as to each carrier of all or any of said property over all or any portion of said route to destination, and as to each party at any time interested in all or any of said property, that every service to be performed hereunder shall be subject to all the conditions not prohibited by law, whether printed or written, herein contained, including the conditions on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to by the shipper and accepted for himself and his assigns.

(Mail or street address of consignee—For purposes of notification only)

Consigned to National Assoc. Advancement of Colored People

Destination 20 W. 40th St., New York, State of N. Y. County of

Route

Delivering Carrier Fs Car Initial Car No.

NO. PACKAGES	DESCRIPTION OF ARTICLES, SPECIAL MARKS, AND EXCEPTIONS	*WEIGHT (Sub. to Correct'n)	CLASS or RATE	CHECK COLUMN
32	Uprights 111"			
40	Shelves 42x9"			
20	" 36x9"			
16	" 24x9"			
12	Sides 9x111"			
4	Bases 42x2"			
2	" 36x2"			
2	" 24x2"			
2	pr. Sway Braces 24"			
2	" " " 36"			
4	" " " 42"			
	Bolts & nuts			
	Barry, Dickie & Stettler Inc. 4116			

(Shipper's imprint in lieu of stamp, not a part of Bill of Lading approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission.)

21-35

2

Subject to Section 7 of conditions, if this shipment is to be delivered to the consignee without recourse on the consignor, the consignor shall sign the following statement:
The carrier shall not make delivery of this shipment without payment of freight and all other lawful charges.

(Signature of Consignor)

If charges are to be prepaid, write or stamp here, "To be Prepaid."

Received $ to apply in prepayment of the charges on the property described hereon.

Agent or Cashier

Per (The signature here acknowledges only the amount prepaid.)

Charges advanced:

$

The above Box Cars for this shipment conform to the specifications set forth in the box maker's certificate thereon and all other requirements of Rule 41 of the Consolidated Freight Classification.

*If the shipment moves between two ports by a carrier by water, the law requires that the bill of lading shall state whether it is "carrier's or shipper's weight."
NOTE—Where the rate is dependent on value, shippers are required to state specifically in writing the agreed or declared value of the property.
The agreed or declared value of the property is hereby specifically stated by the shipper to be not exceeding per

GENERAL STEEL PRODUCTS CORP., Shipper

Per

Permanent post-office address of shipper: 21st & 24th AVE., LONG ISLAND CITY 2, N. Y.

☛ **Agent must detach and retain this Shipping Order and must sign the Original Bill of Lading.**

CONTRACT TERMS AND CONDITIONS

Sec. 1. (a) The carrier or party in possession of any of the property herein described shall be liable as at common law for any loss thereof or damage thereto, except as hereinafter provided.

(b) No carrier or party in possession of all or any of the property herein described shall be liable for any loss thereof or damage thereto or delay caused by the act of God, the public enemy, the authority of law, or the act or default of the shipper or owner, or for natural shrinkage. The carrier's liability shall be that of warehouseman, only, for loss, damage, or delay caused by fire occurring after the expiration of the free time allowed by tariffs lawfully on file (such free time to be computed as therein provided) after notice of the arrival of the property at destination or at the port of export (if intended for export) has been duly sent or given, and after placement of the property for delivery at destination, or tender of delivery of the property to the party entitled to receive it, has been made. Except in case of negligence of the carrier or party in possession (and the burden to prove freedom from such negligence shall be on the carrier or party in possession), the carrier or party in possession shall not be liable for loss, damage, or delay occurring while the property is stopped and held in transit upon the request of the shipper, owner, or party entitled to make such request, or resulting from a defect or vice in the property, or for country damage to cotton, or from riots or strikes.

(c) In case of quarantine the property may be discharged at risk and expense of owners into quarantine depot or elsewhere, as required by quarantine regulations or authorities, or for the carrier's dispatch at nearest available point in carrier's judgment, and in any such case carrier's responsibility shall cease when property is so discharged, or property may be retained by carrier at owner's expense in shipping point, earning freight both ways. Quarantine expenses of whatever nature or kind upon or in respect to property shall be borne by the owners of the property or be a lien thereon. The carrier shall not be liable for loss or damage occasioned by fumigation or disinfection or other acts required or done by quarantine regulations or authorities even though the same may have been done by carrier's officers, agents, or employees, nor for detention, loss, or damage of any kind occasioned by quarantine or the enforcement thereof. No carrier shall be liable, except in case of negligence, for any mistake or inaccuracy in any information furnished by the carrier, its agents, or officers, as to quarantine laws or regulations. The shipper shall hold the carriers harmless from any expense they may incur, or damages they may be required to pay, by reason of the introduction of the property covered by this contract into any place against the quarantine laws or regulations in effect at such place.

Sec. 2. (a) No carrier is bound to transport said property by any particular train or vessel, or in time for any particular market or otherwise than with reasonable dispatch. Every carrier shall have the right in case of physical necessity to forward said property by any carrier or route between the point of shipment and the point of destination. In all cases not prohibited by law, where a lower value than actual value has been represented in writing by the shipper or has been agreed upon in writing as the released value of the property as determined by the classification or tariffs upon which the rate is based, such lower value plus freight charges if paid shall be the maximum amount to be recovered, whether or not such loss or damage occurs from negligence.

(b) As a condition precedent to recovery, claims must be filed in writing with the receiving or delivering carrier or carrier issuing this bill of lading, or carrier on whose line the loss, damage, injury or delay occurred, within nine months after delivery of the property (or, in case of export traffic, within nine months after delivery at port of export) or, in case of failure to make delivery, then within nine months after a reasonable time for delivery has elapsed; and suits shall be instituted against any carrier only within two years and one day from the day when notice in writing is given by the carrier to the claimant that the carrier has disallowed the claim or any part or parts thereof specified in the notice. Where claims are not filed or suits are not instituted thereon in accordance with the foregoing provisions, no carrier hereunder shall be liable, and such claims will not be paid.

(c) Any carrier or party liable on account of loss of or damage to any of said property shall have the full benefit of any insurance that may have been effected upon or on account of said property, so far as this shall not avoid the policies or contracts of insurance: Provided, That the carrier reimburse the claimant for the premium paid thereon.

Sec. 3. Except where such service is required as the result of carrier's negligence, all property shall be subject to necessary cooperage and baling at owner's cost. Each carrier over whose route cotton or cotton linters is to be transported hereunder shall have the privilege, at its own cost and risk, of compressing the same for greater convenience in handling or forwarding, and shall not be held responsible for deviation or unavoidable delays in procuring such compression. Grain in bulk consigned to a point where there is a railroad, public or licensed elevator, may (unless otherwise expressly noted herein, and then if it is not promptly unloaded) be there delivered and placed with other grain of the same kind and grade without respect to ownership (and prompt notice thereof shall be given to the consignor), and if so delivered shall be subject to a lien for elevator charges in addition to all other charges hereunder.

Sec. 4. (a) Property not removed by the party entitled to receive it within the free time allowed by tariffs, lawfully on file (such free time to be computed as therein provided), after notice of the arrival of the property at destination or at the port of export (if intended for export) has been duly sent or given, and after placement of the property for delivery at destination has been made, may be kept in vessel, car, depot, warehouse or place of delivery of the carrier, subject to the tariff charge for storage and to carrier's responsibility as warehouseman, only, or at the option of the carrier, may be removed to and stored in a public or licensed warehouse at the place of delivery or other available place, at the cost of the owner, and there held without liability on the part of the carrier, and subject to a lien for all freight and other lawful charges, including a reasonable charge for storage.

(b) Where for sufficient cause the property which has been transported to destination hereunder is refused by consignee or the party entitled to receive it, or said consignee or party entitled to receive it fails to receive it within 15 days after notice of arrival shall have been duly sent or given, the carrier may sell the same at public auction to the highest bidder, at such place as may be designated by the carrier: Provided, That the carrier shall have first mailed, sent, or given to the consignor notice that the property has been refused or remains unclaimed, as the case may be, and that it will be subject to sale under the terms of the bill of lading if disposition be not arranged for, and shall have published notice containing a description of the property, the name of the party to whom consigned, or, if shipped order notify, the name of the party to be notified, and the time and place of sale, once a week for two successive weeks, in a newspaper of general circulation at the place of sale or nearest place where such newspaper is published: Provided, That 30 days shall have elapsed before publication of notice of sale after said notice that the property was refused or remains unclaimed was mailed, sent, or given.

(c) Where perishable property which has been transported hereunder to destination is refused by consignee or party entitled to receive it, or said consignee or party entitled to receive it promptly, the carrier may, in its discretion, to prevent deterioration or further deterioration, sell the same to the best advantage at private or public sale: Provided, That if time serves for notification to the consignor or owner of the refusal of the property or the failure to receive it and request for disposition of the property, such notification shall be given, in such manner as the exercise of due diligence requires, before the property is sold.

(d) Where the procedure provided for in the two paragraphs last preceding is not possible, it is agreed that nothing contained in said paragraphs shall be construed to abridge the right of the carrier at its option to sell the property under such circumstances and in such manner as may be authorized by law.

(e) The proceeds of any sale made under this section shall be applied by the carrier to the payment of freight, demurrage, storage, and any other lawful charges and the expense of notice, advertisement, sale, and other necessary expense and of caring for and maintaining the property, if proper care of the same requires special expense, and should there be a balance it shall be paid to the owner of the property sold hereunder.

(f) Property destined to or taken from a station, wharf, or landing at which there is no regularly appointed freight agent shall be entirely at risk of owner after unloaded from cars or vessels or until loaded into cars or vessels, and, except in case of carrier's negligence, when received from or delivered to such stations, wharves, or landings shall be at owner's risk until the cars are attached to and after they are detached from locomotive or train or until loaded into and after unloaded from vessels.

Sec. 5. No carrier hereunder will carry or be liable in any way for any documents, specie, or for any articles of extraordinary value not specifically rated in the published classifications or tariffs unless a special agreement to do so and a stipulated value of the articles are indorsed hereon.

Sec. 6. Every party, whether principal or agent, shipping explosives or dangerous goods, without previous full written disclosure to the carrier of their nature, shall be liable for and indemnify the carrier against all loss or damage caused by such goods, and such goods may be warehoused at owner's risk and expense or destroyed without compensation.

Sec. 7. The owner or consignee shall pay the freight and average, if any, and all other lawful charges accruing on said property; but, except in those instances where it may lawfully be authorized to do so, no carrier by railroad shall deliver or relinquish possession at destination of the property covered by this bill of lading until all tariff rates and charges thereon have been paid. The consignor shall be liable for the freight and all other lawful charges, except that if the consignor stipulates, by signature, in the space provided for that purpose on the face of this bill of lading that the carrier shall not make delivery without payment of such charges and the carrier, contrary to such stipulation, shall make delivery without requiring such payment, the consignee (except as hereinafter provided) shall not be liable for such charges: Provided, that, where the carrier has been instructed by the shipper or consignor to deliver said property to a consignee other than the shipper or consignor, such consignee shall not be legally liable for transportation charges in respect of the transportation of said property (beyond those billed against him at the time of delivery for which he is otherwise liable) which may be found to be due after the property has been delivered to him, if the consignee (a) is an agent only and has no beneficial title in said property, and (b) prior to delivery of said property has notified the delivering carrier in writing of the fact of such agency and absence of beneficial title, and, in the case of a shipment reconsigned or diverted to a point other than that specified in the original bill of lading, has also notified the delivering carrier in writing of the name and address of the beneficial owner of said property; and, in such cases the shipper or consignor, or in the case of a shipment so reconsigned or diverted, the beneficial owner, shall be liable for such additional charges. If the consignee has given to the carrier erroneous information as to who the beneficial owner is, such consignee shall himself be liable for such additional charges. On shipments reconsigned or diverted by an agent who has furnished the carrier in the reconsignment or diversion order with a notice of agency and the proper name and address of the beneficial owner, and where such shipments are refused or abandoned at ultimate destination, the said beneficial owner shall be liable for all legally applicable charges in connection therewith. If the reconsignor or diverter has given to the carrier erroneous information as to who the beneficial owner is, such reconsignor or diverter shall himself be liable for all such charges.

If a shipper or consignor of a shipment of property (other than a prepaid shipment) is also the consignee named in the bill of lading and, prior to the time of delivery, notifies, in writing, a delivering carrier by railroad (a) to deliver such property at a destination to another party, (b) that such party is the beneficial owner of such property, and (c) that delivery is to be made to such party only upon payment of all transportation charges in respect of the transportation of such property, and delivery is made by the carrier to such party without such payment, such shipper or consignor shall not be liable (as shipper, consignor, consignee, or otherwise) for such transportation charges but the party to whom delivery is so made shall in any event be liable for transportation charges billed against the property at the time of such delivery, and also for any additional charges which may be found to be due after delivery of the property, except that if such party prior to such delivery has notified in writing the delivering carrier that he is not the beneficial owner of the property, and has given in writing to such delivering carrier the name and address of such beneficial owner, such party shall not be liable for any additional charges which may be found to be due after delivery of the property, but if the party to whom delivery is made has given to the carrier erroneous information as to the beneficial owner, such party shall nevertheless be liable for such additional charges. If the shipper or consignor has given to the delivering carrier erroneous information as to whom the beneficial owner is, such shipper or consignor shall himself be liable for such transportation charges, notwithstanding the foregoing provisions of this paragraph and irrespective of any provisions to the contrary in the bill of lading or in the contract of transportation under which the shipment was made. The term "delivering carrier" means the line-haul carrier making ultimate delivery.

Nothing herein shall limit the right of the carrier to require at time of shipment the prepayment or guarantee of the charges. If upon inspection it is ascertained that the articles shipped are not those described in this bill of lading, the freight charges must be paid upon the articles actually shipped.

Where delivery is made by a common carrier by water the foregoing provisions of this section shall apply, except as may be inconsistent with Part III of the Interstate Commerce Act.

Sec. 8. If this bill of lading is issued on the order of the shipper, or his agent, in exchange or in substitution for another bill of lading, the shipper's signature to the prior bill of lading as to the statement of value or otherwise, or election of common law or bill of lading liability, in or in connection with such prior bill of lading, shall be considered a part of this bill of lading as fully as if the same were written or made in or in connection with this bill of lading.

Sec. 9. (a) If all or any part of said property is carried by water over any part of said route, and loss, damage or injury to said property occurs while the same is in the custody of a carrier by water the liability of such carrier shall be determined by the bill of lading of the carrier by water (this bill of lading being such bill of lading if the property is transported by such water carrier thereunder) and by and under the laws and regulations applicable to transportation by water. Such water carriage shall be performed subject to all the terms and provisions of, and all the exemptions from liability contained in the Act of Congress of the United States, approved on February 13, 1893, and entitled "An act relating to the navigation of vessels, etc.," and of other statutes of the United States according carriers by water the protection of limited liability, as well as the following subdivisions of this section; and to the conditions contained in this bill of lading not inconsistent with this section, when this bill of lading becomes the bill of lading of the carrier by water.

(b) No such carrier by water shall be liable for any loss or damage resulting from any fire happening to or on board the vessel, or from explosion, bursting of boilers or breakage of shafts, unless caused by the design or neglect of such carrier.

(c) If the owner shall have exercised due diligence in making the vessel in all respects seaworthy and properly manned, equipped, and supplied, no such carrier shall be liable for any loss or damage resulting from the perils of the lakes, seas, or other waters, or from latent defects in hull, machinery, or appurtenances whether existing prior to, at the time of, or after sailing, or from collision, stranding, or other accidents of navigation, or from prolongation of the voyage. And, when for any reason it is necessary, any vessel carrying any or all of the property herein described shall be at liberty to call at any port or ports, in or out of the customary route, to tow and be towed, to transfer, trans-ship, or lighter, to load and discharge goods at any time, to assist vessels in distress, to deviate for the purpose of saving life or property, and for docking and repairs. Except in case of negligence such carrier shall not be responsible for any loss or damage to property if it be necessary or is usual to carry the same upon deck.

(d) General Average shall be payable according to the York-Antwerp Rules of 1924, Sections 1 to 15, inclusive, and Sections 17 to 22, inclusive, and as to matters not covered thereby according to the laws and usages of the Port of New York. If the owners shall have exercised due diligence to make the vessel in all respects seaworthy and properly manned, equipped and supplied, it is hereby agreed that in case of danger, damage or disaster resulting from faults or errors in navigation, or in the management of the vessel, or from any latent or other defects in the vessel, her machinery or appurtenances, or from unseaworthiness, whether existing at the time of this grant or at the beginning of the voyage (provided the latent or other defects or the unseaworthiness was not discoverable by the exercise of due diligence), the shippers, consignees and/or owners of the cargo shall nevertheless pay salvage and any special charges incurred in respect of the cargo, and shall contribute with the shipowner in general average to the payment of any sacrifices, losses or expenses of a general average nature that may be made or incurred for the common benefit or to relieve the adventure from any common peril.

(e) If the property is being carried under a tariff which provides that any carrier or carriers party thereto shall be liable for loss from perils of the sea, then as to such carrier or carriers the provisions of this section shall be modified in accordance with the tariff provisions, which shall be regarded as incorporated into the conditions of this bill of lading.

(f) The term "water carriage" in this section shall not be construed as including lighterage in or across rivers, harbors, or lakes, when performed by or on behalf of rail carriers.

Sec. 10. Any alteration, addition, or erasure in this bill of lading which shall be made without the special notation hereon of the agent of the carrier issuing this bill of lading, shall be without effect, and this bill of lading shall be enforceable according to its original tenor.

7 March 1946

My dear Mr. Berry:

I am returning the enclosed bill. I am sure it was understood that the desk would be delivered to us in workable condition. The lock did not work when we received it and we were not able to make it work until your man came here.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Berry
Berry, Dickie & Stettler
38 Warren Street
New York 7, N. Y.

[Bethel AME Church]

********** 20 West 40th Street

4 January 1946

21-20-2

My dear Mrs. Ruff:

You wrote me last September but as I replied I was about to go to London. I was away six weeks and have only just gotten back in harness. I am not coming west to lecture until March. If you could use me early in March, I might perhaps be able to offer you a date. Probably it would be more convenient for me to lecture on a week-day evening rather than on Sunday.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Katherine O. Ruff
Bethel A. M. E. Church
551 Eagle Street
Buffalo 4, N. Y.

L.

Founded 1831

BETHEL A. M. E. CHURCH

551 EAGLE STREET
BUFFALO 4, N. Y.

CHURCH OFFICE
WA. 5953

D. ORMONDE WALKER
Minister

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I. L. SCRUGGS
WILLIAM FLUITT
CHARLES BRUNSON
TERENCE GOWIE

21-20-3

January 16, 1946

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

The Bethel Civic Forum invites you to be it's speaker on Sunday, March 10th, at 5:00 P.M. We will pay you the sum of One hundred ($100.00) dollars.

Will you be kind enough to inform us at once your acceptance and the subject on which you desire to speak?

Yours truly

D. Ormonde Walker

DOW/pe

[Bethel AME Church]

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WESTERN UNION (58)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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NC54 21 MVD 69 5 AVE VIA NSH=BUFFALO NY 13 138P 1240 FEB 13 PM 5 05

W E B DUBOIS=

(DELR) NAACP 20 WEST 40 ST=

2-20-36

KINDLY ANSWER WESTERN UNION COLLECT WHETHER YOU WILL ACCEPT INVITIATION TO ADDRESS BETHEL FORUM ON SUNDAY MARCH 10TH AT 5 PM=

D ORMANDE WALKER.

10 5 PM

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
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Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

14 February 1946

Rev. D. Ormonde Walker
Bethel A. M. E. Church
551 Eagle Street
Buffalo 4, N. Y.

21-20-4

WILL SPEAK MARCH TENTH stop FEE ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS WITH BOARD AND LODGING stop ARRIVE SATURDAY LEAVE MONDAY.

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Longacre 3-6890

19 February 1946

21-20-5

My Dear Mr. Walker:

I wired you on February fourteenth as follows:

WILL SPEAK MARCH TENTH stop FEE ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS WITH BOARD AND LODGING stop ARRIVE SATURDAY LEAVE MONDAY.

Please let me know if my terms are acceptable. My subject will be "A Cup of Cocoa". I am going to speak about the manipulation of the cocoa crop raised by the Negroes of West Africa through British colonial policy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend D. Ormonde Walker
Bethel A. M. E. Church
551 Eagle Street
Buffalo 4, N. Y.

Founded 1831

BETHEL A. M. E. CHURCH

551 EAGLE STREET
BUFFALO 4, N. Y.

CHURCH OFFICE
WA. 5953

D. ORMONDE WALKER
Minister

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GEORGE WASHINGTON
ELBERT R. DURANT
FRANCES PEELER

21-20-6

March 4, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This letter comes to inform you that the Bethel Civic Forum expects you on Sunday March 10th, to speak at 5:00 P.M. Since you shall arrive on Saturday, I am sending you the name and address of the people where you will stay.

You are to be the guest of Attorney and Mrs. Clarence M. Maloney of 384 Woodlawn Avenue. Their telephone number is GA 9045. Please let them know the time of your arrival so that they can arrange to meet you. Thank you.

Very truly yours
Pearl Echols
Pearl Echols
Corresponding Secretary

DOW/pe

[Bethel AME Church]

12 March 1946

21-20-7

My dear Dr. Walker:

I was very much disappointed not to see you when I was in Buffafo but as usual your church gave me a good and attentive audience. I hope that I gave them something in return.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. D. Ormonde Walker
Bethel A. M. E. Church
551 Eale Street
Buffalo 4, N. Y.

[BETHUNE]

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
Founder-President

The National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
(Affiliated with the National Council of Women of the United States, Inc., and International Council of Women of the World)
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.
Telephone: COlumbia 4491

May 9, 1946

21-29-70

Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

My dear Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois:

Please, may I send to you my most sincere congratulations on the occasion of the observance of your Golden Wedding Anniversary, May 12, 1946.

I want to send also warm greetings to your daughter, Yolande, and granddaughter, Du Bois, who will share with you in this happy celebration.

I am sure that it means a very great deal to you both to be able to share in this celebration which marks such a glorious companionship of a period of half a century. God bless both of you, and may you continue to make the unique contribution which only the family of Du Bois can make.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

Mary McLeod Bethune

Mary McLeod Bethune
Founder-President

[Bialek]

602 Cathedral St.
Baltimore 1, Md.
October 30, 1946

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

Earlier today, after nearly two weeks of careful digestion, I finished reading your Color and Democracy. I must give you some idea of what this book has meant to me.

After nearly five years in the army, three of them in the Pacific, including the first six months of Leyte, more than a year ago I became a civilian again. My selection of courses at Hopkins, my whole thinking for years, had been geared to engaging myself in some form of helping of society. Then my years in the service, combined with what I witnessed for a year as a civilian - witnessed and experienced - served somehow to throw me into total confusion. Not to lessen my zeal to help society, but to confound it and to deprive me of goals and purpose. One result of my confusion has been my unemployment of the past two months.

22-9-88

As I read your simple, truthful and purposeful book I felt a gradual return of perspective, a steady return of dynamism to my values, until when I finished it I felt reinspired with purpose and felt whole again. The feeling is good and for that alone I thank you. I hope I can help justify your effort by working toward the world-wide democracy we must have.

Sincerely yours, Thaddeus L. Bialek

8 November 1946

My dear Mr. Bialek:

May I thank you very much for your letter of October 30. I have seldom received a communication which gave me greater satisfaction.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-9-89

Mr. Thaddeus L. Bialek
602 Cathedral Street
Baltimore 1, Md.

Lagos 60ct I946.

John Kulle Birmingham
20 Ajasa street
Lagos Nigeria.

Dear Dubois

Reference to your letter I8 Sept I946.
Thank you very much ror your effort and and We are unanimously appreciate all help to freedom God keep you to the end of ours trouble toward freedom. We are intirely banned, if not so I should have attend this session, but OH God we are half dead
I will all ways look upon you for all informations, as well as My coocontry. Will you please advice me what step to take as I want some American Industrial Chemistry books I sent money some time to Popular mechanic but was return owing to dificulty of cashing it in American Dollar the money was postal Order British.
Great Gerges Padmore Wallace Johnson etc...
ours eyes on you.

Waiting to hear from you

your truly.

John Birmingham

P. S.

Note that we suspect two Africans one Manga Williams a nominee of local council and Goverment servant as a stooge because he never consult no African before he sign any document so any document sign by him is not the contrie s choice. he is for British Cameroon but is not elected is impose by force to the peoples. Another one from French Cameroon Soppo Priso purporting to be President of the Youth but now disappear no body knew is were about .

So wacht the session if any document sign by them is

21-9-48

is not ours choice

Cameroon know nothing about them.

DUALA CAMEROON 6 Oct 1946. [ENC.?]

Cameroon Native Council.

Syndicat du Cheminot du Cameroon.

Cameroon Youths Association.

To The United Nation Organisation.

C/O Pan African Congress.

The undersigned Organization and the Cameroon Spoksmens representing the rights of the Cameroon, strongly endorse to the submission of the following proposals initiated by The Cameroon Native Council, The Trade Unions, The Cameroon Youths Association, and Political State Men.

(I) The Cameroon need is, to be place directly under United Nations Organisation, under direct control of the four Powers namely, Russia, America, France, Britain.

(2) That the four Powers to set up a body comprising 8 members to each Power, to form an advisory Council that will take over the Goverment of the Cameroon, with the autority vested on African Majority.

(A) That the four powers members, or advisory Council be permanent in Cameroon, until the State is ripe to take over the responsibility, entirely.

(B) That the Cameroon should have a free trade pact with the four Powers, and that the land been grabbed by foreign Capitalist be be return to all owners.

(C) That the Cameroons be allowed to inter the four Powers University. And free educational facility and compessery free medical treatment.

(3) That the African Statemen be allowed to attend session of the Assembly of the United Nations Organisation.

(A) That in compensation of the trade of African Produces and row materials 30% of the State imcome to maintain local undustrial University to be build by the four Powers.

(B) That Foreigns Capitalists Or Imperialists who have deprive the Natives by grabbing they lands contrary to Ligue of Nation, Treaty of Verssaille be forfeited.

(C) That foreign Capitalist entering the Cameroon be Control by the State and four Powers.

(D) That the former League of Natinn Drapht be condemn, as it is insult to the intelligent of Mankind. Not mere change of words but complitely abolish.

that the immediate cessation of Occupation fo boths Britain and France be ALLOWED, as it will lead to Chaos and great revolution.

We place ours Mandate to the Pan African Congress as it is only Body free from Imperial Stooges.

We suffer tremendiosly under present Regime and we can take it any more. Cameroon have never sent any body than Pan African Congress, and any body representing Cameroon in the U N O or appearing is not ours Choice, it me be some Imperial Stooges Gangsters.

We For Cameroon States bend for freedom

John Bingham

Etia Moumé Leopold

Cam 2?.

21-9-07

For Dr DuBois [BIRMINGHAM]

TEXT OF CABLE FROM CAMEROONIANS

21-9-06

The people of the Cameroons ask you to convey to the United Nations that Cameronians wish Ndumnee, a native of Duala, in the French Cameroons, now in Paris, to speak on behalf of the Cameroons people on Mandate and Trusteeship questions. We repudiate Gaston Monnerville as a stooge of French Imperialism.

John Birmingham

1st February, 1946

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1298

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N15D473 46 NL PD 5 EXTRA

[Black Book Comm.]

SI NEWYORK NY MAR 13 1946

21-19-33

DR W E B DU BOIS NATL ASSN FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

DELIVER 20 WEST 40 ST NYK

MAY WE HAVE YOUR STATEMENT FOR PRESS ON SIGNIFICANCE MADISON SQUARE GARDEN MARCH 27 PRESENTATION JEWISH BLACK BOOK INDICTMENT OF NAZIS FOR CRIMES AGAINST JEWISH PEOPLE DEMANDING JUSTICE FOR SIX MILLION JEWISH DEAD OUTLAWING ANTISEMITISM EXPRESSING UNITY WORLD JEWRY FIGHTING FASCISM

BLACK BOOK COMMITTEE 119 WEST 57 ST NYC

1130P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

15 March 1946

21-19-34

If this is a world of logic and reason or if there is any hope that it may become such a world, then the publication of the Jewish Black Book is exactly the kind of effort and agitation which must win in the long run. The plight of the Jew in Germany during the Hitler regime is the greatest human tragedy of our day. Once the world realizes its causes and extent they will, if civilization continues, see to it that nothing like this happens again. This body of fact is being published in the Black Book and I am tremendously impressed with the restraint, determination and scientific attitude which marks the presentation of this great work to the public.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Black Book Committee
119 West Fifty-Seventh Street
New York City

(Blaney)

LAW OFFICES OF
WALRADT & BLANEY
CHARLES P. BLANEY

BAR BUILDING
36 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK
TELEPHONE
MURRAY HILL 2-1777

21-69-83

May 8, 1946

Mr. and Mrs. W.E.B.Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, 14, Maryland

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Du Bois:-

My best wishes and congratulations on the fiftieth anniversary of your wedding. And here's hoping that your good health and prosperity may long continue.

Sincerely yours,

Chas P Blaney

21-29-42

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WESTERN UNION

(58)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

.QA35 .

1946 MAY 12 PM 6 10

.Q.MSA536P 19=GREENSBORO NCAR 12 553P

DR AND MRS WILLIAM E DUBOIS=

2302 MONTBELLO TERRACE BALTO= (14) 1946 MAY 12 PM 7 08

WE EXTEND TO YOU AND MRS DUBOIS OUR SINCEREST GREETINGS AND WISH YOU GREAT HAPPINESS THROUGH ALL THE YEARS=

F D HAZEL BLUFORD.

Ho 9015
daughter
7.30 P
F Mailed

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Boston Metropolitan Council of Churches]

********** 20 West 40th Street

4 January 1946

20-24-02

Gentlemen:

Last July and later I arranged with Miss Alice Horton and Mr. Irwin Leff to speak at Old South Meeting House, December ninth at a fee of fity dollars.

I spoke at this meeting and since then have sent bills in vain to both these persons but have not yet received the fee of fifty dollars. May I ask you to give your immediate attention to this matter?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Boston Metropolitan Council of Colleges
60 State Street
Boston

[Boston Metropolitan Council of Churches]

Old South Association in Boston

The Old South Meeting House

Corner Washington and Milk Streets

60 State Street
Boston, Massachusetts

January 7, 1946

20-24-99

W. E. B. Du Bois, Esq.
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of January 4th has reached me on my return from an illness. I am very sorry that it was necessary for you to write me. I have been trying to find out from the participants in the Youth Forum what the amount was which should be sent to you without result. I think it is no more than lack of responsibility on their part or a lack of promptness.

The Old South Association in Boston is most grateful to you for what you have done and it is a pleasure to enclose the cheque of the Association for * $50.00.

Yours sincerely,

B. E. Krulee

B. E. Krulee, Assistant Treasurer

Your

GOLDEN WEDDING

Day

[BOUTTE]

For you, who've shared
and loved and cared
Along life's changing way
For you, who know the gladness
Of a Golden Wedding Day –
This message brings best wishes
And congratulations, too –
May you share many golden joys
In the days ahead of you

Mathieu and Etnah.

type only
Du Bois'
letter

17 June 1946

My dear Mrs. Boutte:

Enclosed is the letter which I mentioned to you from Dr. Schweitzer. I would be glad indeed if you would translate it for me. I think he is taking some opposition to my criticism of the general treament of Africans but he is very kind and sympathetic about it.

22-9-35

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. M. V. Boutte
2301 Seventh Avenue
New York City

THE NEW YORK CITY CANCER COMMITTEE
OF THE AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY, INC.
HARLEM DIVISION
2007 SEVENTH AVENUE NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
TELEPHONE UNiversity 4-2955
FIGHT CANCER WITH KNOWLEDGE

Co-Chairmen: JOHN E. MOSELEY, M.D.
FARROW R. ALLEN, M.D.

Administrative Secretary: ETNAH ROCHON BOUTTÉ

21-13-74

July 9, 1946.

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
Director
Department of Special Research
NAACP-20 West 40th St.
New York18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed is the little chore you graciously permitted me to do for you. Don't put off too long the fulfillment of your promise to Boutte' and me - a visit with you and a cup of expertly made coffee.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Etnah R. Boutte'

NEW YORK CITY CANCER COMMITTEE—Chairman, John C. A. Gerster, M.D.

Medical Consultant:
ALBERT S. MORROW, M.D.

Executive Director:
SAVEL ZIMAND

130 East 66th Street, New York 21—Telephone: BUtterfield 8-2665

51

18 July 1946

21-19-96

My dear Mrs. Boutte:

I thank you so much for the translation of Schweitzer's letter which you were so kind to make for me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. M. V. Boutte
2301 Seventh Avenue
New York City

21-29-31

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WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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BRL211 4=ATLANTA GA 12 1226P

DR AND MRS D E DUBOIS=

:2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE=

1946 MAY 12 PM 2 15

CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES=

DR AND MRS D G BOWDEN=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

(BRAITHWAITE)

2-29-17

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WESTERN UNION

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(55)

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1946 MAY 12 AM 10 57

)BRL95 19=NEWYORK NY 12 950A

DR AND MRS WILLIAM E B DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELO TERR BALTO=

:OUR FELICITATIONS ON THE OCCASSION OF YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY MAY THE ABUNDANT YEARS INCREASE TOENRICH THE FUTURE=

WILLIAM AND EMMA BRATIHWAITE.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

21-20-76

March 21, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The enclosed taken from the march edition of the magazine of art, will explain to you what I am doing.

Your name has been submitted as one of the important leaders.

If you will consent to sit for your portrait I am sure we will be

able to arrange the time to suit your convenience.

I have my sitter pose a half hour or hour at one time and work the balance of the day from memory so you would not have to give too much of your time at once.

Hoping you will do me the honor of having me sculpture your portrait, I remain,

Sincerely,

Rudd Brall

[Encl.]

MAGAZINE OF ART

MARCH, 1946

For Everyone *The Outstanding*

RUTH BRALL

NOTED AMERICAN SCULPTOR and PAINTER

USES

Grumbacher Finest

OIL COLORS FOR ARTISTS

RUTH BRALL'S rich, bronze-like patinas have been acclaimed by the world of sculpture. This unique application of oil color on castings was influenced by her earlier study of painting. Recently commissioned to do a group of jai alai players while in Havana, she is now working on a group of portraits of ten outstanding contemporary negro leaders. This commission, when completed, will be exhibited at the Shomburg Collection, N. Y. C. She studied with Maldarelli, Nicolosi, and Hafner. She is a member of the Allied Artists, League of Present Day Painters, and has exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum, Audubon Artists, Swope Museum, Terre Haute, Indiana; National Academy, and British American Art Center. Miss Brall writes:—

"I find Grumbacher's Finest Oil Colors are best suited for my patinas which are often mistaken for genuine bronze."

Ruth Brall

•

Art Schools or Sculptors interested in further information about colors as used by Miss Brall in her work may write her at her studio, 67 W. 67th St., N. Y. C.

•

OBTAINABLE AT YOUR FAVORITE DEALER

•

M. GRUMBACHER

Brushes, Colors, and Artists' Material

470 West 34th Street, New York 1, N. Y.

21-20

21-20-77

July 9, 1946

Miss Ruth Brall
67 West 67th Street
New York City, N.Y.

My dear Miss Brall:

I am late in answering your letter of March 21, but if you wish perhaps I can arrange some time for sitting this summer.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois.

25 September 1946

21-20-73

My dear Miss Brall:

It will be impossible for me to sit for you until the week of October 6. That week and the next I could give you part of one or two days.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Brall
67 West 67th Street
New York City

[1940]

Mrs. Percy Williams Bridgman

10 Buckingham Place
Cambridge - Mass.

01-82-12

OVER

As I am visiting the Burnes
for a few days may I add
my very cordial Congratulations
& greetings -

Olivia Van Bridgman

Louisville Ky Dec 13. 1946.
Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
69 fifth Ave
New York City
Dear Mr. Dubois

21-15-2

before you finish reading this, you will no doubt wonder why I choose to write you this Unsolicited letter. there was a time if history points true, when great men of Science, education, religion, imagination, invention and discovery, were looked upon as instruments in the hands of the great intelligence which is personified as God, and their work and achievement were ascribed to God and dedicated to the making of a world according to his will as they Understood it; and their minds were open and receptive to Constructive ideas regardless of their origin. But in this modern Age, when people who are not graduates of some Celebrated College or University, has views and ideas of a Constructive nature, they have got to put them in the hands of some one who is widely Known and accepted as an educator and as an orthority on the subjects in question. I have often seen and heard men praised to the highest, because they had College degrees,

for saying things that had been said many years before by men in rags sitting around a cheap barbershop and went Unnoticed by any one. I had not lived long in this unfriendly world before I developed a Burning desire to know the reason why the people of one and the same nation were so different and divided in their Concept of God and what it takes to build and maintain a well balanced Human Society. I finished the fourth grade in public school and did not find the answer there. I were born in the Catholic Church in a little town in Louisiana, and attended services regularly for 17 years, and I did not find the answer there, and being unable to go any farther in School I decided to take god and my own mind and do some research work Mysely, and after carefully studying the ideas and attitudes and behavior of my own people for some time, I were at a lost as to how I could reach the White people at a closer range. I then went to Beaumont Texas where my elder brother worked as Headwaiter in the leading Hotel, and I started to work as a Buss boy and after a short while I discovered that I had [redacted]ked my mind to a great

UNKED

21-15-M

(3)

Channel of Knowledge through which flowed many things I wanted to know. and the first thing I learned after entering this great Observatory of Human ideas and behavior was that many things can be very fair and equitable and yet be very unfavorable and distasteful to the way of life of some people, and in my opinion, this condition is responsible for most of the friction in racial and interracial relations in this Country, and until the people, Black and White alike, learn to take their part of bitter along with the sweet there is no hope for much better race relations the great trouble is that either race, do not see and understand each other as each other really are. But they see and understand each other as they are not. The Colored people are not members of an intruding element of an African race they are members of a Colored race which is of the most part of American origin with ideas and attitudes fashioned by American, Social, Economic and educational Machinery and it is hardly fair or reasonable on the part of White people to look for something that is made of a certain substance and

21-15-4

expect to find it made of something else for
we do not sow the seed of Corn and
produce potatoes. and I find that there
is something for the Colored people to do too;
and that is if they would train themselves
in the School of observation to the point
of seeing and understanding the White
race as a serious, productive and in
many respects, a Stern race, with lots
of Constructive imagination and technique.
instead of seeing them altogether as a tyrant
they too could find a better way to invite
the good will and friendly Cooperation of
the White race; and maybe then Both races
will be able to make a Constructive contribution
to the eradication of the bad effects of
Chattel Slavery, and the Partial, polluted
brand of Social equality that have been
practiced in this Country for Centuries.
and the next thing I learned in the
School of observation, is that people. Black
and or White alike, rarely gets any more out of
life than the equivalent of what they put
in it. I think the Creator fixed it that way.
although it is unfavorable to the way of
life of some people: and there is another thing I have

21-15-5

(5)

learned. and that is, for any person or people to believe or propagate, That the Color of their skin and the texture of their hair is a Bar to their Constructive usefulness in a world that is Conceived and fashioned by the mind of God is a millstone around their necks to begin with, and can only serve one purpose and that is to depreciate the believers in the estimation of themselves and their race, and the effects of this is quite obvious within our group. and something should be done about it now. what do you suppose would happen to the white race if they believed the same thing about their Color and hair. do you believe they would have to turn Black to fall from where they are. why I should say not. they would tumble all most over night as white as they are and with the same hair on their heads. Of course there is some danger of them falling any way. because of over rating themselves. it should be remembered that the power and capacity to do good or evil are not in material things. But they are in the minds and imaginations of Men. in my opinion. the Colored people would do well to Anchor themselves in the infallible word and promises of the Creator and

21-15-6

(6)

conclude that all labor that is essential to the wellbeing of Human Society is honorable and is intended for payment by the Natural laws and promises of God and that if the White race has any thing worthwhile it is only that which they have received from a Source which is much greater than themselves (the White race) and that that Source is no respector of person or Color and I have learned something else by observation which the leaders of the Colored race have impressed on the minds of the Colored people to their hurt and that is that Because they are Colored they are given all the menial Jobs while the whites are employed as workers in other lines while it is true that in the South the Colored people are prefered as menial workers it is not because they are Colored but it is because their Condition as a race better fits them for such work than the whites because they are by inheritance victims of a Condition Created by Centuries of Chattel Slavery which destroyed their Senses of responsibility, reliability and punctuality which would be required in other lines of work. They Can overcome all of this only one way and that way is not by Changing their Color but by Changing

21-15-7

FINAL

their Concept of God and their ideas, and by exercising a greater responsibility in world affairs for after all the one that pays the fiddler is going to allways call the tune it is not fair or resonable for to leave all the planning and all the Serious thinking up to the other fellow in a progressive world and expect to share equaly the fruits of progress it wont work that way. And some body with some degree of influence Should tell the Masses of Colored people this instead of Patting them on the Back and Causing them to believe that every thing is well with them and that the other fellow is making all the trouble the truth is what makes a Man free and No one can give it to any body we have got to find it ourselves with the Spirit of God as our guide. you may pass this letter on to others I have tried to get some of my thoughts in the press of my people, but they are not inclined to lend a ear to Serious thought.

21-15-8

Your truly
J. Logan Brooks.
526 S. 6th St.
Louisville, Ky.

Secret mss

31 December 1946

My dear sir:

I have your letter of December 13th. On the whole I agree with what you say. I think however that you overemphasize the fact that world is inclined to listen to those who have studied in the great universities. Men can get wisdom without such studies but not as easily, as quickly nor as completely. If however they have not had the opportunity for such study, they should read what others have thought, rather than try alone to think out the whole history of human thought. I should say that what you need is wide and careful reading of the best books.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-159

Mr. J. L. Brooks
526 South 6th Street
Louisville, Kentucky

a1-a1-9

My dear Mr. Randolph:

Enclosed is a proposed petition to the Assembly of the United Nations which is being prepared by the Pan African Congress and affiliated organizations. We are going to have a meeting on October 5, at two p.m. in the auditorium of the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library. I should like very much to have you present at that meeting and especially have the endorsement of the Porters International Union and the March on Washington Movement. Also if there are other A.F. of L. labor unions who might be interested and endorse the movement, I should be glad to have their addresses so that I may write to them. I hope you will take this under serious consideration and let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York City

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1ST INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
3456-58 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

BENNIE SMITH
2ND INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
1308 BROADWAY, ROOM 305
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

E. J. BRADLEY
3RD INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
11 NORTH JEFFERSON STREET
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

C. L. DELLUMS
4TH INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
1716 SEVENTH STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

TRAIN, CHAIR CAR, COACH PORTERS & ATTENDANTS
AN INTERNATIONAL UNION
AFFILIATED WITH THE A. F. OF L.
217 WEST 125TH STREET
(ROOM 301)
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MO 2-5080-1
NIGHTS, SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS
UNIVERSITY 4-8262
440

November 7, 1946

92-18-24

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Just a word to say that I will place your communication of September 18th before our International Executive Board for its consideration. I will also bring it to the attention of the March On Washington Movement when it meets, December 9th in Chicago, with a view to securing its support on the program of the Pan African Congress.

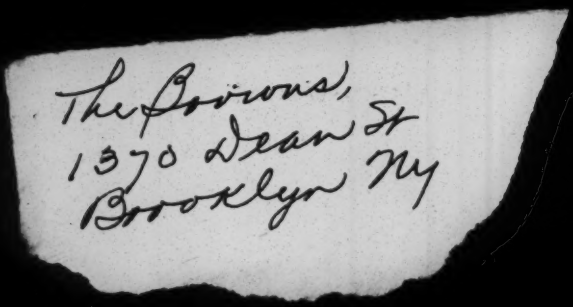
Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB

oeiu/153

Congratulations
On Your
GOLDEN
ANNIVERSARY


The Bowens,
1370 Dean St
Brooklyn NY

May your

GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY

Bring you joy and peace

of mind,

May blessings fill your

golden years

And Time be very kind.

John and Eleanora Brown

Minneapolis, Minnesota
November 30, 1946
3954 - 3rd Avenue South

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgcomb Avenue
New York City, New York

12-13-03

My dear Sir:

I have just completed a new book - "Four Years in an Ammunition Plant". The manuscript was recently reviewed and "O.K'd" for publication by the War Department.

A New York Publishing house just recently returned my manuscript with the explanation that the work is too technical.

My recent trip to the West Coast and through the South and East, leads me to believe that there is a possibility of a million copies of this book being sold, once it is published.

Doctor, I would be very glad to have you edit this work for me. I will be willing to pay a fixed sum for your work of a stipulated amount of the publisher's royalty to the author.

Thanking you in advance for whatever cooperation you can give me in this matter.

Yours truly,

Martin Brown

Martin Brown

[Encl.]

Copy

WAR DEPARTMENT
War Department Special Staff
Public Relations Division
Washington 25, D.C.

10 September 1946

In reply refer to:
Review #6351

21-13-04

Subject: Article, "Four Years in An Ammunition Plant", by Mathew Browning (w) six photographs (submitted for review for publication.

TO: Mr. Martin Brown
3954 - 3rd Avenue South
Minneapolis 8, Minnesota

1. The above material, submitted to the Review Section, Public Relations Division, is returned herewith stamped: No objection to publication on grounds of military security or policy.

2. In submitting material for review, please address it to: Review Section, Public Relations Division, War Department Special Staff, The Pentagon, Washington 25, D.C.

3. Please do not address material to individual officers. In case of their transfer, material so addressed might be forwarded to the, or in case of their absence might be held for their return. It will be perfectly in order, however, in a letter accompanying the material to call attention to the fact that it previously has been discussed with a specific officer.

4. When telephoning the Review Section to inquire about the status of submitted material, please ask the War Department operator (REpublic 6700) for Extension 71693, The Inquiry Desk.

FOR THE CHIEF, REVIEW SECTION

ROGER B. DOULENS
Major, CAC

INCL:
Article (in 15 parts)
w/ 6 Photos
(FL-76-77,78,79,80, CL-360)

REV II (Revised 6/11/46)

21-13-D5

31 December 1946

My dear sir:

Answering your letter of November 30, I regret to say that I would not have time to edit the book which you mention. I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Martin Brown
3954-3rd Avenue South
Minneapolia, Minnesota

BROWNING HOME AND MATHER ACADEMY
CAMDEN, SOUTH CAROLINA

MISS LULU B. BRYAN, PRINCIPAL
AND
SUPERINTENDENT OF BROWNING HOME

UNDER AUSPICES
BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION
THE METHODIST CHURCH
WOMAN'S DIVISION

21-10-09

April 22, 1946

Mr. W.E.B Duboise
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

The graduating class of this school have suggested you as their speaker for the commencement exercises on May 28th. Several have heard you and the others are hoping you will find it possible to comply with their wishes.

The hour for the exercises will be 10:30 A.M. on May 28th. There will be 41 in the class.

We should of course care for your expenses and give you in addition whatever you desire for your services on such an occasion.

May we hear from you as soon as convenient.

Yours very truly,

Lulu B. Bryan

01-01-12

2 May 1946

My dear Madam:

I could speak for you May twenty-eight but I should have to charge two hundred dollars. Out of this I would pay my own travel but would expect you to furnish board and lodging. I am afraid this is more than you can afford and I am sorry not to be able to make it more reasonable.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Lulu B. Bryan
Browning Home and Mather Academy
Camden, South Carolina

BROWNING HOME AND MATHER ACADEMY
CAMDEN, SOUTH CAROLINA

MISS LULU B. BRYAN, PRINCIPAL
AND
SUPERINTENDENT OF BROWNING HOME

UNDER AUSPICES
BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION
THE METHODIST CHURCH
WOMAN'S DIVISION

21-27-91

May 4,1946

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
20 West 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of May 2 relative to being our speaker for commencement. We note your terms and asyou state, we find them a bit too great for this particular time. We should not have that much money to put into commencement exercises,much as we should desire to do so.

However, we should like to ask you to consider an address at the school during February 1947,probably the third week of the month, as part of the exercises commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the school. Committees are already at work upon this event and though nothing has been definitely decided upon, we should like to know if you would consider an address at that time. We shall give definite date,when we know the time a speaker could come.

Would you come for the same terms as stated in your letter of May 2?

We thank you for your consideration.

Yours very truly,

Lulu B. Bryan

PEARL S. BUCK

40 EAST 49TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.

December 25, 1946.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am about to ask a great favor of you — will you see a friend of mine, Lee Lombard, and let him have the pleasure of telling me your ideas? I believe he has read anything you have ever written.

It would be a pleasure to me, to see you some day. Are you ever free on a Tuesday?

Yours cordially,

Pearl S. Buck

22-9-104.

6 December 1946

My dear Miss Buck:

Thank you for introducing to me Mr. Lombard, I have had a pleasant talk with him. I am usually free on Tuesday and would be very glad to see you sometime.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Pearl S. Buck
40 East 49th Street
New York, N. Y.

22-9-105

11 December 1946

21-19-60

My dear Miss Buck:

May I thank you for your courtesy for letting me say a word last night, I trust that stressing my pet peeve was not altogether out of place.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Pearl Buck
40 East 49th Street
New York City

Social

R. D. 3
PERKASIE, PENNSYLVANIA

December 27, 1946.

22-9-117

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Thank you for your note. Of course I was only happy that you came to the Nobel Dinner and that you closed the meeting as you did.

Yours with kindest regards,

Pearl S. Buck

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
Color and Democracy Colonies and Peace,
20 West 40th Street,
New York City 18, N. Y.

PSB HS

Miss McGhee

letter from Miss

Buckle

21-20

COPY

23 April 1946

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th St, New York 18, NY

My dear Dr. DuBois: It is now some months since I had a very pleasant interview with you concerning Dr. Daniel Hale Williams whose biography I am writing for Appletons.

I have just returned from another research trip on the matter, including ten days spent on the Booker T. Washington letters which are now available to the public in the Library of Congress. Here I found much to interest me in the early support given to Washington by Williams, the support given your ideas by Madden and Bentley in Chicago, the insinuation of George Cleveland Hall (and Mrs Hall) into the affections of Mr. Washington, and the subsequent dropping of Williams by Washington. It doesnot make an altogether pretty picture. With all of this in view, I wonder if I might see you again some time at your convenience for I am sort of wading around in the dark in some of these things and would much appreciate clarification from you.

21-20-210

Do you have anywhere the names of the 32 Negores, including three doctors and one dentist (Bentley?), who signed the protest on October 26, 1910, against Booker Washington's statement abroad to the effect that on the whole whites here did not treat Negroes too badly? I would like to know who the three doctors were, and especially whether Williams was included.

And have you found any correspondence from Williams in your files, or in the files of the NAACP? You kindly said you would see if you could find any. Needless to say, it would be invaluable.

I should also like to know whether the NAACP received any of the $5,000 bequest which Dr. Williams made them in his will?

Before ending this lengthy epistle, may I say how very much I have benefitted from reading your BLACK RECONSTRUCTION? It did much to lift the "cloud of unknowing" in which I had been traveling! And I still get a kick out of springing on white folks some of the history I garnered in BLACK FOLK THEN & NOW. If the world has time to catch up with that book before it is blown to bits, some much- wonted humility might result, with a consequent improvement in matters which are a shame to all of the ilk of

Yours sincerely,

Helen Buckler

HELEN BUCKLER
405 WEST 54 STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • CIRCLE 6-8946

23 April 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street, New York 18

My dear Dr. DuBois: It is now some months since I hada very pleasant interview with you concerning Dr. Daniel Hale Williams whose biography I am writing for Appletons.

I have just returned from another research trip on the matter, including ten days spent on the Booker T. Washington letters which are now available to the public in the Library of Congress. Here I found much to interest me in the early support given to Washingtonby Williams, the support given your ideas by Madden and Bentley in Chicago, the insinuation of George Cleveland Hall into the affections of Mr. Washington, and the subsequent dropping of Williams by Washington. It does not make an altogether pretty picture. With all of this in view, I wonder if I might see you again some time at your convenience for I am sort of wading around in the dark in some of these things and would much appreciate clarification from you.

22-9-27

Do you have anywhere the names of the 32 Negroes, including three doctors and one dentist (Bentley?) who signed the protest on October 26, 1910, against Booker Washington's statement abroad to the effect that on the whole whites here did not treat Negroes too badly? I would like to know who the three doctors were.

And have you found any correspondence from Williams in your files, or in the files of the NAACP? You kindly said you would see if you could find any. Needless to say, it would be very useful.

I should also like to know whether the NAACP received any of the $5,000 bequest which Dr. Williams made them in his will?

Before ending this lengthy epistle, may I say how very much I have benefitted from reading your BLACK RECONSTRUCTION? It did much to lift the "cloud of unknowing" in which I had been traveling! And I still get a kick out of springing on white folks some of the history I garnered in BLACK FOLK THEN & NOW. If the world has time to catch up with that book before it is blown to bits, some much-wonted humility might result, with a consequent improvement in matters which are a shame to all of the ilk of

Yours sincerely,

Helen Buckler

[Buckler, Helen]

3 October 1946

My dear Miss Butler:

Your letter of April 23rd has been mislaid as usual but I shall be very glad to talk with you if you are still in New York and can call upon me. Please phone me and make an appointment.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-9-28

Miss Helen Butler
405 West 54th Street
New York 19, N. Y.

14 November 1946

My dear Miss Buckler:

I would rather make the appointment with you for the afternoon as I do not come to my office very early in the morning. I should be glad to see you almost any day between 2 and 4. Next Friday, November 22 would do.

22-9-97

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Helen Buckler
405 West 54th Street
New York 19, N. Y.

Req for appointment

HELEN BUCKLER
405 WEST 54 STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • CIRCLE 5-8946

16 November 1946

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter and for the appointment. I shall plan to come next Friday, November 22, at two o'clock.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Buckler

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street, New York 18, NY

21-20-81

Thursday.

Dear Mrs. Du Bois:—

This letter is for Dr Du Bois and Yolande too,—but it is easier to talk with one at a time.

Thank you for thinking of me at this happy high-tide in your family life.

I like to think back to Atlanta days and merry, funny things pop into my mind.

Of course Yolande, as my dainty cunning little Kindergarten child is good to recall.

6-82-12

and among many sayings, her
comment on Bolden's head
one night at supper!
Dr Du Bois' gay laugh was
one uncomfortably directed
at me, - when I announced
in prayer meeting that "every
one should be aware ---
Do you remember too the students'
names for us all + what perfect
Cartoons they were!
Now, "going on seventy". I still feel, -
even with two old New England

home, which Alf. Burnet and I
call "The Open Door" that Atlanta
University and everything about it—
the Kindergarten, the Campus, the
dining room, the Chapel, my
brother's home, the Steeple, the
singing fence around the tree,
North Hall & Westfield, — the Sunset
Skies, — is very dear: — and
that the double belonging is
an enriching and distinguishing
experience.
With loving thoughts for you all.
Gertrude Mae Burnet.

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
1697 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

October 7, 1946.

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

21-27-12

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We plan to gather friends of Edwin Embree and his work for lunch on Thursday, October 24th.

The place - Gramercy Park Hotel at
52 Gramercy Park North
The time - 12:00 noon to 3:00 P.M.

The program- Brief remarks after we have eaten by a few people who will be asked to speak on Embree, their knowledge and feeling about him and the significance of his work.

Would you be willing to talk for two or three minutes for the Negro World, with such other comments as you wish to add?

Sincerely,

H. H. Giles

H. H. Giles,
Executive Director

hhg.be

14 October 1946

21-22-13

My dear Mr. Giles:

I appreciate your invitation of October 7th but regret to say that in October I shall be lecturing in the South.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. H. H. Giles
Bureau for Intercultural Education
1697 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

18 March 1946

21-19-71

My dear Ruth:

I am so sorry to hear of your severe illness and glad to know that you are getting better. I have always deeply appreciated your kindness to my family. If there is any thing I can do, please let me know. Mrs. Du Bois is slowly improving. She joins me in good wishes. My best regards to Mr. Burgess.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ruth Burgess
2400 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

MRS. RUTH W. BURGESS - 2400 MONTEBELLO TERRACE - BALTIMORE 14, MD.

April 4, 1946

My dear Dr. Du Bois -

As busy as I know you are I appreciated so much your stopping to write me a cheer up message during my recent illness.

So far I am doing fine. My greatest difficulty is having patience.

Thank you for your concern and

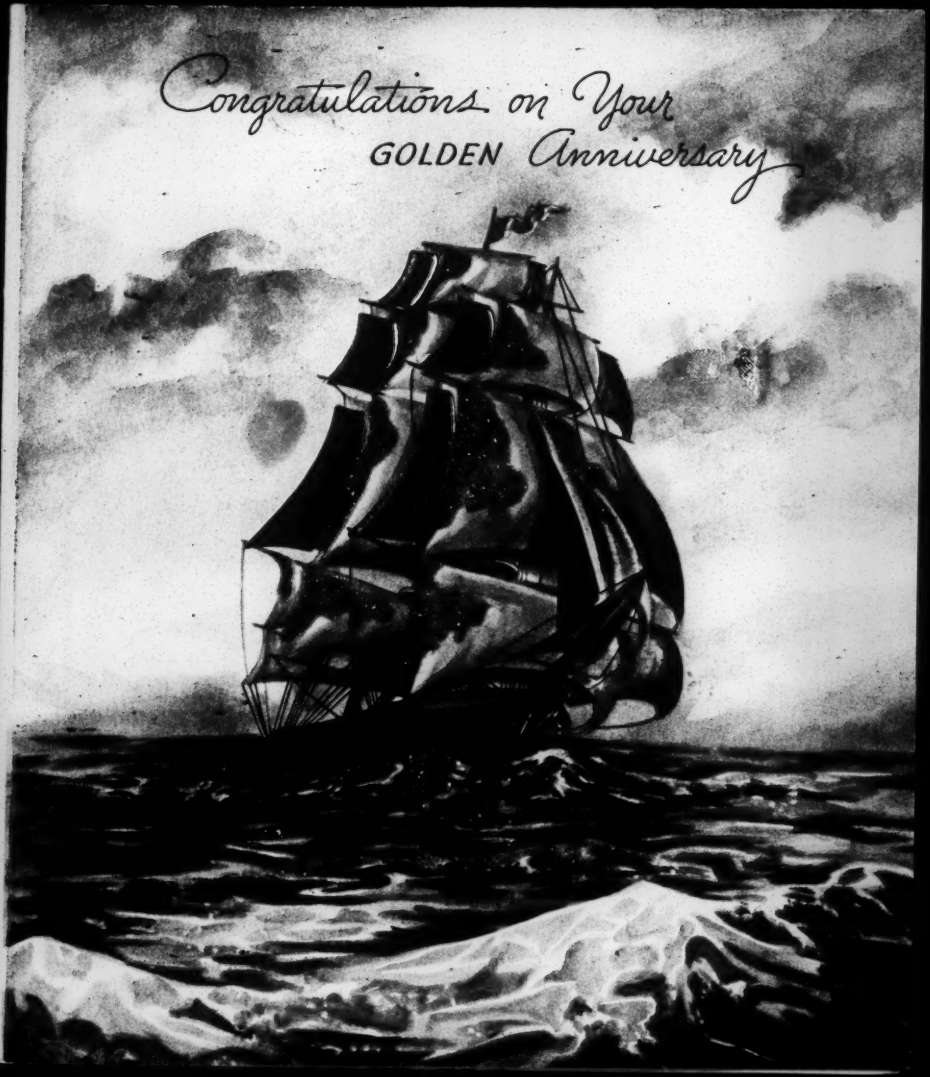
21-19-70

Your kind ~~thoughts~~ at
this time.

Mr Burgess joins me
in kindest regards to you.

Sincerely

Ruth


Congratulations on Your
GOLDEN Anniversary

With sincere congratulations

and best wishes on

this happy occasion.

Karl Elmer Burgess

********** 20 West 40th Street

7 January 1946

Dear Allison:

We have tried in vain to get into contact with you by telephone but have been unable. Mrs. Du Bois soon after seeing you at the YWCA returned to Baltimore and worked so hard cleaning and washing that she had a cerebral hemorrhage. She went to the hospital in Baltimore the latter part of September and was transferred to the Montefiore Hospital
Bainbridge Avenue and Gunhill Road
The Bronx

November twenty-seventh. Consequently your letter concerning your Mother failed to reach her.

Both she and I felt so sorry to hear of your Mother's death. Please call on Mrs. Du Bois as soon as you can. The visiting hours are from 1:00 - 3:30 p. m. and 7:00 - 9:00 p. m. She is in Private A Ward.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Allison Burroughs
Tass Agency
50 Rockefeller Plaza
New York City

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JAMAICA

18th October, 1946.

42-8F-78

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
President,
Pan African Congress,
20W 40th St.,
New York 18, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

Sir,

Thanks very much for your letter of the 18th September, 1946, enclosing me a proposed petition which your organisation intends to forward to the Assembly of the United Nations.

At present, I am engaged in studying the proposals and within a few days I shall give you my views in the matter.

I can see clearly that what you are fighting to achieve are (a) recognition of the Negro Race at this Assembly, and (b) the obliteration of poverty, ignorance, and disease in colonies particularly as these affect the African Colonies. With all of these, I am wholeheartedly in accordance. I am, of course, a matter of fact person, that is, a practical one, and you must not be discouraged if your desires should meet with many reverses, but remember this, that to succeed you must never give up, and even though you are down you must never feel that you are out.

It is going to take you and your Organisation and all of us who desire this progress a very very long time to wipe out the many ills the Negro Race are suffering from through no fault of theirs, and through no fault of ours, but through the system over which they and us had no control, and still have no control. There is, of course, a bright future for the Negro Race and its descendants, and I write to you as a coloured man.

Yours faithfully,

W. A. Bustamante

(Hon.) W. A. Bustamante, M.H.R.
Minister for Communications.

WAB/PLK.

[CALKINS]

21-29-62

19 BERKELEY STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

May 9, 1946

My very dear Friend:

The announcement of the approaching celebration of Your Golden Wedding anniversary, so handsomely engraved, brought me much happiness. And I am indeed glad of the opportunity it brings me of expressing to you both my heart-felt congratulations, and cordial greetings. To have lived together in mutual love and

faithful comradeship for a great
half-century: and to be able to
keep the anniversary in the company
of daughter and grand daughter, is
indeed an event to bring us all both
deepest happiness and gratitude.

The class of 1890 of Harvard
College has always been especially
proud of Du Bois's. As a member of
it, I join with all of our other
friends in wishing that you may
both have many more years of
loving companionship together.

Cordially, Raymond Calkins.

21-21-18

My dear Mr. Carey:

I want to get an endorsement of the CIO for the enclosed petition which the Pan African Congress is presenting to the Assembly of the United Nations. Will you kindly read this an advise me? I shall be greatly obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. James B. Carey
718 Jackson Street, Southwest
Washington, D. C.

(CARNEGIE)

CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

MEETING NOTES - PLANNING COMMITTEE

Monday, November 4, 1946

32040 NOV 11 '46

Present at the meeting were Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Church Peace Union, Miss Marguerite Boylan, Catholic Association for International Peace, Miss Mildred Burgess, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Mr. Paul DeWitt, American Bar Association, Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger and Miss Margaret Olson, American Association for the United Nations, Mrs. Zelia Peet Ruebhausen, National League of Women Voters, Mrs. William Dick Sporborg, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, Federal Council of Churches, Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, Women's Action Committee, and Mr. Malcolm W. Davis, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Also present were two representatives from Lions International.

21-15

Discussion began on the basis of reports from organizations on the appointment of full-time representatives to the United Nations. The indication was that only through a planned reporting service could the group be kept informed, and it was suggested that forecasting and evaluating rather than ordinary information would be required.

Mrs. Sporborg said she was trying to develop a staff of observers who would alternate with her for the General Federation which was interested particularly in the Committees on Trusteeship and on Human Rights. She agreed that it was important to get indications on trends, and the organizations could render services to each other by designating representatives to do this.

Mr. Davis remarked that Dr. Nolde was expecting to follow developments on Human Rights and that through Miss Burgess, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs was following the Economic and Social Council and certain of its Commissions. He commented that in Geneva, during the Conference on Armaments, it had been possible to form up a voluntary group of representatives, exchanging information on different phases, which took initiative and alerted organizations.

Miss Burgess emphasized development of cooperation with the United Nations Secretariat to learn what issues are to be foreseen.

Mrs. Sporborg stressed the need to keep ahead of public opinion and official policy, and reach memberships in time for statement of views to Washington.

Miss Burgess added that it would be good to keep ahead of commentators. Her organization was preparing one or two bulletins for immediate distribution on the Assembly.

Mr. Eichelberger said there will always be some issue on which education is needed, now Trusteeship, next week perhaps the budget; and each organization could contribute ideas. He called attention to a mimeographed confidential bulletin containing an analysis of the human rights question.

Mr. Davis said it might be possible to circulate a bulletin once a week or every ten days, on separate sheets for special subjects. The Endowment could provide for such service, but could not supply sufficient staff to gather information. This would depend on organization observers, with perhaps an emergency staff worker.

Mrs. Sporborg commented that such a bulletin could be of great value for alerting her state chairmen on international relations, by furnishing advance information which would still be timely by the time it reached down beyond the state chairman. Time was of the essence; and if it would be possible to find someone who could take care of getting messages around, she would like to have enough mimeographed sheets for distribution to her state chairmen. She suggested that there might be some way in which the group could share expenses.

Mr. Eichelberger noted that Miss Olson, in charge of AAUN intelligence service, had as a volunteer assistant, Miss Anne Winslow, daughter of Dr. Winslow. She did the analysis on human rights for the CSOP, and she could collate and edit reports and be responsible for getting them out.

Mr. Davis offered to arrange for such service in cooperation with Miss Borger, during the period of the General Assembly, and then see what might be done later. If organization representatives following debates would give information on developments in Committee meetings, the reporting secretary could get out quick indications as to issues from time to time and also furnish a weekly newsletter. He emphasized that it was essential to avoid any attempt of committing organizations to policies and to bring promptly to attention matters that need consideration for possible action as organizations choose.

Miss Burgess said the plan was of strategic value, and Miss Winslow should be capable from experience. Mrs. Sporborg said what was needed was action to assure a type of service which promised to be worth while. Its value lay in alerting memberships to watchfulness on certain issues. Mrs. Whitehouse felt the help would be enormous, as no one in her organization had time to attend meetings. Mrs. Ruebhausen said prompt action was necessary, and there were many things on which organizations could do something, if they had information in advance.

Mr. Davis said if it was done through the Endowment it would be done on behalf of the Conference group. A reporting secretary for the Planning Committee could collect information from observers and the Secretariat, possibly attend some Committee herself, and get out alerting notices and a newsletter to organizations.

Mr. DeWitt said the American Bar Association was interested in developments on re-statement of international law, and he would ask the secretary to watch that.

Mrs. Sporborg asked if the reporting secretary would keep in touch with the Secretary-General's office. She was interested in advance information to help her chairmen in a campaign of writing letters to editors, not in a report of what had happened which would appear in newspapers.

Miss Burgess urged advance guidance on matters of special domestic interest - such as what part of the budget the United States would have to pay, military contingents, and so on.

Mr. Eichelberger, introducing two representatives from Lions International who had expressed interest in attending, expressed the opinion that the reporting service should be an overall editorial assignment to keep in touch with activities, correlate information from observers, and issue bulletins.

Mrs. Sporborg asked whether information was to be limited to organization reports, or would the secretary be free to present authoritative information obtained by those following activities. Mr. Davis said she would be free to do so, checking the source of information. Discussion emphasized that the function of the secretary would be not to gather information <u>for</u> observers but <u>from</u> observers, and fill gaps, in the attempt to get a central information service for a week to week bulletin.

Dr. Van Kirk made a motion to approve proposal to engage through the Carnegie Endowment an information secretary for the duration of the Assembly, after which the next stage can be studied. The motion was seconded and passed by unanimous oral vote. Mr. Davis asked if Miss Winslow could be detached from her work with the CSOP and other responsibility for work on behalf of this group, and Mr. Eichelberger agreed.

Dr. Van Kirk commented, differing from the general feeling in the group, that while he saw the need for information on possible future action he also thought that outside of New York City people read their own newspapers which contain very little information on the United Nations and facts bearing upon trends should be given as fast as they can be furnished. The Federal Council has prepared a bulletin on the General Assembly, and is preparing others. He agreed to supply copies of the Bulletin on the General Assembly for distribution to the whole Conference group. Mrs. Ruebhausen said the National League of Women Voters had in press material on atomic energy which she would be glad to send for distribution to organizations.

Mr. Davis said he was interested in having any organization furnish material for distribution.

The Lions representative asked about the group and was told that it was convened by the Carnegie Endowment, its agent, whose address was 405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N.Y.

Dr. Van Kirk suggested a study showing positions taken by all participating bodies on problems before the General Assembly or decisions by it. Mr. Davis commented that a clear picture is hard to get; some organizations take limited stands, and some go a longer way. Dr. Van Kirk noted that organizations publish resolutions giving their positions, and these could all be brought together and analyzed. Mr. Davis said that a survey would probably be of such a size that it would have to be printed, perhaps in International Conciliation. Type could then be left standing and reprints could be secured.

Dr. Van Kirk made a motion that Mr. Davis consider the possibility of making available through International Conciliation an analytical compilation of action taken by organizations on issues currently dealt with by the United Nations, to be issued following the General Assembly. The motion was seconded and passed by unanimous oral vote. It was felt that there would be a concurrence of views which would be very impressive.

21-15

Mr. Davis urged that organizations should be alerted to the problems involved in the subject of armaments limitation and reduction. There would be a test of organization effectiveness, in getting over an understanding of the proposals for control and inspection as indispensable to limitation and reduction. This question is intensified by the issue of atomic energy, and is going to be critical. He proposed a note about it to the Conference group for consideration. Mrs. Ruebhausen agreed that organizations should make their views known to our delegation, especially on what points and to what length inspection should go.

Dr. Van Kirk said the Federal Council is preparing a memorandum analyzing military agreements, inspection and control, and military contingents which he offered to send in for circulation. Replying to a question from Mrs. Whitehouse as to how it would be handled, Mr. Davis said a note would go out to organizations with the suggestion that they give immediate attention to it and have any views sent to our delegation or to the government. There would be no effort to outline policy, but to indicate issues for organizations to study. The Consultative Group in Geneva worked out a system of relaying out information, and there was a flooding back in of resolutions from organization memberships in many countries. This plan was to give intelligent indications to organizations for them to use as they wished.

Mr. Eichelberger spoke of the United States position on Trusteeship referring to President Truman's statement that we would place mandated islands under some kind of trusteeship with the United Nations approval. He said many organizations had endorsed.

a letter which went to Secretary Byrnes on July 17 asking questions about human rights, what we were going to do about mandated islands, etc. and received a letter in August from Mr. Byrnes saying the United States position was outlined in President Truman's statement of January 15 and questions not covered there would be settled in harmony with the Charter. While the letter sent to Secretary Brynes had been released, the reply had to be kept confidential. President Truman has pointed out the legal and moral responsibility for the Japanese Mandated Islands, but the military services have not wanted to see them placed under a trusteeship which would require inspection. It was suggested that organizations gather information on this subject and inform Miss Olson or Mr. Eichelberger. Mr. Davis asked that Mr. Eichelberger send him any memorandum when available for distribution to the group.

As to the next meeting, Mrs. Sporborg suggested that it be left to the discretion of the convenor, and this was agreed.

21-15

carnegie endowment for international peace - (file)

[Carnegie]
WW

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER
DIRECTOR
MALCOLM W. DAVIS
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
HOWARD E. WILSON
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

DIVISION OF
INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION
405 WEST 117TH STREET
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: INTERPAX NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: UNIVERSITY 4-1850

November 29, 1946

3437 • NOV 30 '46

21-15

To Members of the
CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS:

Mr. Adrian Pelt, Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, has agreed to meet with members of the Conference of National Organizations for the United Nations on Friday evening, December 6, at 8:00 p.m. at the Woodrow Wilson House, 45 East 65th Street, New York.

We have asked him to discuss General Assembly developments.

You will wish, we feel sure, to attend this meeting, or if you cannot, to send an alternate. A return card is enclosed for your reply.

Faithfully yours,

Malcolm W. Davis

Copy for Mr. White

With the Compliments of the

Division of Intercourse and Education

of the

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

405 West 117th Street, New York, N. Y.

21-15

32040 NOV 11 43

[Carver School]

********** 20 West 40th Street

8 January 1946

20-24-100

My dear Madam:

I hope I have already answered your letter of December seventh that I would be glad to speak January thirty-first at your school. My subject would be "The African Colonies".

Will you kindly let me know the place and hour of the meeting?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Hermie Dumont
George Washington Carver School
57 West 125th Street
New York City 27

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER SCHOOL
57 WEST 125th STREET • NEW YORK CITY 27 • AT water 9-6969
GWENDOLYN BENNETT, Director

Lectures

January 11, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40 Street
New York 3, N. Y.

21-19-106

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Thank you for accepting the engagement to speak to the students in the class "The Colonial Peoples" at the Carver School on Thursday night, January 31st, from 7:00 to 8:30 P.M. on the subject: "The African Colonies".

I shall send out publicity on this lecture immediately.

Enclosed, please find a copy of the new catalog for the Winter Term which begins on Monday, January 14th.

The Carver School is located at 57 West 125 Street, one flight up, just east of Lenox Avenue.

Sincerely yours,

Hermie Dumont

Hermie Dumont
Class Co-ordinator

uopwa-1

BOARD OF DIRECTORS: DR. MAX YERGAN, Chairman : REV. CHARLES Y. TRIGG, Treasurer : DR. ARNOLD B. DONAWA, Assistant Treasurer : ALTA DOUGLAS, Secretary : CHARLES BUCHANAN : HENRY K. CRAFT : THELMA DALE : COUNCILMAN BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr. : JUDGE HUBERT T. DELANY : ERNEST L. DIMITRY : THYRA EDWARDS : SAMUEL B. LEAVIN : CANADA LEE : EDWARD S. LEWIS : CONGRESSMAN A. CLAYTON POWELL, Jr. : MELVA L. PRICE : PAUL ROBESON : FERDINAND C. SMITH : DOROTHY STEELE : HOPE R. STEVENS : CONSUELA LEE TAPIA : HARCOURT TYNES

[Carver School]

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER SCHOOL

57 WEST 125th STREET • NEW YORK CITY 27 • ATwater 9-6969

GWENDOLYN BENNETT, Director

20-24-101

January 21, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40 Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

The Winter term started last week at the Carver School.

Although it is still early to judge accurately, I believe that due to the low registration in the course "The Colonial People", your speaking engagement should be postponed to a later date, as we are eager to present you to a larger number of people.

Would you be good enough to let me know whether you would accept a later date either next month or in March at which time we might change the character of the meeting if the registration still remains low. Perhaps, instead of speaking in the class "The Colonial Peoples" you might deal with the same subject in the course: "The World Today" which meets on Thursday nights, or in a special Friday night forum.

Please let me know what is your feeling on this suggestion, at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Hermie Dumont

Hermie Dumont
Class Co-ordinator

uopwa-1

BOARD OF DIRECTORS: DR. MAX YERGAN, Chairman : REV. CHARLES Y. TRIGG, Treasurer : DR. ARNOLD B. DONAWA, Assistant Treasurer : ALTA DOUGLAS, Secretary : CHARLES BUCHANAN : HENRY K. CRAFT : THELMA DALE : COUNCILMAN BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr. : JUDGE HUBERT T. DELANY : ERNEST L. DIMITRY : THYRA EDWARDS : SAMUEL B. LEAVIN : CANADA LEE : EDWARD S. LEWIS : CONGRESSMAN A. CLAYTON POWELL, Jr. : MELVA L. PRICE : PAUL ROBESON : FERDINAND C. SMITH : DOROTHY STEELE : HOPE R. STEVENS : CONSUELA LEE TAPIA : HARCOURT TYNES

[Carver School]

22 January 1946

20-24-102

My dear Madam:

I may be able to speak for you in February but it would not be possible in March as I am going West on a speaking tour. Please let me know immediately if the engagement for January thirty-first is postponed.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Hermie Dumont
George Washington Carver School
57 West 125th Street
New York 27

21 February 1946
decided on over
was telephone 29 January

[Carver, (Geo. Washington) School

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER SCHOOL

57 WEST 125th STREET • NEW YORK CITY 27 • AT water 9-6969

GWENDOLYN BENNETT, Director

February 21, 1946

20-24-103

To Dr. W.E.B. DuBois:

Our sincere thanks for sharing your great gifts with our students who thirst so for knowledge. For me it is a great pleasure to greet an old friend and one whom I have admired for many long years.

We sincerely hope that this visit will be one in a long series, as your interest and knowledge of the Carver School grows. The school is an exciting place and we would welcome your interest and help.

Sincerely,

Gwendolyn Bennett
Director

BOARD OF DIRECTORS: DR. MAX YERGAN, Chairman : REV. CHARLES Y. TRIGG, Treasurer : DR. ARNOLD B. DONAWA, Assistant Treasurer : ALTA DOUGLAS, Secretary : CHARLES BUCHANAN : HENRY K. CRAFT : THELMA DALE : COUNCILMAN BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr. : JUDGE HUBERT T. DELANY : ERNEST L. DIMITRY : THYRA EDWARDS : SAMUEL B. LEAVIN : CANADA LEE : EDWARD S. LEWIS : CONGRESSMAN A. CLAYTON POWELL, Jr. : MELVA L. PRICE : PAUL ROBESON : FERDINAND C. SMITH : DOROTHY STEELE : HOPE R. STEVENS : CONSUELA LEE TAPIA : HARCOURT TYNES

6 September 1946

My dear Mrs. Cater:

In some way I missed learning of the death of your husband until quite recently. May I express for myself and my family our deepest condolence?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-18-1

Mrs. C. C. Cater
c/o The Atlanta Life Insurance Company
148 Auburn Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

[Central Forum]

********** 20 West 40th Street

4 January 1946

20-10-2

My dear Mr. McMillan:

As I intimated in my letter of October fifth, I went to London that month and have only recently returned. I am planning to make a lecture trip to the West and Southwest in March. If you wish to arrange for a group of lectures at that time, I should be glad to hear from you and confer on dates and places.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Joseph McMillan
The Central Forum
San Jacinto at Central
Dallas 1, Texas

2

THE CENTRAL FORUM

JOSEPH McMILLAN
Director

GENTRY SIMMONS
Secretary

M. H. JACKSON
Minister

San Jacinto at Central

DALLAS 1, TEXAS

C. A. WALTON
Pres. Men's League

SAM PETTIGREW
Secretary

14 January 1946

Dr. W.E. Burghardt DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for Adv. Col. People
20 W. 40th Street
New York 3, New York

20-10-3

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Executive Committee of the Central Forum is still interested in having you speak for us on the 4th Sunday in March which will be the 25th. However, it has instructed me to discuss terms with you. Since it is possible that you will be in the Southwest at that time, is it possible for you at this time to state from what point we might arrange your transportation? We do provide a modest honorarium. In this connection it would be helpful if you would state what you would expect of us.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph McMillan

21 February 1946

My dear Sir:

28-10-4

Continuing our correspondence concerning lectures in Texas, may I say I am lecturing in California in April. I could take a few lectures in Texas late in April or early in May. Possibly this will be too late for you. My charge would be one hundred dollars a lecture and travel from California to Texas and to the places where the lectures are to be given. The travel from Texas to New York I would bear myself.

I should be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Joseph McMillan
The Central Forum
San Jacinto at Central
Dallas 1, Texas

[Central Forum]

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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W B DUBOIS=

20 WEST 40 ST NYK=

THE FORUM COMMITTEE DECIDED THAT TERMS QUOTED WERE HIGHER THAN COULD HANDLE SINCE CHURCH IS WITHOUT PASTOR THANK YOU AND WE SHALL CALL YOU AGAIN NEXT SEASON=

JOSEPH MCMILLAN.

20-10-5

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Central Forum]

21-14-24

4 December 1946

My dear Mr. MacMillan:

I shall be speaking in the South next February and March and might arrange to come to Dallas on or about March 15. My fee would be $125. I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Joseph MacMillan
Colored Y.M.C.A
Dallas, Texas

[Central Forum]

DALLAS PUBLIC SCHOOLS
DALLAS, TEXAS

Principal _____ School _____

X

3308 Jordan Street
Dallas 15, Texas
December 13, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York 15, N.Y.

21-14-31

Dear Dr. Dubois:

The Central Forum of New Hope Baptist Church would be very glad to sponsor your appearance before a Dallas audiance during the month of February. Our date for March has been filled already. It happens that the Forum presents speakers only on the 4th Sunday in each month. This means that we could use your services February 23, which is the 4th Sunday.

We note that your fee for the appearance would be $125, if you can come. This seems satisfactory to us if we have a clear understanding as to your statement. I mean this, would the $125 cover the total cost of your appearance to us including expenses or is this a $125 fee not counting the expenses?

In either case, Dr. Dubois, we must hear from you again, because we are most anxious that the citizens of Dallas should have the opportunity to hear you. I mean to say that if your tour of the South brings you near Dallas, we might even be able to discuss with you any side of question of expenses.

I apologize to you for having delayed answering your letter, but as you know it was sent to the Y.M.C.A. and had to be forwarded to me. But we expect from you an early reply, and one in which you state that you can come to the Forum for the February 23rd appearance.

Only available dates Feb 23 - March 8

Sincerely yours,

Joseph McMillan

Joseph McMillan

[Central Forum]

21-14-16

19 December 1946

Dear Mr. McMillan:

The date you mentioned February 23rd is taken. The only available dates which I have left are ~~is~~ February 26 to March 8. My fee $125 is the only expense except board and lodging. I pay all costs of travel. I have offered the dates above to several other institutions. If I hear from them before I ~~H~~o from you, I would, of course, have to accept.

I am sorry not to be able to meet your suggestion.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Joseph McMillan
2308 Jordan Street
Dallas 15, Texas

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21-24-20

F. H. Hammurabi (Robb)
B. B. Jackson, Sec'y

M. Botiff
H. Bellamy, Treasurer

September 16. 46

Mr. W.E. B. DuBois
Pan African Congress
20 West 40th St.
New York City, New York

Attention Dept. N.A.A.C.P.

Dear Sir:

For many years we have followed your articles in the Crisis and other publications from Atlanta as well as the Chicago Defender. We have found your works in most European libraries from London to formerly Crowkow in Poland. But, we have followed with deeper interest your ever widing scholarly research, suggestions and plans of action dealing with Africa in such publications as Black Folks then and Now, The Negro, even the novel Dark Princess and others. Recently, we noted your announcement of a book dealing with the African situation. Color and Democracy cleared many points involving those of African origin as well as the Colonial question. A week or two ago you hinted about a House of Culture in Africa for their great celebration during 1947-49. If you decide to allocate some of the work, research, drawings, and financing some section, I can arrange thru the Friends of Africa which has a research department here. In addition, we understand you are having a meeting here or in Africa next year if so what are the dates and the necesary expenses?

We sell and distribute more books by African and Afro-Americans than any other agency we know of in the Central West, in fact more than any book store east of New York. We would like any pictures of yourself, extra covers, any special literature you may have on Africa and we will start the campaign off with anywhere from 25-100 of your books on Africa. Let us know the price and as nearly as possible when the book willbe released. We will be glad to purchase any newspapers with book reviews.

Furthermore, if you can inform us where we can secure any old copies of some of your classic works Black Reconstruction, Souls of Black Folks, Darkwater, the Golden Fleece, your researches in Philadelphia and Atlanta. During February as part of our African and Afro-American celebration, we are featuring at several places in Chicago, as well as the DuSable History Club which has met for the last 8 years at the Hall Branch, all of your known works, any papers and letters you wish to sellor loan along with others born

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21-24-21

F. H. Hammurabi (Robb)
B. B. Jackson, Sec'y

M. Botiff
H. Bellamy, Treasurer

CHICAGO 15, ILL.

born in that month like yourself.

In short, we have a setup here and elsewhere that will find ways of cooperating in some of your dreams in seeing that Africa comes into her own. We will be glad to have the names and addresses of any publishers or book store who wish to sell us books for resale purposes. If you have extra copies of books written by Afro-Americans or Africans, you may state prices and conditions of the same and we will let you know at once if we wish or have the same.

There are other matters that we will gladly discuss as we continue the contact. Some things we desire for research others we desire for sale.

Since, I have read so many of your articles and works which have exceptionally choice diction, scholarship on a high plane, provactive, stimulating, and the majority with a world appeal. The earlier works were militant and sometimes bitter, but the latter have wisdom, a sense of humor but Paradox, just read in the Defender, the Do, I Don't, I won't, plus the cussing even when you got Old Man Parodox by the Neck. First your writings have always impressed me with power, poise, and incisive zeal. You do not cuss well and as a leader you cannot now with the slow crackup of the West, fall to the level of their literature, the vulgarities and even with a gigantic problem their is every indication The Black Man's Hour is here to serve as no other mortals in a long time.

I am sorry I must close, again I wish to congratulate you for living thru perhaps three score years plus of one of the Greatest centuries in two thousand years. Your mark has been made, from now on you will live to see some of the halo, grow and glow, the achievement of few mortals.

Respectfully yours,

bbj/hh

F.H. Hammurabi.

3435 INDIANA AVENUE ESTABLISHED MAY 5, 1905 CALUMET 5656

THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

January 9, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

21-19-181

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you so much for your column.

In the accompanying letter you mentioned that you would like to do a column or a series of articles on "Pan Africa" for some of the Eastern colored papers, which you did not feel would be in conflict with the column which you are now doing for the Defender.

As you know, I have always sincerely endeavored to understand your point of view but I do feel that in this instance writing for one of the other Negro papers would seriously endanger the thing I have so carefully tried to build up, namely, the exclusiveness of the Defender columnists. Let me try to explain.

It is your name, which is magic among the mass of our people who have come to know you. Upon whatever topic that you write, people read and realize that it is Dr. DuBois who has written it. This is the thing which carries weight. If we lose the exclusiveness of your name in our particular field, we lose everything.

From our point of view, we will be most happy to see a series on "Pan Africa" and naturally we would compensate you for this effort.

I do believe that the Defender offers you the best medium of expression in the Negro field. As you know I have never attempted to censor any point of view which you may have expressed while you have been writing for us. This same enlightened policy does not hold true with all other Negro newspapers.

We need you. We need your exclusiveness. Won't you try to understand our point of view?

Most cordially yours,

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

Metz T. P. Lochard

Metz T. P. Lochard
Editor-in-Chief

MTPL:hc

21-19-182

5 February 1946

My dear Mr. Lochard:

Have you made any returns to the United States income tax bureau concerning amounts paid to me by the Defender in 1945? If so, please let me know just what the report has been.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago

3435 INDIANA AVENUE ESTABLISHED MAY 5, 1905 CALUMET 5656

THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

February 8, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

21-19

Dear Dr. DuBois:

No report has been made to the United States income tax bureau concerning amounts paid to you by the Defender in 1945.

Cordially yours,

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

Metz T. P. Lochard

Metz T. P. Lochard
Editor-in-Chief

MTPL:hc

[Chicago Defender]

2 May 1946

21-19-178

My dear Mr. Lochard:

I want to thank you very much for your kindness during my trip west and especially for getting my ticket to Cleveland. I had a very pleasant stay in California and would have gotten in touch with you when I came back but I had several things which I had to attend to and I know you do not get up any too early.

I have been approached, as of course you know, by the Chicago Defender unit of the Chicago Newspaper Guild. I believe in labor unions but I think that the position of a columnist is a little bit different from that of the reporter or other employees. I have not, therefore, replied to their request but am seeking your reaction and advice.

As you know I should like to reach with my column a wider audience or write a different type of column for another paper but we have not been able to work this out. Naturally I haven't many working days left and I want to earn at least as much as my work is reasonably worth.

I should be glad to hear from you on the subject.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago

22 May 1946

My dear Mr. Lochard:

Mr. L. T. Chur, a photographer at 309 East Forty-Seventh Street, Chicago, has made the enclosed photograph which I like and would be glad to have substituted for the one you are now using in the Defender if you are willing.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

P. S. Am awaiting answer to my last letter.

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago

3435 INDIANA AVENUE ESTABLISHED MAY 5, 1905 CALUMET 5656

THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

June 21, 1946

Z-19-171

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I have been away from the city a few weeks, hence the delay in answering your letter of May 2.

As to the question of the Guild, I believe as you do in labor unions and I also share your point of view in that your position of columnist is a bit different from that of the reporter or other employees. In fact, you are an independent contractual worker.

The letters that we have exchanged concerning compensation for your work and the nature of your column are, in effect, binding agreements. The Guild could not offer you any more security than you now have. However, if it is your wish to join the Defender unit of the Guild, we shall be obliged to accept your decision.

Cordially yours,

Metz T. P. Lochard

Metz T. P. Lochard
Editor-in-Chief

MTPL:ew

20 August 1946

21-19-174

My dear Mr. Lochard:

How many articles of mine have you on hand. I have an idea that you have one or two extra. Kindly let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(16)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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1946 AUG 23 PM 4 2

NC200 23 SER=WUX CHICAGO ILL 23 246P

[Chicago Defender]

DR W E B DUBOI:

=20 WEST 40 ST:

8-19-12

=EXCLUDING COLUMN FOR AUGUST 31 ISSUE YOU HAVE ONE COLUMN ON HAND. WILL WRITE YOU NEXT WEEK ON A LECTURE PROPOSITION BEST WISHES

=METZ T P LOCHARD.

31

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

21-19-125

14 October 1946

Dear Mr. Lochard:

I have a half dogen copies of the Voice of Coloured Labor which I mentioned in one of my columns. If anyone should want a copy, they can apply to me. The price is fifty cents.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Metz T. P. Lochard
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Req for Photo

ESTABLISHED MAY 5, 1905

THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 7, 1946

21-19-177

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In checking the files of the Chicago Defender I find that we do not have a picture of you. If at all possible we would appreciate your sending two photos, preferably one bust and one full length.

Also please send us a cut of yourself if possible. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Yours truly,

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER
Sallie B. Pruitt
Sallie B. Pruitt
Editorial Department

3435 INDIANA AVENUE ESTABLISHED MAY 5, 1905 CALUMET 5656

THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

21-26-04

December 23, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I was just as astonished as you to find your article on the late H. G. Wells under the by-line of Walter White. I regret the incident very much. Please note that this is a phase of administrative work with which I have nothing to do. The matter has been called to the attention of our news editor, Albert Barnett who is charged, among other duties, with the responsibility of placing and proof-reading our contributors' columns. I am passing your letter to Mr. Sengstacke, the publisher, for appropriate action.

I am arranging for your lecture here in March. I hope to be able to pay you more than your usual fee. Please accept my best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Cordially yours,

CHICAGO DEFENDER,

Metz T. P. Lochard

Metz.T. P. Lochard
Chairman,
Editorial Board

MTPL:n

3435 INDIANA AVENUE ESTABLISHED MAY 5, 1905 CALUMET 5656

THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

December 23, 1946

21-26-85

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Through error on my part, a reprint of your Column--H. G. Wells--a World Great, appeared on the Feature Page in the column space allotted to Walter White, for which I offer apology.

Mr. White's column failed to arrive before the deadline and it was decided to reprint one of his former columns as a substitute. By mistake, your column on H. G. Wells was clipped and printed, which I regret deeply.

With sincere Holiday Greetings, I remain,

Sincerely,

Albert G. Barnett

Albert G. Barnett
News Editor

AGB:dw

[Chicago Defender]

21-26-02

30 December 1946

Dear Sir:

In December, 1944, I entered into contract with the Chicago Defender through your Editor-in-Chief, Dr. Metz T.P. Lochard, to furnish a weekly column, at thirty-five dollars an article. Since then I have sent you letters weekly. I have sent them on time and gone to considerable trouble to see that they were legible and timely and contained my carefully considered thought. My relations with Dr. Lochard have been cordial and he has been most cooperative.

In your edition of December 21, 1946, you published an article of mine under the by-line of Walter White. I wrote Dr. Lochard as soon as I read it, asking for public retraction and payment of thirty-five dollars for the article published.

Dr. Lochard replied immediately, regretting the incident very much, but placing the responsibility on Albert Barnett, news editor. He said that he was passing my letter to Mr. Sengstake "for appropriate action". Since then your edition of December 28, has appeared, without a word of retraction. I have however a letter from Albert C. Barnett of December 23, apologizing for his mistake. I am writing to him by this mail saying that this disposal of the matter is not satisfactory to me, and enclosing a copy of this letter.

Meantime I have had no word from you and I venture to bring the case to your attention for action.

I have had hitherto no compliint from you or others concerning my contributions to your paper; and as I have said Dr. Lochard has treated me with appreciation and courtesy. I am therefore all the more distressed at this incident and at your silence.

My writing is the most valuable form of my property and I have always asked respect for it. You have taken an article written by me, attributed it to someone else, and published it. This is not a mere mistake, it is a serious blunder, for which I think I have right to ask remedial action on your part.

Such action I have stated: public printed acknowledgement of the mistake and compensation for the article published, at my regular rate. I do not think this demand is unreasonable; nor do I regard the fact that you had already once published my article and paid for it, as releasing you from liability for republishing it without my consent.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your early convenience.

Very respectfully yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-26-03

Mr. John H.H. Sengstake
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

21-2406

30 December 1946

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of December 23 and I beg to say that I am not satisfied with this disposal of the metter of your publishing an article by me under the by-line of another person. I am therefore writing to Mr. Sengstake a letter, a copy of which I am enclosing and also sending to Dr. Lochard.

Very ~~sincerely~~ respectfully yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Albert G. Barnett
News Editor
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illihois

[Chicago Newspaper Guild]

April 12, 1946

21-19-168

Dr. DuBois:

The Chicago Defender Unit of the Chicago Newspaper Guild is holding its first "Night Edition" Ball to present the workers and writers of the Chicago Defender to the community and to Chicago.

We are extremely proud to have you as a columnist and hope that you will soon be a member of the Chicago Defender Newspaper Guild.

We are publishing a souvenir booklet to be distributed among newspapermen and trade unionists of Chicago and we would like to have a short statement from you on your opinion of the future of Negro Newsmen, a salutation to the Defender Unit of the Chicago Newspaper Guild, a comment on the newspaper profession of anything you care to say.

As our booklet must be published within the next two weeks, we would appreciate an immediate answer.

Respectfully,

Meredith S. Johns

Meredith S. Johns
Chicago Defender Unit
Chicago Newspaper Guild

MSJ:scp

[Chicago Newspaper Guild]

April 14, 1946
Chicago Defender Unit,
Chicago Newspaper Guild

21-19-169

Dear Dr. DuBois;

Negotiations for a new contract between the Defender Unit of the Chicago Newspaper Guild and the Defender management begin this week.

This contract will include you, as a columnist for the Chicago Defender. Minimum salaries for columnists will be set at $55 per week to start.

We understand that the Defender management will request all columnists to sigh separate contracts with the company, thus by-passing the Guild agreement.

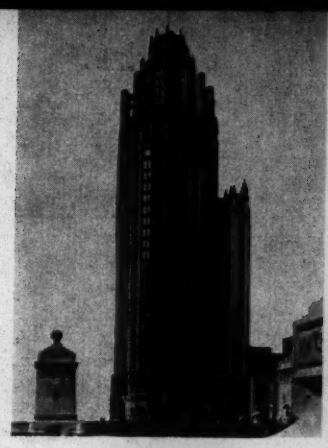
The Defender Guild unit strongly urges you not to sign any such agreement with management until negotiations for the new Guild contract have been completed.

We will keep you informed as to the progress of the negotiation proceedings.

Standing Committee:
Robert Lucas
Robert Lucas, chairman

Chicago Tribune
THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

CIRCULATION FOR FIRST QUARTER, 1946: DAILY, OVER 1,040,000; SUNDAY, OVER 1,450,000



Tribune Tower
Chicago

21-24-37

September 23, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Your Chicago branch has suggested that you might be able to furnish information concerning the federal indictment and trial of Paul D. Peacher in November, 1936. As you may recall, Peacher, City Marshal of Earle, Arkansas, was indicted under the Anti-Slavery Act of 1866 and charged with falsely arresting twelve negroes and forcing them to work out resulting sentences on his farm. I am unable to secure enough details of this case from old clippings to complete the story I am writing for the early edition of the Sunday Tribune.

Could you tell me the names of the men who testified before the federal grand jury and what each man stated he was doing at the time he was arrested. I would also like to know what caused the F.B.I. to start its investigation into Peacher's activities. Is this the only case on record in which the Anti-Slavery Act was invoked?

I will appreciate receiving this information soon. I would like to have it by September 28, if possible.

Very truly yours,

Laurence Heron

Laurence T. Heron

dw

Can Mr. Spingarn help this man? If so will he return this letter with a note or write him directly? If not return this letter at his leisure.

W.E.B Du Bois

OVER

W.E.B. Du Bois

W.E.B.DB.

I'm sorry that I cannot give you any information about this case, but I believe Miss Perry or someone in Thurgood Marshall's office could.

A.B.S.

[Chicago Tribune]

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WESTERN UNION (40)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

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N29 2 20 2 EXTRA=TB CHICAGO ILL 29 401P

1946 SEP 29 PM 5 48

DR W E B DUBOIS=

DLR CR MR WALKER OR WILKINS NATIONAL ASSN FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE 409 EDGECOM AVE=

:CAN WE COUNT ON INFORMATION CONCERNING TRIAL OF PREACHER AT EARLE ARKANSAS REQUESTED IN LETTER OF SEPTEMBER 23? =

=LAURENCE T HERON SUNDAY ROOM CHGO TRIBUNE:

21-24-36

23

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Chicago Tribune]

21-24-38

TELEGRAM

Mr. Laurence T. Heron
Sunday Room
Chicago Tribune
Chicago, Ill.

Regret to say can find no data on Arkansas case

W. E. B. Du Bois

September 30, 1946

The CHRISTIAN REGISTER
25 BEACON STREET, BOSTON 8, MASSACHUSETTS

February 27, 1946

Request to write article

Dr. W. E. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

21-19-35

Thank you for so promptly sending me your excellent manuscript, "Fascism, Communism and Democracy," and for the glossy photograph accompanying it. I am planning to use your article in the May first issue of The Christian Register. Being a monthly magazine, we work quite far in advance.

As I told you the other evening, I was deeply stirred by both the clarity and logic of your speech and want to share it with our readers. I am sending you under separate cover the January and February issues of The Christian Register. Thank you for your co-operation.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen H. Fritchman

SHF:HD

22 May 1946

21-19-24

My dear Mr. Chur:

Thank you very much for the photograph which you sent me. I think they are very excellent.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. L. T. Chur
309 East Forty-seventh Street
Room 21
Chicago

21-26-86

September 1946

My dear Mrs. Church:

I have just seen in the New York Times a note of the death of your husband, John. May I express to you my very deep condolence at his decease.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. John H.C. Church
Great Barrington, Mass.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHURCH OF CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP 1201

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21-29-3

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346 MAY 22 PM 11 14

3H204 NL PD=LOSANGELES CALIF 22

W E DUBOIS=

20 WEST 40 ST NYK=

THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP
CONGRATULATE YOU AND MRS DUBOIS ON YOUR GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY=
MINNIE LOMAX.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

THE CITY CLUB
712 VINCENT AVE. · CLEVELAND, OHIO
MAIN 0082

May 20, 1946

Dr. Wm. E. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The City Club of Cleveland, which has been conducting its celebrated Forum for over a third of a century, and on whose programs have appeared an impressive list of the nation's outstanding men, is now undertaking an interesting historical project.

The Club is endeavoring to procure the autographed photographs of some of the famous people who have spoken at its Forum, with the view of having them framed and hung on its walls.

We would be grateful if you would send us your personally autographed photograph with some little greeting to the Club written thereon and the date when you appeared. You spoke at the City Club on February 12, 1944.

We are trying to obtain some uniformity in size by using frames the inside of which measures 8 x 10 inches.

Would you be so kind as to honor us with one of your autographed photographs thus inscribed and dated in your own handwriting?

Thanking you for your kindness, I remain

Sincerely yours

Earl R Hoover

Earl R. Hoover
Member of Board of Directors

OFFICERS
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JOHN A. DUNCAN, DR. WM. P. EDMUNDS, WENDELL A. FALSGRAF, EARL R. HOOVER, SPENCER D. IRWIN, GEORGE D. McGWINN, WAYNE MACK, RUSSELL V. MORGAN, MARK C. SCHINNERER, EDWARD J. SCHWEID, WILLIAM C. WAY, MILTON WIDDER

[c. NOV. 1946]

906 Eagle Avenue
Bronx 56, N. Y.

21-24-52

Dear Mr. Dubois:

I am taking quite a bit upon myself to write to you. I respect you as an authority this is why I am writing to you. I am a Negro girl, I write, I have a feeling for my writing and I know that I can write. I don't know how to start and how to get my work published. I wished that you would advise me. Mr. Dubois I would appreciate anything that you might tell me.

Yours truly
Nancy Clark

P.S. I hope that I am not troubling you too much. Mr. Dubois I thought if I could write I could continue my education.

21-24-53

21-24-54

3 December 1946

My dear madam:

Writing is not merely a matter of wishing or feeling. It is the result of long, hard discipline; and especially of education which should include careful study of the English language and reading of English literature. Moreover it is hardly probable that a novice beginning to write would be able very soon to make money out of writing. But of course that sometimes happens. In short the first step toward writing is reading.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Nancy Clark
906 Eagle Avenue
Bronx, 56, New York

695 E.170th St.

Bronx 56-N.Y.

Dec.30-1946

Mr.W.E.B.DuBois

20 West 40th St

New York, City

Dear Mr.DuBois

Just a brief note to remind you,that, I am constantly reading your column in the Chicago Defender, your information give's me plenty of food for thoughts.

I love to read your column,your column are significant and give me the ground to anticipate.

Good luck,Theology manner May God bless you.

Cordially yours truly

Clinton Clark,

Clinton Clark.

21-15-10

21-29-7

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WESTERN UNION

1946 MAY 10 PM 11

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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NA1023 INTL FR=CD LONDON VIA RCA 27 10

NLT DR DUBOIS=

1946 MAY 11 PM 10 56

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

2302 MONTEBELLOTERRACE BALTO= mailed 14

GREETINGS CONGRATUALTIONS FROM [DR BELFIELD CLARKE] PAT WALTER [AND ALL AT BELFIELD HOUSE WE SALUTE YOUR COURAGE STEADFASTNESS COURTESY AND HUMOUR.]

He 9015

2302.

add
T/B.
8139.
mailed

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Shirley Graham

21-12-30

26 November 1946

My dear Mr. Cobb:

My friend Shirley Graham is writing a doctor's thesis on Anne Royal. Enclosed are some notes on the celebrated trial which took place in Washington D. C. in 1929. Miss Graham is coming down to Washington to look up some books and she wants to know if you could tell her before hand where she could find the original records of this trial. I should be very glad if you would drop me a line indicating, if you can, where she should look.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Judge James E. Cobb
613 F Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

21-29-60

Mr. and Mrs. William Morse Cole

extend to Mr. and Mrs. William Edward Burghardt DuBois

hearty congratulations, in these days of temporary alliances,

on the fiftieth anniversary of their wedding.

I. J. K. WELLS
Editor

THEODORE W. COUSINS
Circulation Manager

THEESTER COLEMAN
Business Manager

COLOR

The Features - Personalities - Newspicstory

PUBLISHED BY COLOR INC., P. O. BOX 207

CHARLESTON—21, WEST VIRGINIA

21-13-45

3 December 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In an early issue of COLOR, we are doing a story on the outstanding Ph.D.'s in the Negro race and the contributions they have made to the American culture. Undoubtedly, you stand at the top among these. We would appreciate your sending some material to help us do a story on this.

The feature is to be built around the fact that the Negro doctorate is not merely a degree-holding group, but, rather, one which has given invaluable service to the race, the nation, and to civilization. Professor Harry W. Greene, author of the newly-published study, Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes, is cooperating with us in presenting an accurate story.

We will need one photograph of you -- an action shot of you in your study, in your home, or engaged in any one of your numerous activities. If you do not have already a picture of this type, please let us know and we shall arrange to have a photographer take it.

May we hear from you immediately?

Very sincerely yours,

I. J. K. WELLS

21-13-1/6

6 December 1946

My dear Mr. Wells:

You will find the facts of my life in "Who's Who in America" and in my autobiography "Dusk of Dawn" published by Harcourt, Brace Company 1940. I am enclosing a photograph.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. I.J.K. Wells
Color, Inc.
P.O. Box 207
Charleston 21, West Virginia

November 1, 1946

Sir:

Enclose please find twenty-five cents in postage for this will you kindly get me two copies of the Columbia State for October 21, 1946?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Publisher
Columbia State
Columbia, South Carolina

18 July 1946

Gentlemen:

I understand that you are the official agent for the United Nations publications. If so will you kindly send me a list of these publications with prices? If such a list is not in print, where can I see it?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Columbia University Press
2960 Broadway
New York City

[COLUMBIA UN PRESS]

Columbia University Press

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

FREDERICK COYKENDALL
DIRECTOR
CHARLES G. PROFFITT
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

ROOM 709 JOURNALISM
TELEPHONE UNIVERSITY 4-3424
CABLE ADDRESS "CUPRESS"

19 July 1946

Cuba

Mr. W. E. B. du Bois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. du Bois:

21-19

Enclosed is a circular containing information as to the publications of the United Nations. I would point out in advance that the $20 subscriptions includes all JOURNALS, OFFICIAL RECORDS, HANDBOOKS, REPORTS and other published material issued from 23 March to 30 September. Other subscription prices, established since the printing of the circular are:

JOURNAL OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY	$3.50
JOURNAL OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL	4.00
JOURNAL OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, 23 March to 1 July	2.75
OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL and Supplements, 1 July to 30 September	3.00
OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION and Supplements, 1 July to 30 September	2.00
WEEKLY NEWS BULLETIN, subscription for 1 year (to begin in August)	6.00

If there is any other information which you might require, please do not hesitate to communicate with us.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth T. Schack

Elizabeth T. Schack
International Documents Service

[Enc.]

THE INTERNATIONAL REPORTER
Vol. X October, 1946 No. 10
****
Published Monthly by International Documents Service, Columbia University Press
****

September was a gala month for International Documents Service. By mutual agreement with the United Nations, IDS will continue as sales agent for all UN publications. In addition, we concluded arrangements to become sales agent for the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

###Complete information on subscriptions to United Nations publications for the nine months ending June 30, 1947, will be mailed any day now to all subscribers and all receivers of the INTERNATIONAL REPORTER.

21-19

###By the time this reaches you, UN's new subscription period will have started off with the most popular -- and perhaps the most important -- publication to date. This is the report of the Scientific and Technical Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission which was, on September 28, unanimously approved by the twelve members of the Committee. Because of its importance and interest, the United Nations, as we go to press, is rushing the report through the Presses in attractive pamphlet form. For the record, it will constitute a supplement of the OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION. This is the document Bernard Baruch hailed so enthusiastically and which will explain to the lay public the stages of production at which there is danger of diversion to war use. The pamphlet itself is entitled ATOMIC ENERGY: IS EFFECTIVE CONTROL POSSIBLE? Copies are 25¢ each.

###If you have wondered just what the Falange is and the extent of its propaganda in Latin America and elsewhere, read the REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE SPANISH QUESTION, a special supplement to the OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. "We will not put up with international isolation or with foreign interference. With regard to the Hispano-American countries, we will aim at unification of culture, of economic interests and of power..." Thus reads part of the official program of the Falange, which is included in the supplement. It is a complete record of documents and reports brought before the Security Council. Single copies are ninety cents.

###After examining the first publication of our new associate, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, we were brought up short with the realization of just how important an item, in the lives of displaced persons and refugees, is a "travel and identity document." This new publication, PREPARATORY DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE ADOPTION OF AN IDENTITY AND TRAVEL DOCUMENT, is the record of previous international agreements on the subject and recommendations for handling the present situation. The IDENTITY AND TRAVEL DOCUMENT is now under consideration at a conference, composed of member governments of the Committee, in London. Such questions as the agency authorized to issue the document, to whom it will apply, and the duration of the document will be settled there. Copies are now on their way to IDS from London. The list price is $2.50. (May we note that this document is not included in any present IDS subscription or standing order. So order now.)

###Just how all the organizations, committees and commissions of the Economic and Social Council operate has been a source of confusion to us. No. 7 of the UNITED NATIONS WEEKLY BULLETIN has supplied the answers, however. Here, in an easy-to-follow, double-page chart, are all the standing committees, commissions, subcommissions and specialized agencies diagrammed in relation to the parent body.

###The controversial REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMISSION ON THE ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF DEVASTED EUROPE, which made the headlines recently, is the topic of an article in No. 9 of the WEEKLY BULLETIN. The report, either in its present or a revised form, will appear in the OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, Third Series, of the current session of the Council.

###Another aspect of war devastation is treated in a new publication of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. The title is ARCHITECTURAL AND ARTISTIC IMPOVERISHMENT DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR, a preliminary survey compiled by the International Museums Office. Copies are now on their way to us. The price will be $2.25.

###October 15 will be publication date for FOOD, FAMINE AND RELIEF, 1940-46, a League of Nations publication. Throughout Eurpoe during the war, according to the book, the nutritional composition of the diet (with regard to vitamins and minerals) was not much worse than before the war, although the situation has since deteriorated. An appendix gives the legal food rations for thirty countries from 1939 to 1945. This is the third in a series devoted to analyses of world food conditions, prepared by the League's Economic and Financial Section. The first two volumes were WARTIME RATIONING AND CONSUMPTION and FOOD RATIONING AND SUPPLY.

###And in conclusion, turn to the back of this sheet for a complete list of the month's publications of International Documents Service.

****

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21-19

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Columbia University Press
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[COLUMBIA UNIV. PRESS]

10 September 1946

Dear Madam:

Some time in August I sent you a check for twenty dollars to subscribe to the Journals, Official Records, Handbooks, reports and so forth, publications of the United Nations. Up until this time I have had no answer to my letter and no documents. If they have been sent, will you kindly tell me to what name and address they were forwarded?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-19.

Miss Elizabeth T. Schack
International Documents Service
Columbia University Press
New York 27, N. Y.

21-19-165

2 December 1946

Gentlemen:

Please send me a copy of the "Concentrations of Economic Power" by David Lynch. Enclosed is my check for five dollars and fifty cents.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Columbia University Press
Columbia University
New York City

COMMITTEE FOR THE DETROIT ART EXHIBIT

21-13-28

Request Sponsor

January 18, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, NY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

A large group of American artists has begun work on an exhibition to be held in Detroit during Negro History Week, February 1946. The purpose of this exhibition is to combat the campaign of racial antagonism that is being carried on in Detroit by followers of Gerald L. K. Smith and other American Firsters. We feel that an exhibit of the Negro people's contribution to American art is very important in such a community at this time.

Mr. John Sloan has consented to act as chairman but it would add vitally to the success of the exhibit if you would be willing to serve as co-chairman. We know how much you are opposed to incitement of racial antagonisms and that is why we are calling on you.

The exhibition will be in two sections: 1. An exhibit of paintings and sculpture by American Negro artists showing their contributions in these fields, and 2. A graphic exhibit by Negro and white artists expressing the general theme of the exhibit.

The exhibit is organizationally sponsored by the Detroit chapter of the National Negro Congress and the New Masses.

We do hope that you will consent to act as co-chairman. Your acquiescence will in no way make demands on your time or energy but will add weight and distinction to the exhibit.

May we hear from you soon? Please address your answer to Box 115, Station D - New York 3, NY.

Very sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Catlett

Elizabeth Catlett, exec-secy.
John Sloan, Chairman
Philip Evergood
Moses Soyer

[Committee for the Detroit Art Exhibit]

21-13-29

21 January 1946

My dear Madam:

Answering your letter of January eighteenth, I should be glad to act as co-chairman of the Detroit art exhibit.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Elizabeth Catlett
Box 115
Station D
New York 3

DETROIT ART EXHIBIT

A Tribute to the Negro People

by Negro and White Artists of America

21-13-34

February 19, 1946

Co-Chairmen:

C. LE BRUN SIMMONS
JOHN SLOAN
W. E. B. DU BOIS

Art Exhibit Committee:

ELIZABETH CATLETT
ERNEST CRICHLOW
BERTRAM JACKSON
MERCEDES L. OWENS
DORETTA TARMON
VERA VANDERBURG
CHARLES WHITE

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CHANNING TOBIAS
MAX WEBER
WILLIAM ZORACH

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Since the National Negro Congress is celebrating its 10th anniversary by holding a convention in Detroit during the week of May 30th, the New Masses and the Detroit chapter of the NNC have decided to postpone their Detroit Art Exhibit to that week instead of the original date of March 3rd.

We feel that the artists will have a much greater opportunity to have their work seen and sold because representatives from all over the country will be in Detroit and the exhibit will thus assume national importance. This postponement now allows ample time for the artists to conceive of work in line with the theme of the exhibit - Negro and white unity.

It's true that the committee has been seemingly lax in informing you of the progress we have made to date on the exhibit. But frankly, we were waiting until we had received final word from Detroit that all arrangements had been made on their end so we could print a good looking program which would cover the whole week of the exhibit. Detroit was having great difficulty in getting a convenient hall for the exhibit and the cultural program which was to serve as the opening.

I am enclosing two form letters which were mailed to the artists and to those whom we thought would make a contribution. Returns from the artists have been very encouraging but donations of money have been small. We have been most fortunate in getting sponsors - the number now being 84.

Now that we have three months to organize our "Tribute to the Negro People", the exhibit should be one of the most

12-13-35

DETROIT ART EXHIBIT

A Tribute to the Negro People

by Negro and White Artists of America

Co-Chairmen:

C. LE BRUN SIMMONS
JOHN SLOAN
W. E. B. DU BOIS

Art Exhibit Committee:

ELIZABETH CATLETT
ERNEST CRICHLOW
BERTRAM JACKSON
MERCEDES L. OWENS
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VERA VANDERBURG
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KENNETH SPENCER
DONALD OGDEN STEWART
CHANNING TOBIAS
MAX WEBER
WILLIAM ZORACH

To: Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois 2

successful in America and should realize its main aim - to throw the lie into the teeth of such as Gerald L.K. Smith.

Thank you very much for serving as co-chairman. Lending your name has helped tremendously in organizing our exhibit.

Most sincerely yours,

Mercedes L. Owens

MERCEDES L. OWENS
Organizer

Enc.

Gerard Swope, *Honorary President* • E. A. Roberts, *President* • J. B. Adoue, Jr., H. L. R. Emmet, Mrs. De Forest Van Slyck, Harry P. Wareham, *Vice-Presidents* • Milton H. Glover, *Treasurer* • Robert P. Lane, *Secretary*

Community Chests and Councils, inc.

155 EAST 44 STREET • NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 6-5540

Ralph H. Blanchard, *Executive Director*

October 29, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Re: Hugh H. Smythe

Dear Dr. DuBois:

21-8

Community Chests and Councils, Incorporated, as part of its service to members, maintains records of personnel qualified for work in community organization. We are bringing our records up to date and shall appreciate having your frank evaluation of the above-named candidate.

In your statement, will you please comment on professional knowledge and skills, administrative ability, skill in developing community relations, ease in meeting and dealing with various kinds of people, health, appearance and personality, initiative and imagination, reliability, and energy and production on the job.

In your opinion, is the candidate qualified for work in the chest and council field? Specifically, for what types of positions do you consider the candidate best qualified?

Our personnel file, with information secured from references, is sent to prospective employers. Please indicate as "confidential" any part of your evaluation that you would wish to restrict to our own information.

You may be sure that whatever information you send us will be helpful. A prompt reply will be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours

C. F. McNeil
Director of Personnel

cfm:vgm

4 November 1946

21-8-11

My dear sir:

Hugh H. Smythe has worked for me on several occasions and I was the teacher under whom he took his master's degree in sociology at Atlanta University. I regard him as a man of unusual ability, accurate worker and one capable of accomplishing much.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. C. F. McNeil
Community Chests and Councils, Inc.
155 East 44th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

[Conference of Negro Land Grant Colleges]

21-12-15

July 15, 1946

Mr. E. Franklin Frazier
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Frazier:

I have been waiting rather anxiously for the last six months to hear of any development with regard to the social study program of the Land-Grant Colleges. Let me have any information which you can. I shall be very sorry indeed to see this program fail. I firmly believe that it is a great idea.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois.

CONFERENCE OF NEGRO LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

FOR CO-OPERATIVE SOCIAL STUDIES

OFFICE OF THE
CO-ORDINATOR
E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER
HOWARD UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

July 18, 1946.

21-12-14

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is in reply to your letter of the 15th. The project has made considerable progress since you last received news concerning it. We held a successful conference; we arranged to carry on the work on a regional basis, and we have supplied the different institutions with much basic research material. The report of the Third Annual Conference will go to press within the next week or ten days. It contains three interesting research studies in addition to papers that were given at the conference.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

E. Franklin Frazier

E
F
F
/
W

E. Franklin Frazier

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OF

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Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

September 28, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Office, National Association
For the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Doctor DuBois:

21-1-4-38

The Conference of Presidents of Negro Land-Grant Colleges holds its twenty-fourth annual session in Washington, D. C., on the days of October 22, 23, and 24, 1946. The membership of this Conference consists of the presidents of the state supported institutions of higher education for the Negro people which are designated as land-grant colleges and there are associated with these members the presidents of seven other institutions which are engaged in a similar program of work.

This year the Conference chooses as its theme, "Effective Administration and Instruction in the Negro Land-Grant Colleges to Achieve the Educational Objectives for these Times." The emphasis is upon a consideration of the administrative and instructional effectiveness of the programs in these institutions for doing the work they must do to serve these purposes in this age of our society.

The Executive Committee of the Conference invites you to address the group on the subject, "The Negro Land-Grant College and the Negro American." It is intended to have you give your view of the function of these institutions for an effective service to the Negroes in America who are to be served by them. You are asked to give this address on Tuesday afternoon, October 22, at two o'clock. The time allotted is forty minutes. The place is the Administration Building of the United States Department of Agriculture, Room 507. The Committee is most anxious that you will have the date available for us and will give the address. It will be an inspiration to these leaders to have you speak to us. A reply as early as you can give it will be appreciated.

A copy of your address for the minutes of the Conference is asked if you can supply this.

Sincerely yours,

Sherman D. Scruggs

Sherman D. Scruggs
President

tb

[Conf. of Presidents of Negro & Land Grant Colleges]

14 Octboer 1946

21-14-39

My dear President Scruggs:

Your letter of September 28th has just come to me and I regret to say during the week of October 20th, I shall be lecturing in South Carolina and Georgia. I am sorry not to be able to accept the kind invitation of the President of the Land Grant Colleges.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Sherman D. Scruggs
Lincoln University
Jefferson City, Missouri

[Congregational and Christian Churches]

********** 20 West 40th Street

4 January 1946

21-27-83

My dear Dr. Kingsley:

I have before me your letter of October 2, 1944 in which you suggest a lecture trip on the west coast. I am planning to lecture on the west coast in March, 1946. I could take a number of engagements but would have to charge from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars each according to the number offered. This would be the whole charge with nothing extra for expenses. I am also writing to Dr. Vada Sommerville on the same matter and would be glad if you would get in touch with her.

On account of organizational difficulties, I should prefer not to address branches of the NAACP but if they request such lectures kindly refer them directly to me. I shall ap reciate anything you can do.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Harold M. Kingsley
120 North San Pedro Street
Los Angeles 12

(4) [Congregational & Christian Churches]

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HAROLD M. KINGSLEY, FIELD REPRESENTATIVE
DEPARTMENT OF RACE RELATIONS
[redacted]
120 NORTH SAN PEDRO STREET
LOS ANGELES 12, CAL.

January 8, 1946

21-20-13

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th. Street
New York 3, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am in receipt of your kind letter of January 4, and brought the matter of your coming before a Committee which has tentatively decided to sponsor your lectures and guarantees a charge from $100-$150, accordingly to the number of engagements you have. I also spoke to the Somervilles, who are cooperating with me.

Kindly let me know details of your coming so that we may select a good date and get a good place, as well as, set up proper machinery. Thanking you, I am,

Sincerely

Harold M. Kingsley.

Harold M. Kingsley

HMK:ig

[Congregational and Christian Churches]

MICHIGAN 9988

Pilgrim House

120 NO. SAN PEDRO STREET
LOS ANGELES 12, CALIFORNIA

HAROLD M. KINGSLEY, Director

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21-27-84

February 6, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th. Street
New York 3, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Some time ago you wrote me about coming to California on a lecture tour, and I replied that we would be glad to have you. Not having heard from you, I am wondering whether you received my letter - if not, I am now sending you this confirmation.

Our Interracial Church group here would like very much to have you at the terms that you suggest, but it would be necessary for us to know what definite date at least a month ahead so as to get our proper publicity and promotion. I am wondering whether you are in a position to give us such information now. Please send us at your earliest convenience the date that you can come to us.

Sincerely

Harold M. Kingsley

Harold M. Kingsley

HMK:ig

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches
287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

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DIRECTOR OF RACE RELATIONS
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENN.

HAROLD M. KINGSLEY, FIELD REPRESENTATIVE
DEPARTMENT OF RACE RELATIONS
120 NORTH SAN PEDRO STREET
LOS ANGELES 12, CAL.

2/7/46.

21-27-85

My dear Dr. Du Bois:-

Have you had our acceptance of your lecture? We need 6 weeks for advertising - and not less than 4 wks. I can also get a supplemental date at Occidental College, L. A., but otherwise we shall expect an exclusive on L. A.- for your lecture. Kindly advise as to (1) date, (2) your willingness to speak at Occidental (a fee and 800 or 1,000 students & faculty.

Please advise at once.

Sincerely,

Harold M. Kingsley.

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PRESIDENT

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21-20-15

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21-20-16

Night Letter 25 February 1946

Dr. Harold M. Kingsley
120 North San Pedro Street
Los Angeles 12, California

WILL LECTURE IN SOUTH CALIFORNIA APRIL SEVENTH TO TWENTIETH stop YOU MAY MAKE ENGAGEMENTS ACCORDINGLY BUT NOT TOO NEAR TOGETHER.

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Edgecombe 4-9837

26 February 1946

21-20-17

My dear Mr. Kingsley:

I wired you today saying that I could lecture in southern California from the seventh to the twentieth. This will allow me to speak at Occidental College April eighth. I have not communicated directly with Mr. McNair. Will you get in touch with him and make arrangements. I could be in southern California for a lecture on Sunday the seventh. Perhaps you can arrange something.

Let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Harold M. Kingsley
120 North San Pedro Street
Los Angeles 12

[Congregational + Christian Churches]

MICHIGAN 9988

Pilgrim House

120 NO. SAN PEDRO STREET
LOS ANGELES 12, CALIFORNIA

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21-20-18

March 1, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 W. 40th. Street
New York, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am in receipt of your letter of February 26. My plan now is to use you in a public lecture Sunday night, April 7 at the Second Baptist Church, and Monday night at Occidental College.

Please reserve these dates as I have confirmed them with our group and with Occidental. I am asking Mr. MacNair to write you directly and I shall also cooperate from my end.

Sincerely

Harold M. Kingsley.

Harold M. Kingsley

HMK:ig

[Congregational and Christian Churches]

6 March 1946

61-02-12

My dear Mr. Kingsley:

I have written accepting the engagement at Occidental College on Monday evening, April eighth and making the charge one hundred and fifty dollars. I will be glad to have you explain why I have to make a charge of this size.

Thank you for anything else you can do.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Harold M. Kingsley
120 North San Pedro Street
Los Angeles 12

[Congregational and Christian Churches]

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MR. LOUIS TENNETTE
MRS. DAVID THOMAS
DR. A. H. WEITKAMP

21-10-17

March 11, 1946

Lectures

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th. Street
New York 3, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Yours of March 6 at hand. We expect you Sunday, April 7, 7:30 P.M. to speak for us at the Second Baptist Church. We would prefer the subject, "What The Negro Wants Internationally."

The fee of $150.00 is high, a bit too high for the small scholastic group at Occidental. They would like to get two small class groups at U. C. L. A. and Pomona to share $50.00 of this. What do you think of this? Otherwise they will go ahead with the $150.00 fee.

I presume you will be with the Somervilles' on your visit. Best wishes.

Sincerely

Harold M. Kingsley.

Harold M. Kingsley

HMK:ig

[Congregational and Christian Churches]

18 March 1946

21-22-22

My dear Mr. Kingsley:

Your proposal for the two small class groups is all right. Only do not get these engagements too near together.

I am expecting to arrive in Los Angeles the fifth or sixth of April and to stop with the Somervilles.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Harold M. Kingsley
Pilgrim House
120 North San Pedro Street
Los Angeles 12, California

[Congregational and Christian Churches]

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MRS. DAVID THOMAS
DR. A. H. WEITKAMP

21-20-21

March 21, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 W. 40th. St.
New York, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Both Dr. Sommerville and I have received your recent letter, and are looking forward to your coming. Pilgrim House has an informal luncheon ever so often at which time we have had such people as Pickens, Embree, Giles and others. This is not a speaking affair, it is strictly off record - but we get about 75 people together in this slum area in order to force social vitality where it does not exist at present. I wonder if you could be our guest Saturday April 6.

Please answer by return mail, and also send publicity material and mats for newspapers.

Sincerely

Harold M. Kingsley

Harold M. Kingsley

HMK:ig

23 March 1946

21-25-21

My dear Mr. Kingsley:

I am planning to fly from Chicago on the fifth and in that case I can attend the luncheon on the sixth. If, however I am not able to get passage until the sixth, I shall not be able.

I am sending a photograph. You will find my life in the latest edition of Who's Who. I have no mat.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Harold M. Kingsley
120 N. San Pedro Street
Los Angeles, California

29 March 1946 [Congregational and Christian Churches]

21-27-10

My dear Mr. Kingsley:

I shall probably arrive in Los Angeles, Saturday morning at ten or eleven if the plane is on time, but I do not think I had better attend the luncheon. I think I will go and rest carefully in order to be ready for the Sunday talk.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Harold M. Kingsley
120 N. San Pedro Street
Los Angeles, California

[Congregational and Christian Churches]

7 May 1946

21-27-100

My dear Mr. Kingsley:

I am back at my desk again and I want to thank you very heartily for the efforts which you made for my lectures in California. Without them I could not have made the trip and I enjoyed it tremendously. I was especially interested in your church and in Occidental College. I hope that when you are in the East you will be sure to look me up.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Harold M. Kingsley
120 North San Pedro Street
Los Angeles 12, California

C — *Congress of American Women*

Affiliated with

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264

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264

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[Congress of Am. Women]

Columbia University
in the City of New York
[NEW YORK 27, N. Y.]
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

September 22, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I have your petition to the assembly of the U.N.O. regarding african peoples and their descendants and will bring it up for action before the executive committee of the Congress of American Women next Tuesday for their consideration and endorsement.

Sincerely,
Hamilton Fish.

42-48-15

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Pres.
Pan african congress
20 W. 40 St.
N.Y.C., N.Y.

(CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS)

21-21-12

September 1946

My dear Mr. Weaver:

The Pan African Congress is preparing the enclosed petition for presentation to the Assembly of the United Nations. We should like to have strong endorsement of labor organizations. Will you kindly let me know if this is possible and to whom I may address letters to this effect? I should of course, greatly appreciate your endorsement and that of the CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, and your presence at the meeting October fifth, at two p.m. at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George L-P Weaver
CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination
718 Jackson Place, Southwest
Washington, D. C.

[CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS]

21-21-13

10 September 1946

My dear Mr. Weaver:

The Pan African Congress is preparing the enclosed petition for presentation to the Assembly of the United Nations. We should like to have strong endorsement of labor organizations. Will you kindly let me know if this possible and to whom I may address letters to this effect? I should of course, greatly appreciate your endorsement and that of the CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination and your presence at the meeting October 5, at two p.m. at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George L-P Weaver
CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination
718 Jackson Place Southwest
Washington, D. C.

Contemporary Writers
P.O. BOX 197, STATION D
NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

2E-13-18

Sept. 7, 1946.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Director of Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th St.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Howard Fast, Maxim Leiber and James Oliver Brown, (Little Brown and Company) are sponsoring the meeting of Contemporary Writers - "HEARST AND THE GREAT LITERARY VIVISECTION".

I am sure that you have followed the Hearst campaign with great interest. Contemporary Writers, organized six months ago, is the first group of writers to take an active position against the Hearst attack on art and fundamental democracy.

The meeting will take place on Sunday September 15, at 2 PM at the Hotel Capitol, 8th Avenue and 51st Street. We would be happy if you joined in sponsoring and we would be delighted if you would shate the rostrum with Howard Fast and others.

If you would care to telephone me at Gr. 3-5146 or Gr. 7-5121 I would appreciate your early reply.

Sincerely,

Milton Blau

Milton Blau
Director of Activities
CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.

[Contemporary Writers]

11 September 1946

My dear Mr. Blau:

Answering your letter of September 7, I regret to say that I must be out of town Sunday September 15, but I sympathize with the object of your meeting on that date.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Congratulations
on your
Golden Wedding
Anniversary
50

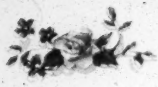
Together down the Road of Life
You two have made your way
Each year a stepping stone to this,
Your Golden Wedding Day.
What happy memories must be yours
As now you both review
The happiness these Golden years
Have brought to both of you.

Together down the Road of Life
You two have made your way
Each year a st[illegible]
Your Got[illegible]
What happy
As ne[illegible]
The happ[illegible]
Have

Caroline & Cook

I'm
Here

8-19



Mom and Dad are
awfully proud
And happy as can be
And when I ask them why,
they say,
It's all because of me!

My name is

Jacques

I came

March 19 at 7 p.m.

My Mom and Dad are

Rashti and Marcu Cook

27 March 1946

61-19

My dear Vashti and Mercer:

Please congratulate Jacques and tell him to keep his chin up and watch his parents. They are not altogether trustworthy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. and Mrs. Mercer Cook
127 W Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

21-29-176

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1201 (32)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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DL = Day Letter
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1946 MAY 12 PM 2 38

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

MONTEBELLO TER MORGAN PARK=

CONGRATULATIONS AND SINCERE BEST WISHES ON YOUR 50TH ANNIVERSARY=

VASHTI AND MERCER COOK.

50TH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

21-29-5

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WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1946 MAY 12 PM 3 56
(43)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
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NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

N 517 36=BALTIMORE MD 12 259P

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

=(PERSONAL DELIVERY ONLY) 409 EDGECOMB AVE=

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY STOP YOUR YEARS HAVE YEILDED A RICH CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD STOP BE ASSURED THAT WE SHOULD LIKE TO GRASP YOUR HAND AND GIVE YOU OUR WARMEST GOOD WISHES=

MR AND MRS RALPH V COOK=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Box 477
Norris, Tennessee
March 19, 1946

21-13-55

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. DuBois:

I have just finished a MS on "The American Racial Ideology" which has been accepted for publication by the Duke University Press. In a discussion of the subtle influence of the racial beliefs of whites, I wish to quote a couple of sentences from one of your early books. The following passage points the matter up and will indicate the source of my statement on the subject:

> "It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, -- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."
> Footnote: W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1905), p. 3; cf. also pp. 202-204.

Does the McClurg company still hold the copyright of this book, or to whom should I apply for permission to quote? If you now hold the copyright, will you kindly permit me to quote the above passage? I trust that I have copied it correctly, for I have not yet had a chance to check the quotation since I left Fisk University.

Thanking you for whatever favor you can grant, I am

Yours very truly,

Lewis C. Copeland

Lewis C. Copeland

27 March 1946

21-13-56

My dear Sir:

I should be glad to give you permission to copy from the paragraphs mentioned from Souls of Black Folk.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Lewis C. Copeland
Box 477
Morris, Tennessee

[Cornell College]

********** 20 West 40th Street

4 January 1946

21-27-77

My dear Sir:

You wrote me last June concerning lectures. I plan to lecture on the West Coast in March and I might be able to stop over at Cornell. I cannot yet suggest an exact date but it would be in the first half of the month. If a date at this time would suit, I should be glad to correspond further with you concerning subjects and fees.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. C. F. Littell
Cornell College
Mount Vernon, Iowa

[Cornell College]

26 February 1946

21-22-28

My dear Mr. Littell:

Pursuing our correspondence concerning a lecture, may I say that I have finally arranged to lecture in Chicago, April third and in Los Angeles, April seventh. I am not sure that would give me time to stop off at Cornell or if the date would suit you.

If it is suitable and I could make these two engagements without trouble, my fee for a lecture at Cornell would be one hundred dollars.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. C. F. Littell
Cornell College
Mount Vernon, Iowa

HOWARD CORNING
12 PICKMAN STREET
SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

21-29-49

My dear Dr Bois,

When your secretary asked for the dues list & the object of your postings, but since your announcement came & with it and more personally & yours & Mrs Dr Bois & to your family hearty greetings & congratulations. It is a grand & fortunate event to have lived that long together & seen your descendants grow up. I wish you both many years of health - the happiness takes care of itself.

We have a dear little grandson & daughter. Come up if you can.

Sincerely
Howard Corning

Subscriptions

1 August 1946

Gentlemen:

Enclosed find my check for three dollars. In return for this please send Coronet for one year to Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois, 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore 14, Maryland.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

81-84

Publisher of Coronet
919 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois.

[Council for Pan American Democ]

Council for Pan American Democracy • 23 West 26th Street • New York 10, N. Y.

MSP

DA DASP

15585 MAY 27 '46

Dear Friend:

The enclosed copy of THE AMERICAS tells how representatives of Panama at the International Labor Organization in Mexico indicted the United States for its discriminatory employment practices in the Canal Zone.

Since this issue of THE AMERICAS came out, we understand that citizens of Jamaica who have worked and lived for years in the Panama Canal Zone are being deported to Jamaica by the United States against their will.

I hope that your organization will join us in protesting to Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach against discriminatory practices in the Panama Canal Zone and will add to this a protest against the deportation of West Indian workers.

If your organization is in a position to make a financial contribution to help us carry on this campaign, we will be deeply grateful for your assistance.

40/81/3

Very sincerely yours,

marion Bachrach

Marion Bachrach, Editor
THE AMERICAS

MB:dp
uopwa-16
Enc.

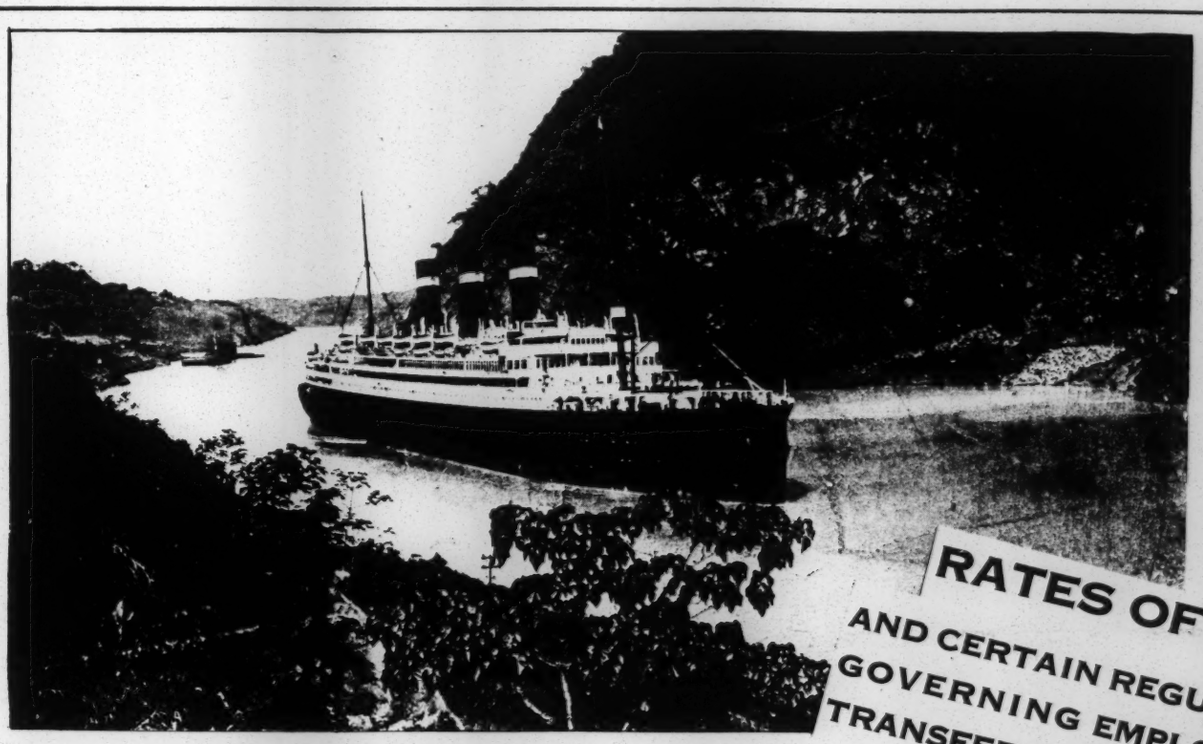
Telephone MUrray Hill 4-6465

[Council for Pan American Democracy]

THE AMERICAS

Panama

Volume 4, Number 4 APRIL 1946



"PANAMA INDICTS THE U.S."
(See Pages 2 and 3)

RATES OF PAY
AND CERTAIN REGULATIONS GOVERNING EMPLOYMENT, TRANSFER, AND TERMINATION ON THE
SILVER ROLL
(SUPERSEDING ALL PREVIOUS SCHEDULES OF RATES OF PAY, SILVER ROLL)

40/81/4

IN THIS ISSUE:

TWO VIEWS ON INDUSTRIALIZATION

LATIN AMERICA AND SPAIN

BOOKS

Published monthly by: THE COUNCIL FOR PAN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

23 West 26th Street New York 10, New York

$2.50 a year . Single copies 25¢

PANAMA INDICTS THE U.S.

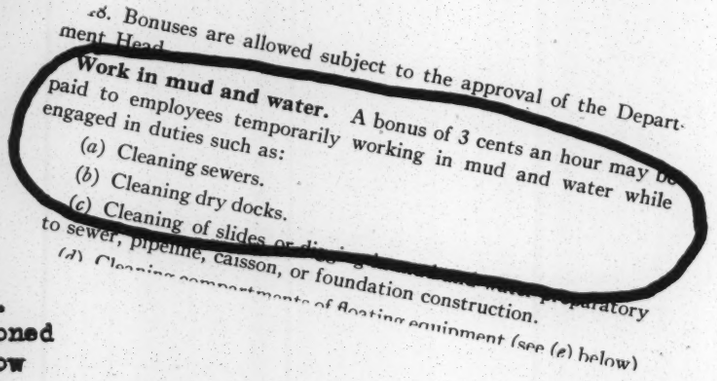
It happened during the Regional Conference of the International Labor Organization held last month in Mexico City.

Panama's labor delegate, Marcial Gavara, took the floor in a plenary session and charged the United States with practicing "Hitlerism" in the Canal Zone, which is under direct federal jurisdiction.

RATES OF PAY SILVER ROLL

Canal Zone workers are divided into two categories. White citizens of the United States are on the "Gold Roll." Non-whites, and all Latin Americans, are employed under the regulations governing the "Silver Roll," which sets a low rate of maximum pay without regard to training or qualification.

"Silver" workers, Gavara explained, are prohibited from joining trade unions, and can be blacklisted or deported from the Zone for breaking this rule. Gavara cited instances of U.S. terror against "Silver" workers who tried to improve their conditions by organizing or joining unions. He also accused the Metal Trades Association, an AFL affiliate, of upholding discriminatory U.S. employment practices and barring dark-skinned and Latin American workers from its membership.



...8. Bonuses are allowed subject to the approval of the Department Head.

Work in mud and water. A bonus of 3 cents an hour may be paid to employees temporarily working in mud and water while engaged in duties such as:

(a) Cleaning sewers.

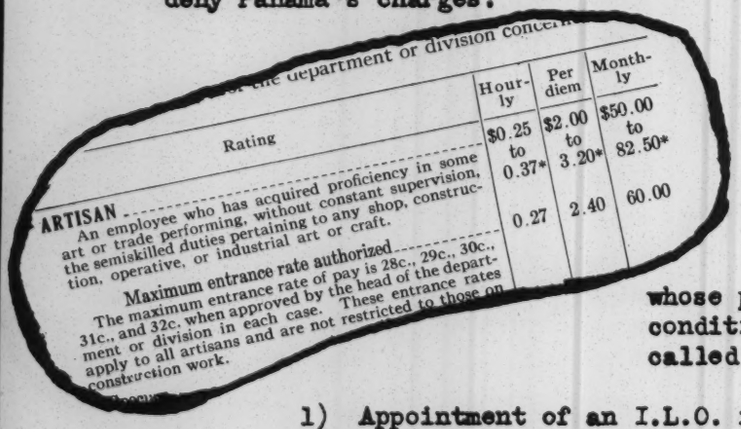
(b) Cleaning dry docks.

(c) Cleaning of slides or di... preparatory to sewer, pipeline, caisson, or foundation construction.

(d) Cleaning compartments of floating equipment (see (e) below)

The two government delegates of Panama, D.H. Turner, a high official in the Panamanian Labor Department, and Under Secretary of State Sanchez, supported Gavara. Sanchez, himself a Negro, made an impassioned speech against U.S. importation of Jim Crow into Latin America.

Senator Dennis Chavez, (D., New Mexico), tried to answer for the United States. He condemned discrimination in general, and did not deny Panama's charges.



...the department or division concer...

Rating	Hourly	Per diem	Monthly
ARTISAN An employee who has acquired proficiency in some art or trade performing, without constant supervision, the semiskilled duties pertaining to any shop, construction, operative, or industrial art or craft.	$0.25 to 0.37*	$2.00 to 3.20*	$50.00 to 82.50*
Maximum entrance rate authorized. The maximum entrance rate of pay is 28c., 29c., 30c., 31c., and 32c. when approved by the head of the department or division in each case. These entrance rates apply to all artisans and are not restricted to those on construction work.	0.27	2.40	60.00

The Mexican press headlined the story, and Mexico's government newspaper, El Nacional, ran an editorial which sharply criticized the United States.

Supported by all the government, labor and employer delegates of Latin America, Panama introduced a strong resolution whose preamble exposed the disgraceful employment conditions prevailing in the Canal Zone and which called for:

1) Appointment of an I.L.O. investigating committee to study the Canal Zone situation and report to the International Labor Office.

2) I.L.O. pressure on the U.S. Congress and federal government to bring about immediate changes in present employment practices.

3) The establishment of a permanent I.L.O. correspondent in the Canal Zone, to report regularly on violations of the racial equality principle.

RATES OF PAY, SILVER ROLL
BONUSES

There followed three days of heated debate. The AFL delegate, George Meany, spoke against the resolution - on the ground that it implied a criticism of the late great President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

...S. Advancement above ordinary maximum for meritorious ...ervice. Employees who have received the maximum pay authorized for their occupation for a period of ten (10) years or more may be promoted 1 cent an hour or $2.50 per month above the regular maximum for their occupation, upon recommendation of the head of the department concerned, if funds are available, and provided the ...ditional pay is not in excess of 40 cents an hour or $80 per ...onth. Employees so promoted ... entered in the time books and on the pay and time rolls under their former designations ...

Chavez, as the U.S. government delegate, admitted that Panama's charges were true, but opposed the resolution on the technical ground that it raised the question of national "sovereignty." He hinted that if it were passed, the United States might feel obliged to withdraw from the I.L.O., and urged a general resolution against discrimination which would not mention the Canal Zone. Finally, he asked for time to consult Washington.

In the end, the U.S. position, of course, prevailed. A fine-sounding declaration against discriminatory practices was adopted - but it did not mention the Canal Zone or provide for any measures to abolish discriminatory practices there.

The government delegates of the U.S. presented a letter to the government delegation of Panama, giving formal assurance that they would report the Panamanian charges to Labor Secretary Schwellenbach and urge him to take some action. This letter was read at a plenary session of the conference and made a part of the official record. In accepting the letter, Panama declared that if no positive action has been taken by the United States before the full international meeting of the I.L.O., to be held in Montreal in September, it will renew its demand for passage of the original resolution.

40/81/5

THE COUNCIL FOR PAN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY is calling on all individuals and organizations concerned with the fight against discrimination in this country to write or wire Secretary Schwellenbach.

Here is an opportunity to expose the phoney "state's rights" argument against a permanent FEPC.

THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE IS FEDERAL PROPERTY, GOVERNED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

This is also a burning issue in the continent. We make a mockery of the Good Neighbor policy when our government places all Latin Americans in an inferior category, and prescribes humiliating conditions for their employment.

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PRESIDENT

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FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

APRIL 29, 1946

HON. LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WASHINGTON, D.C.

IN FULFILLMENT OF ASSURANCES GIVEN TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PANAMA BY AMERICAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATES TO THE MEXICO CITY REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ILO, STRONGLY URGE YOU ACT TO REMOVE DISCRIMINATORY EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES OF U.S. GOVERNMENT IN PANAMA CANAL ZONE, PARTICULARLY ABOLITION OF "SILVER ROLL" UNDER WHICH NON-WHITE AND LATIN AMERICAN WORKERS ARE SUBJECTED TO HUMILIATION AND FORCED TO WORK WITHOUT ADEQUATE COMPENSATION, AS WELL AS REMOVING PRESENT RESTRICTIONS AGAINST TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP.

MARION BACHRACH, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
COUNCIL FOR PAN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY
23 WEST 26TH STREET, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

All-Out Effort to Modernize L. American Economy Outlined by Toledano at Mexico City Conference

MEXICO CITY, April 6. (CTAL).—"The people of Latin America can carry thru their program of industrialization and social progress only in an environment of international peace," CTAL President Vicente Lombardo Toledano told ILO delegates assembled here this week. The CTAL president outlined Latin American labor's plan for achievement of that program and promised full collaboration with the ILO in all efforts aimed at bettering the living standards of Latin America's masses.

"The ILO," Toledano said, "may count on the CTAL's sincere collaboration if it devotes itself to solution of Latin America's main problems. We want the ILO to become more and more closely linked to our people and to all other colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the world."

INDUSTRIALIZATION IS MAIN PROBLEM

Specific Latin American problems outlined by the CTAL president included the need for industrialization, the menace of inflation, necessity of curbing monopolies, raising of living standards among the Indian masses, the problem of race discrimination, and the need for social security measures on a broader scale.

Stating that "Industrialization is Latin America's postwar goal," Toledano declared that necessary steps must include "modernization of agriculture, a technical revolution in industry and the conditioning of foreign investments and trade."

He advocated breaking up big feudal landholdings and giving them to farmworkers, scientific direction of agriculture, more irrigation and land fertilization, opening of new lands and cooperative organization of farmworkers as means of modernizing agricultural production.

To make an industrial revolution possible, Toledano suggested establishment of basic industries in line with regional needs, special attention to manufacture of consumers goods, broader transportation networks and channelization of credit toward national economic development.

Regarding "conditioning" of foreign trade and investments, the CTAL head urged that governments channelize investments according to national needs, enable participation of domestic capital, obtain reinvestment of profits in the same business, oversee wage and working conditions, set up a just tax system, limit concessions and protect national resources.

At the same time he suggested price-fixing for imports and exports in line with national requirements and establishment of exchange rates facilitating a favorable balance of trade.

LISTS THREE LIKELY RESULTS

Three main goals should be reached thru industrialization, Toledano said, describing them as "elevation of the living standards of the great masses, increased public income, and economic emancipation of every Latin American country, within a field of necessary international economic cooperation."

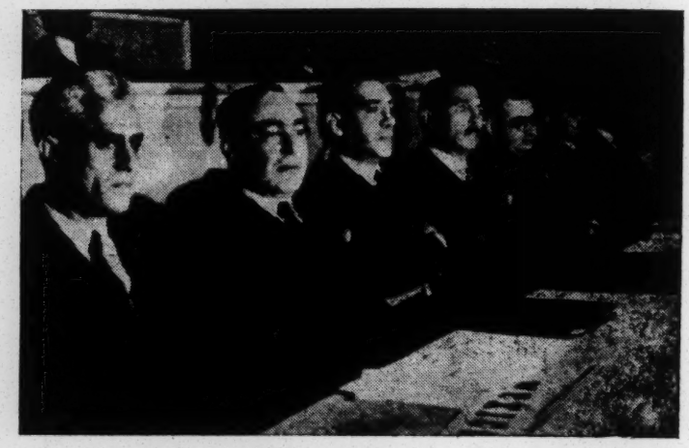
The CTAL head pointed out that industrialization can be made easier "by joining together the progressive groups of each country" to work for that goal, with state aid. He stressed the importance in this respect of Labor-Industry pacts such as those worked out by the CTAL, especially in Mexico and Ecuador.

He warned that industrialization "is the problem of the whole nation" and that state aid is absolutely necessary, stating that "in Latin America so-called free enterprise means foreign monopoly control over many of our basic industries."

Toledano supported tariff protection for new industries of value to the nation, reiterating the CTAL's opposition to the "Clayton Charter" outlined at the Inter-American Conference in Mexico last year as a means of keeping Latin American markets under the thumb of U.S. monopoly.

The CTAL head disclosed that Latin American labor will ask the ILO to work out specific suggestions as to best ways of industrializing Latin American areas. These plans would then be presented to Latin American governments concerned.

Toledano also suggested on behalf of the CTAL that the ILO set up special committees, to work with Latin American governments, labor and employers associations, to solve problems of industrialization.



DELEGATES TO THE ILO Conference in Mexico City listen attentively as Mexican President Avila Camacho inaugurates session. CTAL President Lombardo Toledano is third from the right.

CALLS INFLATION "LATIN AMERICA'S CANCER"

Calling inflation "Latin America's cancer", Toledano declared that the CTAL fully supported ILO Director Edward Phelan's report on the menace of inflation in Latin America, and proposed that the ILO work for thorogoing state intervention to obtain primary necessities at home and abroad, elimination of black marketing, control of retail markets, partial nationalization of wholesale activities to eliminate speculation, bigger income and profit taxes and channelization of excessive profits into higher wages.

Toledano also suggested that the ILO urge Latin American member governments to support price-control and antiprofiteer committees, with participation by labor and consumers, as well as enforcement committees on which labor and consumers would also be represented.

Attacking the role of foreign monopolies in Latin America, the CTAL head declared that they should be "supressed or controlled for the benefit of the people". He suggested thoro investigation of foreign monopoly activities "since these are often disguised" and suggested that the ILO support formation of investigating committees in each country.

"The most effective measure against monopolies," Toledano said, "is nationalization. Those which exploit public utilities and heavy industry should be nationalized first."

He advocated as immediate measures the prohibition of unfair monopoly practices, restriction of their activities, and establishment of special courts to oversee monopolies and penalize illegal acts. Besides "independent economists and jurists", he said, these courts could include representatives of labor and consumers groups.

Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden's arguments against this industrialization program are presented on the opposite page.

In the April 15th issue of the Journal of Commerce, (the Pan American number), Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden gives his ideas on "sound industrialization" for Latin America.

The article is causing grave concern among Latin American industrialists and governments, since it confirms their feeling that the so-called Clayton Plan means economic slavery and U.S. domination.

Assistant Secretary Braden has two major premises. The first is that the unit cost of articles manufactured in Latin America must not exceed the cost of similar articles imported from the United States. He says, "If the unit cost of the article to be produced is materially higher than that of the like imported article, it is clear that the proposed production is uneconomic, at least in its initial stages."

This is the old argument advanced by export associations, the NAM and U.S. Chamber of Commerce, who never oppose industrialization, but only "unsound industrialization." It ignores the basic fact that mass living standards and purchasing power in the Latin American countries can only be raised by producing goods locally. In this sense, a locally produced product is economic and advances the welfare of the country, even if initially the cost of production is twice that of imported goods produced by a foreign monopoly.

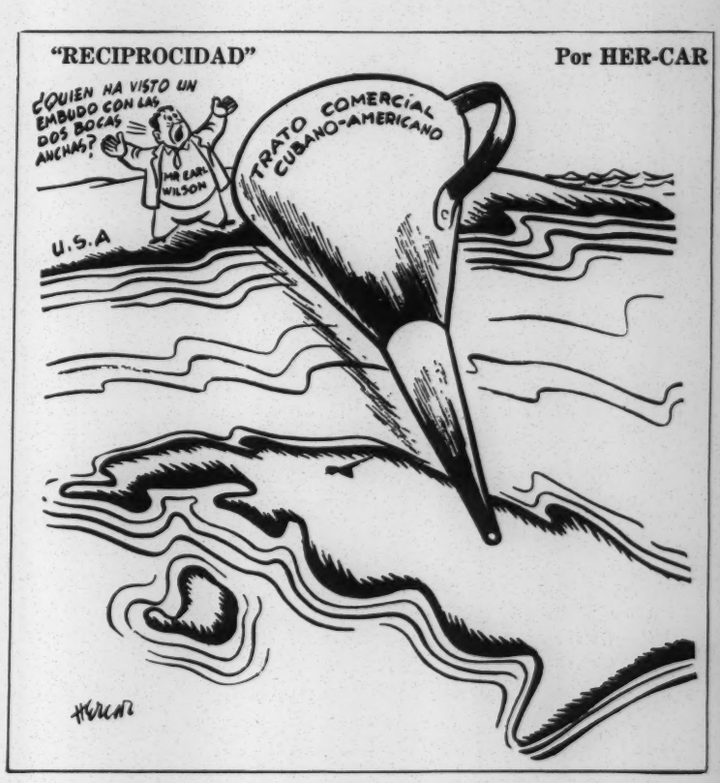
This notion of the cost-price relation, to which Mr. Braden clings so tenaciously, would make it "unsound" for Latin America to manufacture its own textiles, process its own food products, or even assemble its own machinery. It perpetuates the reactionary theory of a "division of labor," by which the Latin American nations remain merely the furnishers of basic raw materials while the United States supplies all manufactured products.

Mr. Braden's second premise is that any form of government protection for native Latin American industry is evil. But since small business even in the United States cannot compete with the trusts without some measure of government protection, it is absurd to expect the nascent industries of the semi-colonial countries to do so.

Mr. Braden plumps heavily for "free trade," and opposes exchange control as "merely a disguised means of protection." Oddly enough, he cites the industrial progress of the United States as an example of the blessings bestowed by free trade and the lack of interstate trade barriers. He forgets, conveniently, that the mighty industry of the United States grew up behind very high trade barriers, which made it possible for American-made goods to bar competitive British products and so break British economic domination of the economy of its former colonial possession.

A good deal of the State Department's animosity against the CTAL is generated by the fact that Latin American labor's conception of sound industrialization is quite different from that of Mr. Braden - and of those for whom he speaks.

The CTAL program, as the reader of these two pages can see, is the antithesis of Mr. Braden's.



"Reciprocity" as seen by the Cuban labor paper Hoy.
"Who ever saw a funnel wide at both ends?"

LATIN AMERICA AND SPAIN

From the Mexican labor paper, El Popular.

La Caída de Franco

Por GUASP

—¿Cómo le va, jefe?
—¡Pues ya lo ves, víctima de las democracias!

"THE FALL OF FRANCO"

"How goes it, Chief?"

"You can see for yourself. I'm a victim of the democracies!"

The discussions in the Security Council on the subject of the democratic world's attitude towards Franco Spain have had deep repercussions in all countries. Yet nowhere in the world, excepting Spain, have they been followed with an intensity of passion equal to that felt among the peoples of the Latin American republics.

Hundreds of telegrams, letters and resolutions from individuals and organizations in Latin America have been pouring onto the desks of the leading officials of the Latin American countries and Secretary Trygve Lie has received his share of them.

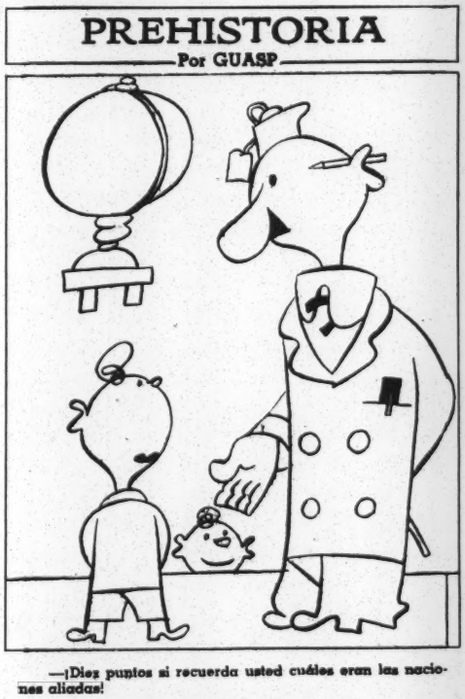
The straightforward resolution on Spain presented by the Polish representative at the Security Council and backed by the Soviet Union, Mexico and France has the unconditional support of the majority of all Latin American peoples. There is no need to take a vote on this question to prove the truth of our statement. All that is needed is to look back into the past ten years.

Because of their hispanic origin, culture and traditions, the peoples of Latin America were bound to feel any Spanish issue as if it were their own. During the invasion of Spain by the Hitler-Franco-Mussolini Axis, the Spanish republicans received all-out support from Latin America, and many Cubans, Mexicans, Argentines and Colombians died in the trenches of the Republic. After the "non-intervention" policy had given the Axis control of Spain, thousands of Spanish refugees were harbored in the Latin American countries - when our own doors here were closed to them. The underground resistance movement in Spain today is receiving substantial help from Latin American progressives.

Only a small and active minority of falangists or falangist-inspired reactionaries in Latin America have been and are pro-Franco. Those are the very same people who during the war attacked the United States and helped Hitler, and who sabotaged their own countries' participation in the war effort.

When the United States delegation at the Security Council refuses to approve the Polish motion to sever relations with Franco, and favors new delaying tactics, the only backing it can expect from Latin America is that of the falangist groups which in the past our State Department branded as a fascist Fifth Column in our rearguard.

There is much talk nowadays about the necessity to give the post-war world an "American leadership." By taking such steps as those of Mr. Stettinius in the Security Council, our government is blocking any possible support from our closest neighbors; we are alienating any possible sympathy and respect from the peoples of Latin America and we are only rallying those anti-democratic forces which fought so bitterly against us during the war.



"PREHISTORY"

"I'll mark you A if you remember which were the allied nations."

(From El Popular of Mexico).

From Hoy of Cuba.

DEFENSAS QUE MATAN por HER-CAR

"DEFENSES WHICH KILL."

"We defend the right of the small nations."

When Dr. Francisco Castillo Nájera of Mexico spoke in favor of Poland's proposal at the Security Council, thus breaking the U.S.-controlled hemispheric bloc that the State Department has spent so much time, energy and money to build, he was expressing the total divorce of the Latin American peoples from our compromising attitude towards fascist Spain.

On the other hand, the support given to the U.S. pro-Franco stand by the Brazilian representative, Dr. Pedro Leao Velloso, could only have represented the small pro-falangist minorities in Latin America.

The only kind of world leadership that could be accepted from us would have to be a democratic, anti-fascist leadership. Our attitude on the Spanish issue exposes our attempt at leadership as undemocratic and directed against the world's peace. It isolates from us the peoples of the Western Hemisphere. The Latin American peoples will not be "good neighbors" to a fascist-inclined United States of America.

BOOKS

ERCILLA'S THE ARAUCANIAD,
by Charles Maxwell Lancaster
and
Paul Thomas Manchester

Vanderbilt University Press
Nashville, Tennessee
Limited first edition $4.50

In their preface to ERCILLA'S THE ARAUCANIAD, the translators write that they have "sought to capture the spirit, the poetic vigor, and the beauty of imagery of the soldier-poet's creation, rather than ladle out for pedantic critics a pot-pourri of literal drivel neither English nor Spanish, neither the penny jewel of jingling verse nor the infecund pebble of polished prose."

Would that they had succeeded! "Aiming at Valdivia's temple, He released his gnarly cleaver." ..."Thus they chafed like herds of stallions, For the irremissive junction, Natheless, Villagran considered That delay spelled effervescence For the mobsters mood, and sorted...." Those are a few examples of the enormity of their failure.

Unfortunately, the latest books received for review are equally disappointing.

LISTED BUT NOT RECOMMENDED:

SOUTH BY THUNDERBIRD, by Hudson Strode
Harcourt, Brace and Co., N.Y. $4.00
(Third Revised Edition, 1945)

GREATER GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY,
by Wade Crawford Barclay
Willett, Clark & Co., Chicago $2.50

MEXICO, YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW
by Maurice Hudson
Dorrance & Co., Philadelphia $1.75

A NATURALIST IN CUBA,
by Thomas Barbour
Little Brown & Co., Boston $3.00

SOME EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN PERU,
by Max H. Miñano-Garcia
University of Texas, Institute of Latin American Studies, Austin. 1945.

Council for Pan American Democracy
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N.Y.

Enclosed find $2.50 for which please send me 12 copies of THE AMERICAS.

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Educational Director

21-25-8

January 17, 1946.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In response to urgen cabled appeals from South Africa, we have initiated a campaign to collect food and money for the relief of a large section of the African population which is hard-hit by famine conditions due to a serious drought and to other causes.

We have taken immediate action. On January 7th at an overwhelming mass meeting held at the Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York City, Marian Anderson and Paul Robeson, by their presence and speeches, initiated this relief campaign. At that meeting some five tons of canned food and nearly $2,000 in cash were collected. The response is still encouraging.

The Council on African Affairs, after due consideration, has decided to extend the campaign and on behalf of the officers and members of the Council, I write to ask if you will join them in sponsoring the effort which will last for another four or six weeks. In addition to all our Council members we have among other acceptances as sponsors the following: Marian Anderson, Bishop J. A. Gregg, Lena Horne, Congressman and Mrs. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Rabbi Max Felshin, Arthur Spingarn and Dr. Wulf Sachs of Johannesburg.

This is an urgent humanitarian appeal. Since we must move as rapidly as possible, if you agree to sponsor the campaign, will you inform us by special delivery at the above address.

Yours sincerely,

Max Yergan

Max Yergan
for the Council on African Affairs

MY:NRB

********** 20 West 40th Street

18 January 1946

21-25-9

My dear Mr. Yergan:

I should be glad to sponsor the effort to collect food and money for the relief of Africans.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Max Yergan
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York 10

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—in the interest of the African people's welfare and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

Volume 5, No. 1 Jan., 1946

264

Overflow Mass Meeting Launches Famine Relief Campaign for Africans; Money, Canned Food Being Collected by Council for Starvation Victims

"One of the greatest meetings ever held in Harlem" was the way most people characterized the rally for South African famine relief on January 7 held under the auspices of the Council on African Affairs at the Abyssinian Baptist Church.

A capacity crowd of 4,500 filled the entire church to hear the stirring speeches of Marian Anderson, Paul Robeson and others, and to bring their donations of food and money. Those unable to get into the main auditorium crowded all other rooms in the church, patiently listening to the program over loudspeakers although unable to see the speakers.

The keynote of the mass meeting, expressed repeatedly by all participants, was conveyed in a message which the audience voted to send to Dr. R. T. Bokwe, an African physician in South Africa (and a member of the Council on African Affairs) engaged in directing the distribution of relief supplies in one of the famine areas.

The message read: "We want our brothers and sisters in South Africa to know that they have friends here in America who realize that the fight against discrimination in the United States can be won only as part of the war against human exploitation and oppression in South Africa and everywhere else. We are your allies and together we shall achieve the final people's victory."

The several thousand cans of food and the collection of $1,700 were a practical demonstration of the unity between the people of this country and the Africans. So also were the resolutions of protest voiced by the audience against the rank injustice and fascist discrimination practiced by the government against all who are not white.

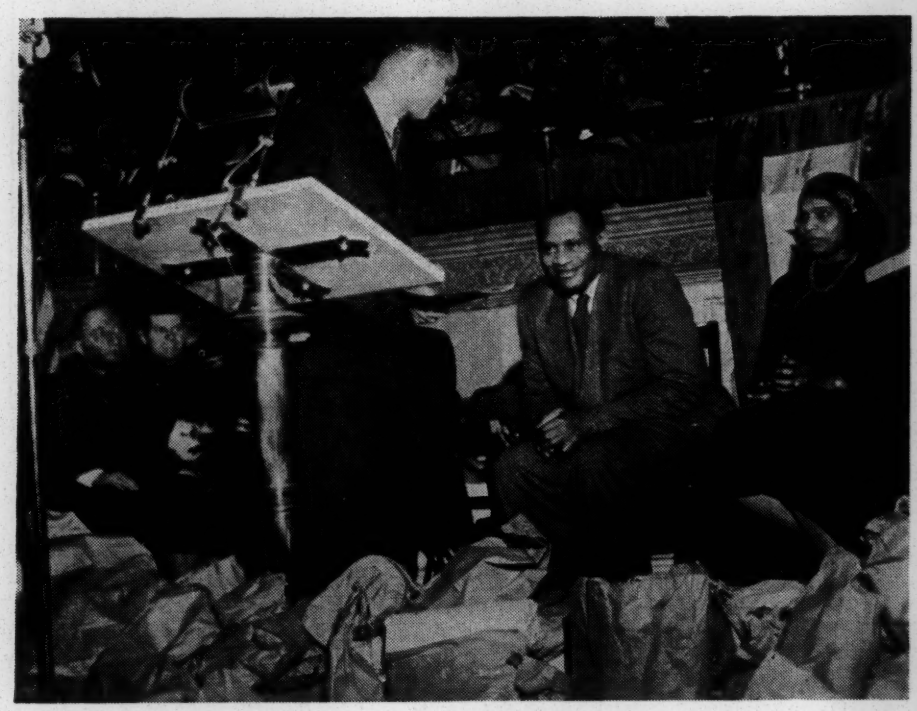
"The Africans need more than food," said Rev. Ben Richardson, associate editor of *The Protestant*. "They need to know how to overthrow the system that brings suffering year after year. The enemy is the system of capitalism, whereby some grow strong and fat and greasy at the expense of the rest of us."

Participants in the program of the relief rally included, in addition to Mr. Robeson and Miss Anderson, Judge Hubert T. Delany; Rabbi Max Felshin; Dr. Wulf Sachs of Johannesburg; Mrs. Lida C. Broner; Josh Lawrence of the National Maritime Union, C.I.O.; Sgt. Eugene List, noted pianist; Reverend Adam C. Powell, Sr.; Father Shelton Hale Bishop; H. P. Osborne of the West Indies National Council; Dr. Max Yergan and W. A. Hunton of the Council on African Affairs.

Paul Robeson, accompanied by Lawrence Brown, sang several songs dear to the hearts of the audience and then spoke with great intimacy and feeling of the common fight for freedom and democracy which must unite not only Negro Americans with Africans, but also black workers with workers of every race and color.

Expressions of support for the Council's campaign to aid 4,000,000 Africans in the drought and famine-stricken "native reserve territories" of the South African Union have been received from many prominent Americans, including Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Bishop J. A. Gregg, Ray Lev, William Green, Pres. of the A.F. of L., and Joseph Curran and Ferdinand D. Smith, President and Secretary-Treasurer of the National Maritime Union.

All persons interested in helping in the campaign—either by their own donations or by getting others to contribute—are urged to write, telephone, or visit the Council on Africa Affairs, 23 West 26 Street, New York 10, N. Y.



Participants in Famine Relief Rally (starting at right): **Marian Anderson, Paul Robeson, principal speaker, Judge Hubert T. Delany, chairman of the meeting, Sgt. Eugene List, and Dr. Wulf Sachs. In foreground, some of the donations of canned food brought by the audience.**

SPEEDY TRANSFER OF MANDATES TO U.N.O. IS LONDON ISSUE

There are two key issues involved in the dicussion on colonial trusteeship, which is becoming again a focal problem at the London U.N.O. meeting just as it was at the San Francisco Conference last spring.

There is in the United Nations Charter, unfortunately, no ccompulsion upon any power to bring any territory under the new trusteeship system; but there was at least the tacit understanding at San Francisco of a moral obligation upon the League mandatory powers (among whom the German and Turkish empires were divided after World War I) to tranfer their mandates to the U.N.O.

The question now is (1) how soon such transfers can and should take place, (2) whether any mandate territory or other areas, such as the Japanee islands which the United States government claims, can be left in the hands of individual powers and outside the jurisdiction of the U.N.O.

During the sessions of the United Nations Preparatory Commission, the Soviet Union delegate, who played a major role in shaping the Trusteeship Council into an effective instrument for helping colonial peoples toward independence, balked an attempt to set up a *temporary* Trusteeship Council, exposing this move as a delaying tactic.

"I am not surprised," Mr. Gromyko said, "at delegates of the mandatory powers speaking in favor of the establishment of any kind of substitute for the permanent trusteeship council. It would allow them to talk for months or for years instead of acting."

At his insistence, it was finally agreed that transfer from mandates to trusteeships should take place "preferably" (the colonial powers insisted on that word) by the end of the second part of the first Assembly session this spring. The permanent Trusteeship Council could then be created from among the powers holding trust territories under the U.N.O. (and not under the defunct League, as was originally planned by Britain and the U.S.) together with an equal number of non-trustee powers.

Bevin's Statement on Mandates

It is against this background that we must interpret Mr. Bevin's statement of January 17th on the British mandates in Africa. "We have decided," he declared, "to enter forthwith into negotiations for placing Tanganyika, the Cameroons and Togoland under the trusteeship system. Preliminary negotiations have already started."

But having said this, Mr. Bevin immediately proceeded to hedge. "I must make it clear," he said, "that our willingness to place these territories under the trusteeship system naturally depends upon our being able to negotiate terms which are in our view generally satisfactory. . ."

Now, the terms of the agreement whereby each territory is brought under the Trusteeship Council represent the crux of the whole new system of international responsibility for colonies, and the most difficult hurdle in making the system work. According to one State Department expert, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, the trusteeship agreement will:

(1) determine whether the area concerned will be wholly or partly strategic or non-strategic;

(2) designate the administering authority, which can be one or more states, or the Organization itself;

(3) define the extent of authority to be exercised by the administering authority;

(4) indicate the extent of supervision to be exercised by the Organization;

(5) state the objectives of the administration;

(6) incorporate whatever provisions for termination, alteration, or amendment may prove practicable; and

(7) set forth whatever other provisions the states signatory may see fit to include.

As to items 2. 3 and 4 above, Mr. Bevin gave emphatic advance notice of his government's intention of preserving its own independent administrative prerogatives in the African mandates by saving that there should be "no doubt that the continuity of administration will be maintained until the ultimate objective of the trusteeship system . . . is attained."

Britain, then, has made only a *qualified* commitment concerning her African mandates. The sincerity of the commitment will be measured by Britain's alacrity of action and unselfishness of spirit in effecting the actual transfer of the territories from League to U.N.O. status.

Other African Mandates

There have been indications that the French oppose placing their two mandates in Africa under U.N.O. jurisdiction, but M. Bidault, French Foreign Minister, declared that his government would "study" the matter.

Belgium has promised to transfer to the U.N.O. its mandate, Ruanda-Urundi (*this is not shown on map; it lies between the Belgian Congo and Tanganyika*).

The Union of South Africa is the only state which has openly declared its intention of annexing its mandate instead of turning it over to U.N.O. trusteeship. (*See resolution above.*) South Africa's representative in the U.N.O. Preparatory Commission, incidentally, also opposed measures granting colonials the right of direct appeal to the Trusteeship Council.

The Council on African Affairs has repeatedly urged that all mandates, except those to be granted immediate independence, be, placed immediately under the U. N. O. Trusteeship Council.

MASS MEETING URGES UNITED NATIONS ACT ON SOUTH AFRICA

The audience at the Mass Meeting for South African Famine Relief on January 7 unanimously approved resolutions to be sent to Prime Minister Smuts of South Africa and to the United Nations Organization and delegates of the major powers, copies of both statements to be forwarded to the U.S. State Department.

Text of the resolution to General Smuts (because of lack of space here) will be printed in the February issue of *New Africa.* The U.N.O. resolution reads:

Whereas, one of the purposes of the United Nations Organization is "to achieve international cooperation in . . . promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion"; and

Whereas, the Union of South Africa represents one of the most glaring instances of a state which does not observe such respect in either principle or practice, having adhered in law and custom to what Prime Minister Smuts has defined as "our fixed policy to maintain white supremacy in South Africa"; and

Whereas, the continuation of this system of discrimination in South Africa works untold hardship and suffering upon the non-white majority of the population and at the same time represents a serious threat to international harmony and peace;

Therefore, Be It Resolved that this assemblage of 4,500 American citizens in New York City urge the United Nations Organization to take such steps as may be necessary to insure the observance of "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race" in the Union of South Africa; and, further be it

Resolved, that the Union of South Africa not be granted the retention of authority over the mandate territory of Southwest Africa, or the right of trusteeship or control over any other colonial territory unless and until the Dominion's discriminatory practices embodied in the pass laws, color bar, residential restrictions, and other devices have been abrogated.

A Letter from the Cameroons

Since no one ever hears and few ever think of inquiring about what the inhabitants *of the mandated territories of Africa think about their trusteeship status, we consider it timely and proper to quote from a letter written to the Council about a year ago by a sergeant in the West African Frontier Force:*

"I come from the British Cameroons, a mandated territory under Nigeria, and one of the most undeveloped areas. I and other youth of my country have been dreaming and hoping that the term "mandate" would be removed and the social and economic progress of the people and country improved and advanced. The League of Nations which gave the Commission for this area to be administered under mandate rule had, before the war, become defunct.

"At the outbreak of the present hostilities, the youth of the country volunteered into His Majesty's Forces and took up arms, to show their loyalty to the King and love for democracy. But shall they then return home to find their country still backward and unimproved?". . .

Mandate Territories in Africa

	area-sq. miles	*population*
Under British Rule		
Tanganyika	360,000	5,300,000
Cameroon (Br.)	34,000	900,000
Togoland (Br.)	13,000	400,000
Under French Rule		
Cameroon (Fr.)	161,000	2,600,000
Togoland (Fr.)	34,000	800,000
Under Belgian Rule		
Ruanda-Urundi	20,000	3,500.000
Under South African Rule		
Southwest Africa	320,000	360,000

PROTEST SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S EXTENSION OF AFRICAN RESTRICTIONS

A correspondent in Cape Town wrote the following letter to The Council on African Afafirs under date of October 28, 1945:

"I think you will be interested in a copy of the Draft Native Regulations which are at present before the Cape Town City Council. They amount to the introduction of Pass Laws into the Cape, which has never had them in the past.

"Other new and abominable features are the extension of the Pass Law to women (to whom this law does not apply in any other part of the country), the proposal that 'casual' laborers should wear badges. ('Casual' laborers means any worker who is not in permanent employment and covers the majority of the Government and Railway and Harbour Works employees, who are termed 'casual' although they may have worked for many years in the same employment. Any daily paid employee is 'casual.')

"These regulations also provide that any African coming to the Cape shall pass through a 'reception depot'. There he will be deloused (regardless of who he may be or where he comes from) and will be subjected to a medical examination—i.e., for tuberculosis, venereal diseases, etc. He will then be issued with a permit to seek work which will entitle him to remain in the City for fourteen days, returning at night to the 'depot.'

"Human Rights" in South Africa

"If he is unsuccessful after fourteen days he must return whence he came, and is not allowed to come back to the City until two years have elapsed. If he is successful in finding work, he may send for his wife only after two years, and only if he can prove that he can provide 'suitable accommodation' for her. The arbiter of suitability will be an official of the City Council.

"In the event of juveniles under 18 coming to the City without parent or guardian, they can be removed from the 'proclaimed area', and there is no suggestion that it is anyone's responsibility to care for them, or to ensure their safety. They should, of course, come under the provisions of the Children's Act.

Effects of Ristrictions

"These regulations have already been adopted by Stellenbosch. They have been in force for one month, and during that time 400 people have gone to jail for not being in possession of 'registration certificates' or permits to seek work. The first 60 or so who were tried were fined 5/-($1.00) or 5 days. On the second occasion—for exactly the same offense—the fine was £1. ($4.00) or one month.

"This makes it obvious that the effect of these regulations will be to fill the jails with people guilty of no other offense than not carrying about a bit of paper. You can imagine the respect for the law that this engenders in the African! . . .

"I hope you will be able to take up this matter through your organization."

About the same time that this letter was written, a delegation made up of both colored and white spokesmen from 23 organizations in CapeTown met with the Minister of Native Affairs, Major P. van der Byl, and registered strong protests against the proposed regulations. Here are some of their statements:

Expressions of Protest

Mr. W. G. A. Mears, chairman of the deputation: Natives played their part on the battlefield—others played their part in the war industries. Part of the big influx of Natives is due to their being brought to Cape Town to build docks and military camps. It was Native labor which made Cape Town's war effort possible.

Father Savage: Natives do not come to Cape Town for a holiday. They come because it is impossible for them to stay in the Reserves where they are starving . . there is deep resentment rising in the Native people . . . it fills me with fear.

Mr. Moses Kotane, national secretary of the Communist Party of S.A.: The regulations are humiliating . . the Government is wed to a cheap labour policy and this regulation is made to keep that labour system . . . we wonder what we fought for and died for.

Mrs. Bhola, African League of Women: This means we have to carry a pass in the land where we were born—we resent it as women. It is the Native Affairs Department which is killing our people today. They should be the protection of our people. We cannot tolerate these laws any more piling on top of each other. We women will never carry passes—we will go to jail or be shot first.

White Labor Supports Protest

Miss Ray Alexander, Secretary, Food and Canning Workers' Union: Thirty-three unions representing 30,000 workers passed a resolution protesting against these regulations. The resolution has received the full support of all trade unions in the Cape. Trade unions don't want more laws, they want more industries.

Mr. J. Nkotio, African National Congress: Any law or regulation which singles out one single race is contrary to democratic principles. If it is forced upon us it will turn this country into a vast concentration camp.

Mrs. Betty Sacks, Member of Cape Town City Council: I would like to ask the Minister whether General Smuts knows about these regulations and ask whether he speaks with one voice inside the country and another voice outside. Instead of supporting fascist regulations why doesn't the Government get at the real cause of the influx to our cities? The real causes are the overcrowding and dreadful conditions in the territories. This document makes my blood run cold. We are building up a store of human misery and hopelessness.

Can South Africa Qualify As a Civilized State?

"The revised system of pass laws that the Native Affairs Department is at present attempting to foist upon the Cape Peninsula can only be adequately judged in the light of the general national policy that it is that Department's job to administer.

"One of the aims of that policy is indirectly to force the voteless majority of the people of South Africa to labour for vested interests upon terms which, without compulsion, they would not accept. . .

"In every country in the civilized world, with the solitary exception of South Africa, the individual, in modern times, has gained inalienable rights which even the most tyrannical governments do not venture to infringe.

"Among these rights are those of the individual to move freely in his own country in search of employment, to accept such offers of employment as he is successful in securing, and of residing with his family at or near his place of employment.

"It is of the essence of a pass law that all these fundamental rights are denied, as rights, and their enjoyment by the individual is rendered dependent upon the arbitrary discretion of some official, the tenor of whose decision is evidencecd by a document, a 'pass,' which the individual worker is compelled to carry and to produce on demand by an officer of the law."

—Mr.Donald Molteno, Member of the South African Parliament.

Editorial

THE address delivered by Prof. Albert Einstein on the occasion of the Fifth Annual Nobel Anniversary Dinner in New York last month reflected what is in the minds of millions of people all over the world as they watch the proceedings of the United Nations Conference now taking place. May the delegates assembled in London —and especially the delegates of colony-holding powers—reflect long and deeply upon these words of the renowned scientist and anti-fascist:

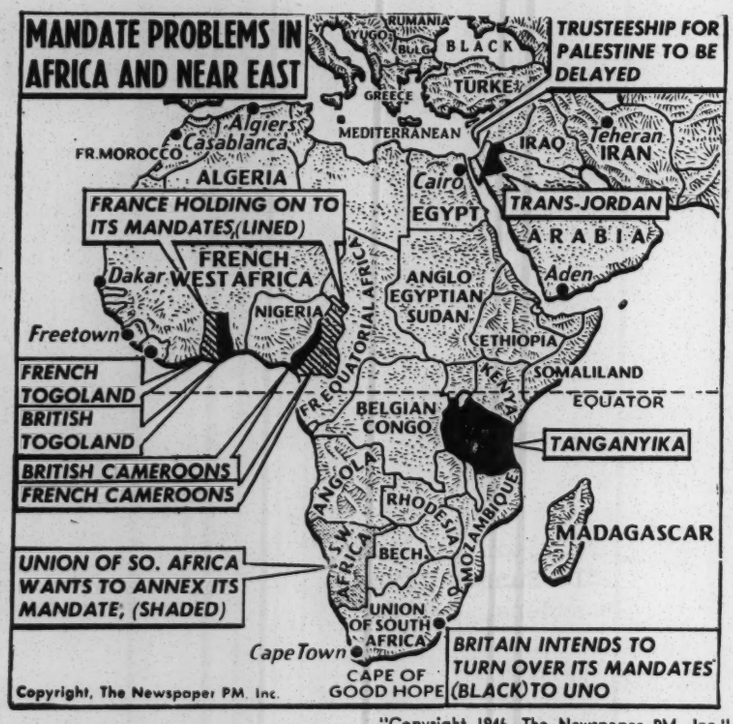
"Today, the physicists who participated in forging the most formidable and dangerous weapon of all times are harassed by an equal feeling of responsibility, not to say guilt. . .

"The war is won, but the peace is not. The great powers, united in fighting, are now divided over the peace settlements. The world was promised freedom from fear, but in fact fear has increased tremendously since the termination of the war. The world was promised freedom from want, but large parts of the world are faced with starvation while others are living in abundance.

"The nations were promised liberation and justice. But we have witnessed, and are witnessing even now, the sad spectacle of "liberating" armies firing into populations who want their independence and social equality, and supporting in those countries, by force of arms, such parties and personalities as appear to be most suited to serve vested interests. Territorial questions and arguments of power, obsolete though they are, still prevail over the essential demands of common welfare and justice. . .

"The picture of our post-war world is not bright. As far as we, the physicists, are concerned, we are no politicians and it has never been our wish to meddle in politics. But we know a few things that the politicians do not know. And we feel the duty to speak up and to remind those responsible that there is no escape into easy comforts, there is no distance ahead for proceeding little by little and delaying the necessary changes into an indefinite future, there is no time left for petty bargaining.

"The situation calls for a courageous effort, for a radical change in our whole attitude,in the entire political concept. May the spirit that prompted Alfred Nobel to create his great institution, the spirit of trust and confidence, of generosity and brotherhood among men, prevail in the minds of those upon whose decisions our destiny rests. Otherwise human civilization will be doomed."



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News Notes

LAGOS, NIGERIA—A Commission of Enquiry has arrived here from London to study the question of an increase in cost of living allowance for African civil servants, and other related matters. This was the issue involved in the general strike last summer. Workers were granted a very slight increase for the limited period of a year.

★

KPEVE, GOLD COAST—Eighteen years ago an African named Asibi became the first man from whom a strain of yellow fever virus was isolated. Asibi thus contributed to the development of the yellow fever vaccine which has been used to immunize millions of people. He was rediscovered just last month living in Kpeve, and was given much- needed hospital treatment and a government pension.

★

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA—The South African Non-European Arts Congress is a newly-formed organization embracing African, Indian, and Colored artists, composers, singers, and authors. The Congress held its first conference at the Gandhi Hall here last month.

★

NEW YORK—Dr. John Karefa Smart, a young West African medical missionary and a recent graduate of McGill Medical School in Canada, spoke at a down-town church here on Jan. 6. He is the only college graduate or medical doctor yet produced by his tribe of 350,000 in Sierra Leone. Referring to the appalling infant mortality and the heavy toll from diseases in his homeland, Dr. Smart urged the need of a big health and education program to be undertaken by government.

★

NAIROBI, KENYA—The first issue of *The African Voice,* organ of a newly-formed organization, the Kenya African Study Union, declares that "It is a sacred duty of this Union to keep a close watch with a view to endeavor to protect the African community against the many evils that we meet with in this land . . . against political domination by any one race in Kenya."

★

CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA—Miss Stella Jacobs is the first colored woman to receive her Master of Science degree at Cape Town University. She specialized in botany and earned second-class honors with an original thesis on the oxalis bulb. Miss Jacobs wants to continue her laboratory work. "But," she says, the color bar seems to make that impossible, so the only resort seems to be to teach."

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REVIEW OF MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS DURING 1945

JANUARY — The year 1945 got under way with an event which symbolized the growing influence of the United States in Africa and the weakening of some of the controls held by Great Britain. The signing of the revised Anglo-Ethiopian agreement signalled the severance of Ethiopian financial dependence upon Britain, opening the way for establishment of economic and political ties with other powers. The British, however, retained their control over the rich Ogaden Province of Ethiopia.

In Uganda nine deaths occurred in riots of Africans against British authorities and some pro-British African officials. Economic and political grievances were both involved in the outbreak. . . The third annual conference of the Non-European Unity Movement, held in Cape Town, South Africa, was attended by over 200 African, Indian Colored delegates who drew up a 10-point charter expressing their common demands. . . In Nigeria a new minerals ordinance was attacked by African leaders as threatening the land rights of the people and curbing still further the limited mining rights of Africans.

FEBRUARY — The first meeting of the World Labor Conference in London was attended by African trade union delegates from Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia. . . On their way home from the Crimea Conference, President Roosevelt on February 13th met with the Ethiopian Emperior, Haille Selassie, and Mr. Stettinius, then Secretary of State, paid an official visit to Liberia on February 16.

A new Colonial Development and Welfare bill increasing appropriations for colonial development was introduced in the British Parliament. The bill, passed later in the year, provided for the expenditure of $480,000,000 in Britain's colonies over a ten year period.

MARCH — The British Missionary Society in Great Britain and Ireland issued a vigorous denunciation of the color bar and other forms of racial discrimination in Britain's African colonies. . . Meanwhile in South Africa General Smuts told the South African Parliament that the government would adhere to its "fixed policy to maintain white supremacy in South Africa."

Following upon the constitutional revision in the Gold Coast late in 1944, granting an African majority in the Legislative Council, Governor Sir Arthur Richards of Nigeria announced plans for advancing African representation in the Nigerian Legislative Council from 11 African members out of 50, to 25 out of 49. The proposals met with sharp censure from the National Council of Nigeria, the Nigerian Trade Union Congress and other people's organizations on several grounds, among them being the failure to extend suffrage rights, the continuation of the appointive system, and the undue authority granted to chiefs.

APRIL — The colonial question gained world attention following the proposals made by the United States delegates to the San Francisco Conference for a new trusteeship system, and following a clear-cut demand by Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov that the United Nations aim at the goal of full independence for all colonial peoples. This demand was likewise voiced by numerous organizations here and abroad, and by African organizations such as the West African Youth League, National Council of Nigeria, African National Congress and African labor organizations.

MAY — Further developments on the colonial question at San Francisco: The United States delegation straddled the issue of colonial independence, supporting the evasive position of Britain and France; South Africa made known its intention of annexing the mandate territory of Southwest Africa; Britain advanced detailed plans for the establishment of regional international colonial commissions which would make possible cooperation on economic and social matters while preserving the political *status quo*.

The British commissions on higher education in the colonies (appointed August 1943) and on higher education in West Africa (appointed in June 1943) submitted their recommendations. The majority report of the latter commission called for the establishment of (1) a university college at Ibadan, Nigeria, with a full professional curriculum, (2) another college at Achimota, Gold Coast, providing engineering and education courses in addition to the regular arts and sciences, and (3) a college limited to the intermediate level and located in Sierra Leone to serve that colony and Gambia.

Extremely heavy casualties were inflicted upon Algerian Arabs by the French in the suppression of widespread revolts. . . President Tubman inaugurated a new regime in Liberian political affairs when he met with the council of African chiefs and ordered drastic changes and penalties after listening to their full complaints against maladministration by the government's officials in the hinterland provinces.

JUNE — A general strike involving several thousand workers began in Nigeria on June 23rd and continued to August 6th. The main issue in the strike was the demand for a minimum wage of 50¢ a day, advanced by the African Civil Servants and Technical Workers Union.

The Kenya government announced the proposed establishment of a central body supported by advisory branches to supervise the post-war development of agricultural and natural resources. There would be "appropriate representation for African and Indian as well as European farmers," it was stated. In South Africa the continuing militant campaign against the Pass Laws was marked by a big parade and demonstration in Cape Town on June 6th.

JULY — Two African states, Ethiopia and Liberia, held celebrations during the month: Ethiopians on July 24th commemorated the birthday of their Emperor, and Liberians on July 26th celebrated the 98th aniversary of the declaration of independence by the West African republic. . . A further step toward democratic government in Ethiopia took place on July 9th when ballot boxes were used for the first time in the election of municipal councillors in Addis Ababa.

Near Johannesburg in South Africa, six Africans including a young boy and girl were killed when police opened fire upon a crowd engaged in peacefully picketing a municipal beer hall in protest against the prohibition of brewing beer in African homes.

AUGUST — A delegation representing 400,000 Gold Coast and Nigeria cocoa farmers arrived in London to press the government to make changes in the cocoa control plan, guaranteeing a fair price to the African producers and freedom to engage in marketing their cocoa crops. . . Delegates of 75 non-European trade unions in South Africa met at a conference called by the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions to launch a national campaign for full legal recognition of African trade unions and of African workers as employees, as defined in South African law. . . Rioting broke out between Senagalese and French troops in St. Raphael, France.

SEPTEMBER — Famine distress in South Africa entered into the acute stage and private organizations began supplying relief to Africans in the hard-hit reserve territories. . . Ethiopia entered into contract with Sinclair Oil Corporation, giving it exclusive monopoly for oil prospecting over the entire country for five years, following which there would be progressive reduction of the territory under lease. . . At the Foreign Ministers' Conference in London, Soviet representative Mr. Molotov challenged the other governments to a test of what trusteeship

(continued on address page)

Forced Labor Must Stop

Although outlawed in 1930 by the International Labor Organization, compulsory conscription of workers for employment in private European-owned enterprises still continues to be practiced in some of the African colonies. This practice is one of the more obvious and ruthless examples of imperialist exploitation.

During the period of the war just ended, the lame excuse offered for continuation of forced labor was that it was a war-time emergency measure. Though the war ended several months ago, the best that the British Colonial Secretary can find to say on this subject is that he and the governors of colonies concerned are "anxious" to end the system "with as little delay as possible."

CONGO WORKERS STRIKE; FIGHT BELGIAN TROOPS

Uganda, Nigeria, Cameroons, and now the Congo. There has been organized and militant action by African workers demanding a living wage in these and other sections of Africa during the past year.

Trouble developed at Matadi in the Belgian Congo early last month when employers refused to grant the demands of African dock workers for wage increases to meet the sharp war-time and post-war increase in cost of living. A general strike including transport, railway, and industrial workers ensued.

When the governor dispatched troops to quell the strike, the workers resisted. According to a statement issued by the Belgian Colonial Minister, as reported from London, the strikers blew up two bridges, captured and temporarily held a power station, removed tracks on the Leopoldville-Matadi railway line, and erected street barricades in Matadi in attempts to beat off the troops.

The fighting continued for several days and in the struggle for the power station ten Africans are reported to have been killed and 14 wounded by machine gun fire.

As usual, "agitators" are blamed for the strike disturbance and a search is on (as happened in Uganda) for the reputed ring-leaders of a secret society.

Behind this and other labor disturbances in Africa are the problems of social adjustment—similar to those in the United States—arising from the war-time migration of masses of workers from country to city.

The Belgian Government's Information Office is frank in stating that "the influx of the rural populations to the commercial and industrial centers (of the Congo) has already been slowed down by a strict regulation of native population shifts in the interior of the country." Of course, Mr. Rankin and his poll-tax friends also would like to stop Negroes from leaving the plantations in Mississippi, but America's Southland is fortunately not *quite* as enslaved as Colonial Africa.

BRITAIN STRENGTHENS HOLD ON EAST AFRICAN COLONIES

The British Colonial Office issued a "white paper" on December 12th proposing the creation of an East African High Commission consisting of the Governors of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika; a central legislature; and an executive organization supported by advisory bodies.

Acknowledging the impracticability of merging the three territories in one at this time, the Colonial Office proposes this scheme as the next best substitute. Executive authority would be vested exclusively in the High Commission.

The joint legislature would be strictly limited in the scope of its activities and would consist of 12 official and 24 unofficial members. Half of the latter will be nominated by the High Commission "under arrangements which will secure adequate representation of African and Arab interests." The other twelve unofficial members will be six Europeans and six Indians — *no Africans* — elected by the Legislative Councils of the three colonies.

The objectives of this new machinery are those outlined in the proposals for regional colonial commissions advanced by British representatives at the San Francisco Conference. Practically all problems of the three colonies *except political matters* will come under the jurisdition of the High Commission.

The vague provision regarding African and Arab representation and the grant of an equal number of Indian and European elected members in the Central Legislature have met with "a most unfavorable reception from the European population" in Kenya, the "white man's country," it is reported.

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SOUTH AFRICAN RULE CALLED "A PARODY OF TRUSTEESHIP"

The Right Reverend S. W. Lavis, Coadjutor Bishop of the Synod of the Church of the Province of South Africa, issued last month a sharp indictment of South Africa's treatment of its African population. "A blasphemous parody of trusteeship" was what he called that treatment.

"Here we find rooted tyrannies which deny human freedom," he said. "We in South Africa have fallen under the curse of a dual conscience. We have two standards of judging men, two modes of conduct in dealing with human beings, and we discriminate between man and man.

"Thousands flocked to see the Belsen horror films, but if a film were possible showing one year's toll of dead babies murdered by wrong social conditions, how many of us would dare to look at it?

"In no other country in the world is it possible for a group to have its own prejudices legalized and turned into a powerful weapon for serving its own interest at the costly harm to some other group."

Although the Bishop's statement provoked a storm of controversy and recrimination, the truth of his words was acknowledged in some white South African quarters. The *Cape Times*, South African parallel to the N. Y. *Times*, stated that it hoped Bishop Lavis's words would "arouse more than empty echoes in the country . . . For if there is one supreme example of communal selfishness, of ignoble fear combined with ruthless greed, that example is in the color bar."

This is not the first time that the Reverend Lavis has spoken out against South African Jim Crow. In the fall of 1944, addressing the Anglican Synod, he blamed all sections of South Africa's white population for the "insidious, cruel and un-Christian color prejudice" against Africans and other non-white peoples.

REVIEW OF 1945 (cont'd)

ought to mean. He made a Soviet bid for trusteeship supervision over Tripolitania.

The Paris meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions heard African and other colonial delegates call for positive action by the world labor movement in ending the exploitation of colonial workers. . . In Kenya Africans held protest meetings and cabled the Colonial Secretary, voicing opposition to futher limitations upon their land holdings by the Kenya government. . . In Nigeria a mass meeting of workers on Setember 5th expressed their dissatisfaction with the terms of the strike settlement, declared "no confidence" in the government and demanded the recall of several officials. . .

OCTOBER — Three hundred thousand out of a population of 22 million in French West and Equatorial Africa participated in the election of delegates to the French Constitutional Assembly.

NOVEMBER — Dissatisfaction with the government's demobilization plans for African veterans was expressed in several of the colonies and in South Africa. . . Another UNRRA mission was dispatched to Ethiopia. It was headed by an American, Willard Z. Park. . . The British Colonial Secretary announced formation of a West African Governors' Council (African reaction to this will be dealt with in the next issue).

DECEMBER — Included in the decisions of the Moscow Conference was the naming of Ethiopia among the twenty-one nations to review the peace terms for Italy and other axis satellite powers. Refused a hearing at the foreign ministers' conference in London, Ethiopia now has at least token recognition of her claims against Italy. The strike of African workers in the Belgian Congo and the establishment of a Central Council for three British East African colonies are dealt with on this page.

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AZIKIWE CHARGES VICTIMIZATION OF HIS NEWSPAPER CHAIN BY NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT

Nnamdi Azikiwe, West African leader and Chairman of Zik's Press Ltd., has charged the Nigerian government with several acts of victimization "embarrassing the Zik group of five daily newspapers with obvious intent to discredit its owners and publishers." The charges against the government, as presented in a letter dated March 9 to the Council and in a detailed article entitled "An Appeal to Those Who Believe in the Freedom of the Press in Nigeria" (West African *Pilot,* February 9, 1946), may be summarized as follows:

1—The *Pilot* and *Daily Comet,* which played a prominent role in support of the general strike in Nigeria last summer, were banned for thirty-six days during the strike "on the one-sided evidence of an official who was not cross-examined and whose evidence was given in privacy." This ban resulted in a loss of over £5,000 to the publishers. An appeal to the Colonial Secretary requesting that the Nigerian government make good this loss has remained unanswered.

2—Mr. Azikiwe, in a communication to the Secretary for Colonies on July 26th last, "incorporated his evidence" of assassination threats against him and asked the British government's protection of both his life and business. The evidence and petition were again sent to the Colonial Secretary on January 3, 1946. Neither communication has been answered.

3—On November 1, 1945 the government of Nigeria halted publication of official advertisements and notices in the *Pilot, Daily Comet* and three other papers of the Zik group, cancelling standing contracts. No explanation of this action was given except that the government reserved the right to advertise or not advertise in any particular newspaper.

4—Exceptional action was taken in barring the *Pilot* from reporting proceedings of the Legislative Council during the December 1945 session because of an

(*Continued on page* 4)

BIG MEETINGS, WIDE SUPPORT MARK FAMINE RELIEF CAMPAIGN

During March, many more contributions to the Council's South African famine relief campaign were received from every section of the country.

Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council, took time between concerts during a tour of the West Coast to address several meetings on behalf of the famine victims and in the larger interest of the fight against imperialism.

Two of the largest of these meetings sponsored by the Council were held in Seattle in cooperation with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and in Los Angeles in cooperation with the People's Daily World. Generous donations of money were made at both meetings

"Syalamba — We Are Starving"

and a large quantity of food was collected in Los Angeles.

Lena Horne, John Howard Lawson, Phillip Connelly, John Pittman, Mrs. Charlotta Bass and Max Yergan joined Paul Robeson in making the program of the Los Angeles mass meeting one of the most stirring that city has had.

Among other events in various cities supporting the South African relief drive, the Philadelphia mass meeting on March 29th may be mentioned. Charles Obermeyer, Educational Director of the National Maritime Union, Dr. Wulf Sachs, Arthur Huff Fauset, Mrs. Olivia S. Henry and Dr. Yergan were among the speakers there.

Churches in numerous cities have responded to the Council's appeal for funds. The students and faculty of Howard University, steel workers in Gary, Indiana, longshoremen in Seattle, the National Maritime Union, N.A.A.C.P. groups, and clubs such as the Ohio Progressives in New York are among those who are helping save African lives.

The full list of contributors and record of receipts and expenditures, supplementing the last reports carried in the March issue of New Africa, will be issued with the next number of this publication.

NOTE: A cable from South Africa reports our food shipment has been received there and distributed, but strong protest is being made against the government's action in exacting a 25 per cent duty charge on the relief food.

UNITED NATIONS MAY GET PETITION TO ACT ON SOUTH AFRICA DISCRIMINATION

The possibility exists that the South African government's entire policy and practice of discrimination based on color may be brought into the center of world attention. It was announced on March 26th that the government of India was seriously considering taking its dispute with South Africa before the United Nations.

The dispute at issue concerns the proposed measures, strongly endorsed by Prime Minister Smuts, preventing Asiatics in certain sections of South Africa from owning or occupying land and property except in certain prescribed areas.

The 200,000 Indians in South Africa, only about two per cent of the total population, sent a delegation to India to seek support for their fight against the new segregation laws which would relegate them to approximately the same completely subservient status occupied by the 8,000,000 Africans in the country. The Indian government on March 12th gave South Africa notice of termination of its commercial agreement with the Union. This is one of the first acts of reprisal by the Indian government following General Smut's rejection of all appeals to withdraw or modify the proposed anti-Indian legislation.

Indian residents in South Africa have resolved on a campaign of non-violent resistance against the government's restrictive measures. There is wide-spread African support for the Indian protest. The issue is seen to be much broader than the question of Indian rights, involving indeed the whole problem of the relations between whites and *all* non-whites.

Should the Indian government proceed with the filing of charges against South Africa with the United Nations, that body will be compelled to demonstrate how much solid substance there is in that part of the United Nations Charter which promises to "promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

"THE PEOPLE HAVE GRIEVANCES" — BUT SPOKESMEN ARE REBUFFED

The principle of "partnership," which the British government claims to follow in its relation with its dependencies, does not seem to apply when it comes down to concrete cases. The recent instance of the refusal of British officials to meet with the delegation representing West African cocoa farmers is one such case.

The Colonial Office asserted that the delegation which came to London and for three months vainly sought to put its case before the authorities, was not truly representative, since the members of the delegation were not really farmers—a rebuff which aroused great indignation among the West African people.

Another instance of the same sort is the manner in which the Assistant Colonial Secretary, Mr. Creech Jones, cast aside the thoughtful and detailed criticisms of the proposed constitutional changes for Nigeria, made by the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons.

The National Council, which embraces well over 100 labor, civic, political and tribal organizations, was described by Mr. Creech Jones in parliament as "not by any means a representative body" whose "restricted experience" rendered their criticism unimportant.

How Africans feel with regard to this arbitrary and insulting handling of their petitions is reflected in an editorial in the *Gold Coast Observer* early this year, part of which read:

"The people have grievances. The people have no way of getting those grievances heard and redressed. Some, among the people, have the courage and ability and desire to sacrifice themselves to make representations to authorities. If the policy is not to hear such people, or to hear them only through their Chiefs,——Chiefs who, says Sir Bernard Bourdillon, cannot claim to represent the new economic and literate groups emerging in the Colonies, then there is the end of good will."

BRITISH GOVERNMENT FAILS TO CHECK DISCRIMINATION IN COLONIES

Color discrimination in government service as well as in private enterprise in Britain's African colonies is an established fact. In theory the British government is supposed to insure that the "interests of the inhabitants are paramount" in its dependencies, but in practice this principle is unobserved.

A specific case in point is cited by Rita Hinden of the Fabian Colonial Bureau in a letter to the London *Times* of March 18.

She points out that "For a long time now, discriminatory legislation has existed in Southern Rhodesia and his Majesty's assent seems to have been given without too great a challenge in this country. New legislation is now before the Southern Rhodesia Parliament which appears, *prima facie,* to re-enact and strengthen yet further the discriminatory measures against Africans. This legislation is to be known as the Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act."

Stating that this legislation is opposed by progressive forces in Rhodesia who desire his Majesty's veto of it, Miss Hinden adds that efforts to bring the subject up in the British Parliament have been blocked on technicalities and members of parliament may not have a chance to speak on the matter until the act has become law.

Concluding, she asks how Britain can be expected to fulfill its responsibilities toward its subjects under such circumstances.

THE REAL ISSUE

"Essentially Soviet Russia was—and is—based on the policy of taking the land from the landlord and parcelling it among the landless farmers. . . .

"But the British Empire in its colonial policy and even within the Empire protects the landlord and the moneylender (namely—India, the Middle East, including Palestine, Egypt, etc.).

"The Soviet position, in the present mood of the world, is unbeatable in Asia, Africa, and South America. We can oppose it only by helping the landless to obtain land and to cultivate it on modern lines.

"This is, in my opinion, the crux of the whole problem. The rest is an addition of small and unimportant grievances, pinpricks, etc."

—From a recent letter to the London Times

SOUTHWEST AFRICA MANDATE — A RECORD OF MISMANAGEMENT

During a recent discussion in the South African Parliament on the future of Southwest Africa, one member, Mr. Eric Louw, presented a motion for incorporation of this mandate territory as the fifth province of South Africa without more ado, and with a snap of the fingers at the United Nations and anybody else who might oppose the move.

Africans and progressive whites in South Africa have already registered their opposition to this proposal, but it will require a strong stand on the part of other more democratic nations to block the annexation move.

The Union government, since it assumed its mandatory authority, has taken careful steps to insure eventual taking over of the territory. Several thousand poor whites and Anglo-Boer families were quickly moved into the territory. Germans already in the area were naturalized and nationalized *en masse.*

The constitution of 1925 was changed in 1927 and again in 1931 in order to subordinate the administration of the territory more directly to the Union government. The Administrator of Southwest Africa is appointed by the Cabinet of the Union. He in turn appoints the Executive, the Advisory Council, and six of the eighteen members of the Legislature.

Following the same pattern of political disfranchisement as in the Union of South Africa, only the 31,000 white people of Southwest Africa have political rights; the 300,000 nonwhites have no voice in the government.

The system of segregation in "Native Reserves" also exists in the mandate territory as in the Union, the Africans being restricted to only about 15% of the total land area.

There is only one government-controlled school for the entire African population, mission schools having the job of providing what little education is available. In the year 1939-40 less than 6,000 non-white children attended school.

The same neglect is true of health services. There are only four hospitals with a total of 159 beds for the entire African population. Tuberculosis, smallpox, venereal diseases and other afflictions take a heavy toll.

Various African tribes in the territory have revolted against the oppressive administration. To cite one example, the Bondelswarts rose in rebellion against such regulations as cattle branding and taxes on dogs.

The evils of South Africa's mandate supervision remain hidden in the reports made to the League of Nations, but they must be exposed today before the United Nations.

EXTEND TRUSTEESHIP CODE TO ALL COLONIES, AFRICANS SAY

The following editorial is from the *West African Pilot,* published in Lagos, Nigeria, February 6, 1946:

"Thanks to the obtrusive and gratuitous benevolence of champions of imperialism, the formation of the United Nations Trusteeship Council remains no nearer accomplishment today than it was on January 10, the first meeting day of the General Assembly.

"Heaven knows what coloured subject peoples owe already to the magnanimity, and proved Christianity withal, of Soviet Russia. Simple folks as we are, unitiated into the misty confines of international diplomacy, we can well appreciate the unusual benefit derivable from Russia's proposals, which seem very likely to be accepted.

"The people of trust territories are to have the right to lodge protests to the Trusteeship Council against their trustees. Agents of the Council are periodically to visit trust areas, when publicly elected (not nominated) representatives of the people and public organs are to be interviewed. 'Consultation with national organizations, and popular referendum' are also to feature.

"Indeed, the proposed system may yet prove a blessing to subject peoples. We urge its extension to the colonial empire in general. If this is done, the United Nations will have gone impressively far on the road to world peace."

PROTEST DIVISION OF BRITISH-FRENCH TOGOLAND

Notables and chiefs of French Togoland, African leaders in British Togoland, and the Ewe Unionists Association of Accra, Gold Coast, have sent cablegrams to officials of the United Nations, protesting against the continued partition of Togoland, a former German colony.

In the "cruel separation" of a people speaking the same language, Ewe, and having the same cultural and social background, this partition of Ewe land "constitutes a serious hindrance to the social, economic, educational and political progress of the Ewes as a people," said their message. The people desire to be reunited under one governmnt.

A similar petition to the United Nations has been made by people of the Cameroons, urging reunion of the two parts of their country, likewise a former German colony, now under separate British and French mandates.

It remains to be seen whether the new trusteeship agreements now being prepared for these territories will take into account the desires of the people of Togoland and the Cameroons. The trustee powers are fond of declaring that their primary concern is the interests of the inhabitants of their trust territories. Let them prove it!

WEST AFRICAN SECRETARIAT

The first issue of "The New African," monthly organ of the West African National Secretariat, has been received. The Secretariat, headed by I. T. A. Wallace Johnson, Chairman, and F. N. K. Nkrumah, Secretary General, has its headquarters in London and is dedicated to the purpose of organizing "a West African Front for a United West African National Independence."

The organization opposes "(1) any form of reactionary nationalism in West Africa; (2) any form of opportunism and reformism in matters affecting the political and economic destiny of West Africa."

Report from Liberia

This article was writen by a full-blooded Kru African resident in Liberia, at the request of the Council on African Affairs. The article gives an objective analysis of current political and economic developments in the African Republic. Because of the increasing participation of the U. S. government and American business in the affairs of Liberia, this on-the-spot report of what is happening there merits the attention of all Americans.

THE LIBERIAN political scene for the past six months has been characterized by intense attacks and organized campaigns against measures put through or contemplated by President W. V. S. Tubman. These attacks undoubtedly originated in the established political Old Guard, composed of an oligarchy of first families that have always ruled Liberia as a country in which the actual population amounted to perhaps fifteen thousands so-called Americo-Liberians who descended from the original settlers from the United States,[1] and who ruled with a backward and often brutal colonial system over perhaps one and a half million so-called aborigines.

President Tubman's administration[2] has been marked by forceful preliminary strides towards true reforms. On the one hand, the various American Missions[3] that are now in Liberia at the President's request, and the commercial port now being built by the U. S. Government in Monrovia, indicate acceptance of United States cooperation towards Liberia's economic development; on the other, the President has made strenuous efforts toward winning the confidence of the masses and so toward eventually integrating them into the country's civic and social stream as citizens of Liberia, and taking them out of their status as colonial subjects.

At various councils with tribal chiefs, the President made marked impression on the aborigines. At one of these, held at Salala, he laid down the blanket principle that lands illegally taken by civilized persons from the aboriginal peoples must be returned to them. This was decidedly the first satisfactory official pronouncement on the heated native land question ever uttered by a President of the Republic, as a policy of government. After his first council at Greenville, the Kru tribes,[4] occupying the coastal belt of Liberia, whose relations with the Sinoe people and the local government of Sinoe County have been very strained for a century, expressed satisfaction and declared that they saw in Tubman's policy peaceful and lasting settlement of their long standing grievances.

The President's general reform measures are also shown from the fact that the Liberian Legislature recently passed a new Election Law extending suffrage to all who paid a Hut Tax, which means virtually the entire coastal and hinterland populations. Strict enforcement of this law will increase Liberia's reputation 100 per cent in the eye of the outside world. Moreover, his Government recently prepared the nucleus of a Five-Year Plan for Liberia's social and economic development. How effective these various measures will be in the near future remains to be seen. Certainly they have aroused the strong political opposition of the Old Guard.

One form that this opposition took was a violent public attack on the concession for the development of the Bomi Hill iron deposit recently granted to an American company.[5] This attack, however, fell flat when the aboriginal population whose lands and interests were most directly affected, refused to participate and sided 100 per cent with the President.

Two strikes of workers on the new American Port Project[6] and the U. S. Public Health Mission in Liberia, headed by

1. The settlers were freed slaves who were transported to West Africa, beginning in 1821, by American colonization societies. The area which they settled was "purchased" from the Africans just about as Manhattan Island was bought from the Indians. Frederick Douglass and other Negro leaders opposed this original Back-to-Africa movement. The sovereign independence of Liberia was proclaimed on July 24, 1847.
(This and other footnotes have been added to the author's text for explanatory purposes.)

2. President Tubman took office January 3, 1944, succeeding Edwin Barclay.

3. Official U. S. missions include: an FEA commission of economic and agricultural experts, headed by Earl Parker Hanson, which has been in Liberia since November, 1944; a public health mission, with all Negro personnel; a geological survey commission which surveyed iron resources (see footnote 5).

4. The Krus are one of the three main African tribal groups in Liberia, the other two being the Mandingos and the Golas. There have been several uprisings by the Kru people against the government, one in 1932 being put down with the help of American warships and American officers in command of Liberian frontier troops.

5. This concession granted Lansdell K. Christie gives the U. S. company exclusive right to prospect for and exploit iron and other ores, metals and minerals with the exception of gold, platinum, diamonds, and other precious stones, for a period of 80 years. The concession covers 23,000 acres of land, with an option on 23,000,000 more acres, at five cents an acre. The government is to receive a royalty of less than five percent on all minerals extracted.

6. This project is for the construction of modern deep-water harbor facilities at Monrovia by the U. S. Navy and Raymond Concrete Pile Co. of N. Y. at a cost of $15,000,000 advanced by the U. S. government and to be repaid out of port revenues. The port is to be administered by a U. S. company (Clark-Babbitt of Boston) until the loan is amortized. The port agreement includes provision for naval, air and military facilities at the port and in the vicinity for the protection of the "strategic interests of the United States in the South Atlantic." Although the Defense Areas Agreement of 1942 provided for withdrawal of all American troops at the end of the war, the port agreement apparently authorizes indefinite occupation.

Lt. Col. John B. West, have also been ascribed to powerful outside political influences for the purpose of embarrassing the President. He was really placed in a vise; if he sided with the strikers, he was thereby in the position of opposing the United States; if he went against them, he was opposing his own people. In fact, it is strongly believed that the political turmoil now found in Liberia is forerunner of a greater turmoil to come, the eventual outcome of which it is difficult to foretell.

In view of these measures, the President, while there is little doubt as to his integrity and determination to do the job, has been forced to steer a devious political course. Among other things, his government has passed a new Sedition Law said to be stronger than former Sedition Laws which were truly medieval in character. He recently issued a proclamation abolishing and forbidding the formation of any organizations confined to special social groups. This was said to be directed primarily against the West African Cultural Association, which is mainly composed of educated aborigines, and seems to have been conisdered the nucleus of an aboriginal political party despite the fact that its aims were purely cultural. This Association has now been broken up.

Despite such measures, however, the President is considered as having won resounding victories over his political opponents in all major matters. Undoubtedly, the major sources of his strength continue to be the unflagging support of the awakening aboriginal population and the backing of the U. S. State Department. Regardless of overt opposition by the Old Guard, the President's own True Whig Party recently gave him a unanmous vote of confidence as did the National Legislature. This is especially significant since it is generally considered and even feared in some quarters that Tubman's new Election Law, if properly enforced, means the end of the True Whig Party's one party rule.[7]

The Whig Party has always been hostile to the formation of new political parties, consequently it has, in the past, successfully castrated or killed any such party that attempted to rise. But President Tubman seems to have caught a clear vision of the future which he has boldly expressed by his Election Law, namely: That Liberia cannot succeed unless she is completely politically and economically reconstructed. The time has come when Liberia can no longer continue to exist on one party and one boss democracy. Inevitably and imperatively, the Whig Party and the rising tide of aborigine consciousness, which threatens that Party's exclusive control of Liberian politics and government, must live side by side. The leopard and the sheep must sleep together.

Turning from this aspect of the question, it is safe to assert that Liberia's present directions may be described in the following terms:

(1) Increasing U. S. interests in the country, politically and financially, implying exclusion of similar European interests. This must take the form of several more such extended American developmental concessions as the Firestone Rubber concession and the Bomi Hill iron concession, as well as accelerated direct trade relations between Liberia and the United States in such products as cocoa, palm fibers, palm oil, kernels, etc.

(2) American infiltration as stated repeatedly by the United States and as demonstrated in its various programs in Liberia, to go hand in hand with economic benefits to Liberians of all classes. In light of the facts so far accessible, there is every indication that the cooperative action between President Tubman and the United States will leave in the hands of Liberians, especially in the hands of small farmers, the development such products as cocoa, piassava, kola nuts, palm fibers, etc.

(3) For the purpose of integrating all of Liberia's population into one unified social, civil and political body, bringing about the gradual detribalization of the aborigines as the advantages of tribal systems are replaced by a growing program of agrarian reform, cooperatives, education and economic opportunity.

As one indication of acceleration of agrarian reform, it may be mentioned that the budget for Liberia's Bureau of Agriculture was in 1945 increased from $6,000.00 to $20,000.00, and was recently again increased to $40,000.00. The most important work of the Bureau of Agriculture, carried forward with the assistance of U. S. Government technicians, is considered to be among the hinterland tribes, who represent about 85 per cent of the farming population, where rice production has in the past year been doubly increased, and where the production of diversified foodstuffs is arousing increasing interest.

While the arrival of the reforms in Liberia is welcome, nevertheless the sudden impact of democratic institutions from the west upon a people who have been sleeping for nearly one hundred years cannot help but cause excitement, suspicion, and intense suspense. Uncle Sam is conspicuously the foremost figure, but the French and the British are in the background of the picture. What does this mean? Is America really sincere? Will she carry to completion the developments now undertaken and thereby place the Republic on its feet, or will she drop Liberia in the middle of the stream as she has done in the past? What particular part will our old friends, Britain and France, play in this game?

While Liberia must play the major role in the drama, the masses of the people are suspicious and in suspense.

Issued April, 1946 by

Council on African Affairs

23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

7. The True Whig Party has been continuously in power except during 1871-77. Main opposition groups are the People's Party, established 1923, and the Democratic Party, established 1943.

RESOLUTION

Unanimously adopted by the more than 700 delegates to the Win The Peace Conference held in Washington, D.C., April 5—8, 1946.

IT IS imperative to break the conspiracy of international silence surrounding the question of freedom for the 150 million colonial subjects of Africa, held in bondage by five European powers and the Union of South Africa. The war-time promise of self-determination for all peoples must be fulfilled in Africa as in every other part of the world.

We call upon our State Department and Administration to make good this promise by making the United Nations *not* an instrument for maintaining the colonial status quo, but for guaranteeing economic and social advancement and political self-determination — within a definitely stated time limit — to the inhabitants of every African dependency. This can be accomplished if the Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council and other agencies of the United Nations have the proper objectives and are vested with proper authority.

WE ALSO urge our government to press for adoption of the following policies:

1. The withdrawal of all foreign troops from Africa.

2. That the settlement of the question of the former Italian colonies be based upon decisions having the full agreement of all the three major powers, and with due consideration of the claims of Ethiopia to the territories stolen from her by Italy.

3. That the African colonies belonging to the fascist governments of Spain and Portugal be brought directly under United Nations trusteeship.

4. That the demand of the Egyptian people for freedom from British domination be guaranteed, and that all foreign troops be withdrawn from Egypt immediately and unconditionally.

5. That our State Department insure that the increasing American economic interests in Liberia, Ethiopia, and other areas of Africa should advance and not retard the development and independence of these countries.

6. That the Union of South Africa, with its legally established system of racial oppression, be prevented from annexing the mandate of South West Africa, and that this state be held accountable to the United Nations for its contravention of the principle of racial equality adopted in the United Nations Charter.

Demonstrating their opposition to Churchill's proposal for an Anglo-American alliance to save the British empire — two thousand New Yorkers, including representatives of the Council, picketed the dinner given in New York on March 15th honoring Britain's arch Tory. In a letter to Pres. Truman, Council officers assailed Churchill's Fulton, Mo. speech disrupting Big Three unity.

News Notes

PHILADELPHIA—Without any urging on the part of their teachers, the pupils of the Douglas-Singerly School, on hearing of the Council's campaign to aid staravation victims in South Africa, went to work and brought in a total of 556 cans of food and $20 in pennies, nickels and dimes.

★

LAGOS—Recent figures show an average death rate of 50 per cent of weekly births in this capitol city of Nigeria. "What distresses us the more," says a Lagos newspaper citing these figures, "is the fact that if Lagos, with all its modern medical amenities, could register such figures, what of the hinterland towns where in some cases people have to walk miles to the nearest dispensary or hospital?"

★

CAIRO—Added to the problems which Britain must face in its negotiations for a new Anglo-Egyption treaty which will meet Egyptian demands for the complete withdrawal of all British troops, is the question of what to do about the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. A delegation claiming to represent all seven political parties in the Sudan arrived in the Egyptian capitol last month to secure a declaration from the British and Egyptian governments guaranteeing independence of the Sudan as part of the new Anglo-Egyptian treaty.

★

JOHANNESBURG — The newly elected woman Socialist mayor of this largest city in South Africa has declared that she is out to get better housing conditions for the Africans. She stated that there must be abolition of the gold mine compounds where African workers are housed as many as forty to a room, under conditions of virtual penal servitude.

★

NIGERIA—The government has announced plans for the establishment of museums at Ife, Benin, and Esin where historic carvings and other examples of ancient African art will be collected. It is said that these collections will form the nucleus of a national art memorial. Many of these relics have in the past been taken out of the country by European explorers and anthropologists.

★

CAPETOWN—By whom and for whom the South African government is run becomes crystal clear in the new budget providing for a taxation reduction of $64,000,000. Nearly $13,000,000 represents a taxation relief gift to the gold mines, while $32,600,000 has been taken off of personal, savings fund, and excess profits taxes. The budget includes an item of $40,000,000 for importation of food.

★

LONDON—In reply to a question in the House of Commons, it was revealed that 67,500 West Africans are still in military service overseas, mainly in India and the Far East. Fewer than 32,000 have been repatriated or demobilized since V-J Day.

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REVIEW— AFRICA ADVANCES

by Jackson Davis, Thomas M. Campbell, and Margaret Wrong.

THE FRIENDSHIP PRESS, N. Y.

The key to the advancement of the African people lies in the further development of education for Africans, according to this report, the product of four years of travel and study in West Africa and the Belgian Congo. This study, sponsored by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, was carried out by Dr. Jackson Davis, expert on U. S. Negro schools, Mr. Thomas M. Campbell, Negro field Agent of the U. S. Agricultural Extension Service, and Miss Margaret Wrong, a British woman long active in literacy work in Africa.

Their report consists mainly of a factual account of the truly commendable work being done by missionaries of all denominations in Liberia, Belgian Congo, the French territories and British West Africa. From beginning to end, it is an earnest plea for more and better education, including scientific research, improved methods of agriculture, and universal literacy for Africans within the framework of rural farm life.

Reporting on what they consider to be the relative backwardness of independent Liberia, the authors attribute it to lack of enough capital investment, contrasting it with French, Belgian and British colonies where funds are allocated for educational purposes. Disease and limited facilities were problems common to the areas covered, but there were some bright spots, such as the development of cooperatives in Nigeria.

While the authors admit one of the main obstacles to progress to be those forces which are "out for quick profits based on cheap and unskilled labor," they fail to see this as an inherent part of the system of colonialism. It is unfortunate that, after making this study, they should view the "home government" (colony-holding power) as a kind of well-meaning and generous godmother who holds on to her African colonies merely to help them advance. In discussing "new colonial policy," the authors regard the mandate system as having "worked for the benefit of the colonies."

While mention is made of the goal of self-government, there is a distinct tendency for the authors to gloss over the oppressive nature of colonial rule in stressing their main thesis, namely, that Africa *can* advance simply by improving education and agriculture. In fact, they emphasize that "it would be absurd to disregard the great advantage which liberal colonial powers offer for stability, continuity and mutual aid in well-ordered plans of development towards the achievement of clearly defined aims."

This report, while it will serve as a helpful guide to the work of African missionaries, remains an incomplete picture of an advancing Africa by virtue of its denial that the stranglehold of colonialism is in itself the basic barrier to progress in Africa.

Myrtle Mitchell

★ ★

The Council on African Affairs is one of the national organizations in the United States accredited to have an observer present at the United Nations meetings. W. A. Hunton, Educational Director of the Council, is representing the organization in that capacity during the current sessions of the Security Council....

★ ★

An invitation is extended to all our readers and friends to make use of the library and research facilities now available on the first floor, below the offices of the Council.

SAYS SOUTH AFRICA GOVERNMENT DODGES FOOD QUESTION

"The people ask for food and Smuts offers them Woolton!" states a Johannesburg newspaper, *The Guardian,* of February 14, explaining that this is not some new brand of ersatz bread, but the name of Churchill's Food Minister.

"The British don't want him so we are to have him as a substitute for rationing," the paper continues. "It is incredible that after four years of food shortage, the Government should still consider inviting 'experts' from other countries to advise it on the food situation and the 'expediency' of a rationing system.

"The only conclusion to be drawn is that the Government has no intention of taking any effective steps to relieve the shortage, or to distribute supplies with some appearance of equality. It is playing the old game of stalling, of meeting public protests with pretence and false promises. . . .

"There is an admitted food crisis in the reserves, in the towns, and among all sections except the rich. The government is not preparing to deal with the crisis; it is maintaining its old system of scarcity economics and profits for the producers and traders. This is the system that must be broken down by pressure from the consumers, the working people, the housewives, and the poor."

STARVATION IN SOUTH AFRICA; SURPLUS IN ETHIOPIA

The food shortage in South Africa continues critical and there is fear of similar famine condition in Tanganyika and other parts of Africa. Ethiopia is one of the few sections of the continent in which a food surplus exists.

The failure to make use of this surplus was cited last September by Wynant D. Hubbard, head of a former UNRRA mission to Ethiopia. A new appeal for utilization of the meat and grain stock of Ethiopia was voiced last month by David A. Talbot, a Negro who left the United States to serve as editor of several Ethiopian government publications, now on leave in this country.

"From my observation," says Mr. Talbot, in a letter in the N. Y. *Times,* "one of the reasons why Ethiopian surpluses are not utilized is purely political. It is the result of the political squeeze-play which has its roots in the desire of certain of Ethiopia's neighbors to check her economic development and keep her a perpetual pawn of European diplomacy.

"Ethiopia is struggling to set her social and political frame in order. The purchase of Ethiopian surpluses would aid considerably in providing revenue with which to carry on her program of reconstruction and rehabilitation and at the same time assist in relieving the famine in Europe. Or must power politics be wantonly displayed at the expense of the millions already crushed?"

SOUTH AFRICAN MINISTER CONDEMNS "HERRENVOLK MENTALITY" OF COUNTRY

The South African Minister of Finance, Mr. J. H. Hoffmeyr, spoke the following plain words on the subject of South African race prejudice in an address given March 16th at the Witwatersrand University:

"Ten years ago it was announced with a great flourish of trumpets that we had found a solution of our native problem, but there was no change in our Herrenvolk mentality. I said then that it was futile to make such a claim, and to-day there are few people who do not agree that I was right.

"At this time we are dealing with an Indian problem, and, though we may be able to settle certain aspects, it would be just as futile to claim that we can solve it while in relation to it that mentality continues to prevail to so great an extent as is obviously the case today.

"Freedom from prejudice is not the least of the freedoms for which we must fight. We are paying a heavy price for our subservience to it. Part of that price is material, and part is being paid in loss of international esteem and good will. . . .

"The chief cause of the large measure of our failure to realize the ideal of freedom in our land is the strength of our prejudice. It is mockery to talk of ourselves as a free people while we are as a nation to so large an extent the slaves of prejudice, while we allow our sense of dislike of the colour of some of our fellow South Africans to stand in the way of dealing fairly with them, and while we let ourselves become the victims of the anti-Semitic doctrines which were the most important part of the Nazi ideology we fought to destroy."

VICTIMIZATION CHARGED (Cont'd)

accidental error in reporting the Governor's speech. This ban was removed after an apology, the form of which was virtually dictated by the Governor, had been published.

5—The Government of Nigeria without explanation has refused to renew the wireless license whereby Zik's Press received the Reuter's African Coastal Wireless News Service, one of the principal unofficial sources of news of the outside world.

6—The Nigerian government reduced the newsprint quota of the *Pilot* by more than half. The *Pilot* is the most widely circulated of the Zik newspapers. It is not known whether other newspapers outside the Zik group received similar drastic reductions of newsprint.

In his letter, Mr. Azikiwe warns of "serious consequences and possible bloodshed" if the "actions of repression which feature the Richards regime" are not halted. The Council has written the Colonial Office in London and the Governor of Nigeria, asking for an explanation and cessation of this apparent suppression of freedom of the press in Nigeria.

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This is your News of Africa
for April, 1946

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—in the interest of African freedom and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

Volume 5, No. 5 May, 1946

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Madison Square Garden Rally, June 6, Will Voice American People's Demand for U. S. Anti-Imperialist Policy and a Free Africa!

Break the conspiracy of silence surrounding the imperialist oppression of the people of Africa!

Rally American support for the Africans' demand for freedom and full democratic rights!

Halt the increasingly alarming division among the Big Three and demand full cooperation of the United Nations to secure the speedy independence of all colonial peoples!

Advance and safeguard democratic rights and economic security for all peoples in the United States, regardless of race, color or creed, by destroying colonial imperialism, the world-wide cancer of racial discrimination, economic exploitation, and war!

These are the urgent objectives of the giant people's demonstration promoting "Big Three Unity for Colonial Freedom" to be held Thursday evening, June 6, at historic Madison Square Garden under the auspices of the Council on African Affairs.

A further and equally urgent objective of this important meeting is to cast a searing spotlight on the vicious discrimination in the Union of South Africa, and on the plight of the famine-stricken African millions resident there. The rally will focus the nation's attention on the little-known and neglected distress of these Africans, and will demand a fair share of food supplies for these people along with the aid being sent to Europe and Asia.

Proceeds of the meeting will be used to supplement the money and shipments of canned food already collected by the Council on African Affairs and sent to alleviate starvation and suffering among South Africa's indigenous population.

All sections of Greater New York's population—the Negro people, organized labor and all democratic-minded citizens—have the responsibility of making the June 6 rally an event of nation-wide and even world significance. This is the opportunity of the American people to make known to their government and to the United Nations their full support of the independence demands of subject peoples, and their profound concern for the accomplishment of the war aims of world-wide freedom and democracy.

Wide endorsement of the June 6 meeting has been expressed by numerous ministers, trade union officials and other community leaders, who have pledged purchase and sale of several thousand tickets.

The Council is making every effort to insure a program of the finest quality and maximum effectiveness at the meeting (See last page for details of program). It is confident that, with the solid backing of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces, the coming Madison Square Garden demonstration on the second anniversary of D-Day will be a rousing demand by the American people for Big Three unity and "a mighty blow," as Paul Robeson put it, "on the side of real democracy for our people here as well as our brothers on the continent of Africa."

New York community leaders and press representatives invited to the Councils' headquarters, May 14, heard Paul Robeson and Lena Horne (at right) stress the importance of June 6 Rally and continuing aid for South African famine victims.

HITLER'S GOSPEL STILL PREACHED BY SOUTH AFRICAN FASCISTS

The Greyshirts are a flourishing fascist organization in South Africa, led by Louis Theodor Weichardt. There is evidence that definite links existed between this organization and German secret agents in Southwest Africa and Portugese Mozambique before and during the war.

The Greyshirts today publish and circulate throughout the country, without government hindrance, numerous pamphlets which propagate all the customary Nazi and fascist concepts. Special emphasis is placed upon the "blood" and "race" theories of the Aryan superman.

"The historic white race of South Africa needs a HERO, a tried man of deeds," says one pamphlet, and explains that that hero exists in the person of Weichardt. He is described as "the God-given leader whom the South African National-Socialist Bund offers to the Afrikaner-volk ('people of Germanic blood')."

The Greyshirts had planned and received permission to hold a fascist demonstration this month celebrating the internment release of their leader, Weichardt, at the City Hall in Pretoria, capital city of the Union of South Africa. A week before the date set, the Mayor withdrew permission.

The cancellation resulted from the campaign initiated by the Springbok Legion and other associations of war veterans, which urged that it was useless to sacrifice lives and treasure to crush nazism in Europe if it was to spring up again in South Africa.

The veterans recalled Weichardt's pre-war antics of aping Adolf Hitler, swastika and all. Their campaign is being extended to other extremist groups such as the Assewa Brandwag (Ox-wagon Sentinel), which avowedly still sympathizes with nazism.

Government Permits Fascist Activity

The Smuts government, pleading democratic rights (which it denies to law abiding Africans), continues to permit these rabid fascist organizations to carry on their dirty work.

The government has, however, undertaken a half-hearted sort of investigation of Dr. Daniel F. Malan, who happens to be the leader of the Nationalist Party, the main political opposition to the Smuts' government. On the basis of secret agents' reports found in the Foreign Ministry in Berlin, Dr. Malan is charged with secretly negotiating with German agents during the war.

For a good picture of the fascist forces in the Dominion, one might take a look at an article by Albert A. Brandt entitled "South Africa—Cradle of Neo-Nazism" in the March 1946 issue of *Reader's Scope*. Mr. Brandt tells of a meeting at the end of last year in Pretoria at which Oswald Pirow, former South African Minister of Justice, Defense, Railways and Harbors, announced himself "as a crusader for the continuance of Hitler's New Order pattern."

In South Africa as in the United States, the common characteristic of all these fascist groups, aside from their violent campaign against Africans and all other non-whites, Jews, trade unionists and liberals in general, is their insistence upon war against the Soviet Union. Churchill's speech calling for an Anglo-American alliance against the Soviet Union was hailed with delight by the Hitlerites in South Africa.

Thus we see the common bond between the Weichardts and Malans in South Africa and the Rankins and Bilbos in the United States.

India to Air S. African Discrimination Before the United Nations

Late last month the Indian Government reached a formal decision to bring to the attention of the United Nations the issue of South African legislation which would have the effect of establishing ghettos for Indians in South Africa.

Dr. Kahre, Commonwealth Relations member of the Government of India, in making the announcement, said that the matter would be brought up "at the proper time."

The Central Legislative Assembly of India, after failing to get even the consent of the South African government to arbitrate the question, voted to sever trade relations with South Africa and bring charges before the United Nations.

Indian newspapers have condemmed not only the anti-Indian measure but the South African Government's general discrimination against all non-whites.

SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAY WORKERS PRESS WAGE INCREASE DEMANDS

A lengthy memorandum received by the Council from the South African Railway and Harbor Workers Union sets forth the case of the African, Colored, and Indian employees of the state-operated transportation services in the country ruled by General Smuts.

The union speaks for a membership of over 12,000 non-white workers, and has been one of the most militant labor bodies fighting for the improvement of the abominable status of these victims of South Africa's Color Bar.

Among the various grievances listed is the fact that the daily wage of the non-white railway workers ranges from $1.58 to as low as 30c a day. The union is demanding a general basic minimum wage of 10 shillings ($2.00) per day.

"The exploitation of non-European labor, which is a cult in South Africa, is all the more significant when practiced by the Railway Administration, which is a state concern," says a covering letter from the Union's general secretary, accompanying the memorandum. "The precedent of oppression set by a so-called public utility institution is excelled by no other private industries except the gold mines."

SOVIET PRESS ATTACKS S. A. COLOR BAR, OPPOSES ANNEXATION OF S. W. AFRICA

Pravda, official newspaper of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has sharply criticized the racial discrimination policies of the government of the Union of South Africa.

The paper said that the demand of General Smuts for incorporating the mandate territory of South West Africa within the Union "represents the peculiar antiquated approach of certain groups to the questions connected with the life and future of the colonial peoples."

The paper described the land alienation, political disfranchisement, and other discriminatory measures imposed upon the Africans, stating: "It is quite clear that the incorporation of South West Africa in the Union would signify the extention of the color line to the natives of South West Africa."

When will a prominent American newspaper or the U. S. State Department make such a statement?

BRITISH AIM OF MEDITERRANEAN CONTROL BRINGS STALEMATE ON ITALIAN COLONIES

The disposition of Italy's African empire, as well as all other major questions involved in the European peace treaties, was left unsettled when the Foreign Ministers' Conference adjourned this month after a prolonged and fruitless debate.

The discussions on the Italian colonies, however, served to expose the continued imperialist aims of the British Labor Government.

Mr. Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Minister, dared to propose that Britain have sole trustee control not only of Italian Somaliland, but of French Somaliland and even the important Ogaden Province of the sovereign nation of Ethiopia.

These areas, together with present British Somaliland, would mean the extension of British imperialism over the whole northeast corner of Africa, forming a continuous block of territories under the Union Jack stretching from the Gulf of Aden in the north down through Kenya, Tanganyika and the Rhodesias to the Union of South Africa.

The Council on African Affairs in telegrams to the officials of the four major powers sharply denounced this British proposal as "a flagrant violation of the United Nations war aims." The Council pressed for "a uniform guarantee of freedom" to the inhabitants of all three Italian colonies, and urged that any trusteeship plan for these areas "should embrace equal administrative responsibilities for all the major powers."

As a sop to Ethiopia in compensation for the proposed annexation of the Ogaden Province, Britain graciously offered a corridor through Eritrea to Haile Selassie. Note that Britain at the present time exercises miltary control over the Ogaden section of Ethiopia.

Haile Selassie Gives Warning

The Ethiopian emperor has formally requested return of both Eritrea and Italian Somaliland to his country. Though not mentioning these colonies directly, Haile Selassie was clearly referring to them when he declared in a statement issued early this month, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of his return to the throne:

"On the eve of the peace settlement, let us have the courage to recognize that in a peace without justice there shall be neither peace nor justice."

Another clever maneuver on the part of Mr. Bevin was to propose independence for Cyrenaica in Libya. This came after he had been forced to abandon the original bid for British trusteeship over this territory. Mr. Bevin stressed the pledge given the Senussi tribes of Cyrenaica, that Italian rule would never again be imposed upon them. He failed to mention, however, the similar British pledge given the Eritreans that they would be reunited with their motherland, Ethiopia.

If the kind of "independence" to be granted the Libyans were like that given Transjordania recently, with the provision for maintenance of British military forces in the country (the same imperialist hold which Egypt is now desperately trying to break), Britain would be even more strongly entrenched in the Mediterranean region that at present.

Paul Robeson pointed out that Mr. Bevin had put himself "on the spot" by his "generous" offer for Lybia, for it raised the question of why the people of the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Uganda and other British colonies, whose culture is equally as advanced if not higher than that of the Libyans, should not also be granted immediate independence.

STATEMENT ON THE COUNCIL'S CAMPAIGN TO AID AFRICAN FAMINE VICTIMS

Since our last report in March, there has been a continuing fine response to the efforts of the Council and of the Sponsors Committee for South African Famine Relief toward helping to prevent starvation among the African people in the Union of South Africa.

Two recent contributions merit special mention. One was in the amount of $203.00 from the crew members and captain—Captain Hugh Mulzac—of the famed S.S. Booker T. Washington.

The other was the sum of $500.00 collected in the Bahamas. It was forwarded to the Council by Bert A. Cambridge, manager of *The Voice*, a weekly newspaper published at Nassau. Mr. Cambridge was chairman of a committee which was spontaneouly organized there in support of the Council's campaign.

A contribution of $291.00 was also received from the Greater New York C.I.O. Relief Fund.

Income from special meetings and affairs during the period since the last report was as follows: from affairs held by Mrs. B. Swinger and the Ohio Progressives in New York, a total of $777.75; from another conducted by Mr. C. Scott, $75.00; from meeting in Los Angeles, $562.12 (see list below for other Los Angeles contributions); from meeting in Philadelphia, $176.50; from meeting in Seattle, $771.15.

List of Contributors

Listed below are other contributions of $5.00 or more (space limitations prevent us from including all others) received during the period March 1—May 17 for famine relief in South Africa (earlier donations received by the Council for the same purpose were listed in the February and March issues of *New Africa*):

Students and faculty of Howard Univ., thru Mrs. Bessie A. R. Lyons, 140.87. St. Philip Episcopal Church, $103.53. Utility Club, $100. Mr. Thomas B. Reese, $100. Mr. & Mrs. JohnT. McTernan, (L. A.) $100. Jean Siroty, $75. Third Baptist Church (Youngstown, Ohio), $81.46. Members of Guam Hall, Council House (Wash., D.C.), $79.59. C. Scott, $75. Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church (Phila, Pa.), $67.38. William H. Trott, $93.44. Mrs. Bertha Swinger (Collection), $89.37.

Contributions of $50.00: Aaron Aronoff Foundation; Second Baptist Church (L.A.); NAACP (Los Angeles); Mrs. Alice F. Schott.

Contributions of $25.00: Kenneth Mac Gowan; American-Russian Fraternal Soc. Branch 3035; S. Ralph Logras; H. Supok;

AFRICAN FAMINE RELIEF
Report of Campaign
Jan. 7 — May 17, 1946

Food

Three shipments of canned foods totalling over 22,000 cans have been sent to the African Food Fund, Cape Town, Union of South Africa. A fourth shipment will leave shortly.

Financial Contributions

Total Receipts	**$11,406.54**
Total Disbursements	**9,819.72**
Balance on Hand for remittance and further expenses	**1,586.82**
Disbursements:	
African Food Fund (Cape Town) and Dr. R. T. Bokwe (Middledrift Relief Center)	**4,588.00**
Packing and shipping food	1,289.01
Mailing, advertising and other publicity	2,556.41
Administration	1,250.00
Miscellaneous	136.30
Total	$ 9,819.72

City Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; The Housewives League; N. Y. State Assn. Female Branch, IBPOE of W; United Shoe Wkrs, Joint Council No. 13; P. B. Young; M. A. Halpern; Russian American Club; Russell Cowles; Mrs. John F. Morrs; Mrs. Stanley Bergerman; G. B. Gordon, (L.A.); Dr. Leon A. Bryan William Pierson.

Miscellaneous Amounts

Leo Gallagher, $24.00. Rev. Ralph H. Rowse, $8.60; Kathie Cogan, $8.00; Mrs. Bertha Swinger, $23.50; Mount Zion Methodist Church (Washington, D.C.), $12.00; Ben Davis Club, $9.46; Lincoln-Douglass Club and Cyril Phillip Club, $6.54; National Maritime Union, $30.20; Col. Charles Young Aux. No. 398 (collection), $7.25; Rev. H. M. Hutchings, $24,25; First Neighborhood House, $23.20; Dr. R. A. Simmons, $7.00; Concord Baptist Church, $11.21; Sidney Jacobs, $12.76; Concord Baptist Church (collection), $34.77;

H. P. Osborne (collection), $9.71; American Legion Post 822, $11.00; Preston Loy, $25.77; Mrs. Bertha Swinger (collection), $11.98; Grace Baptist Church, $14.49; Rev. I. N. Holley, D.D., $10.50; Students of Prof. Arthur L. Swift, $6.00; Jefferson School, $8.38; John M. Patterson, $22.50; Calvary Baptist Church (Haverhill, Mass.), $30.00; Wholesale & Warehouse Employees Union Local 65, $36.00.

Thru Mrs. Lucille Miller (Madison, Wisc.), $34.00; NAACP (Madison, Wisc.), $6.00; Dr. G. A. Long, $27.00; Sam Billings, $8.15; Mt. Zion Baptist Church (Phila.), $21.30; Roanoke Civic League, $32.50; Joseph London, (Los Angeles), $16.45. Mt. Hope M. E. Church (Salem, N.J.), $8.00. St. James AME Church (Minneapolis, Minn.), $6.05; St. John's Congregational Church (Springfield, Mass.), $23.65. Greater N. Y. CIO Relief Fund (CIO members), $24.25.

Stricklers Dept. Store, $27.57. Mr. & Mrs. Loy, $13.54. Utility Club, $27.35. Robert Travis, $9.35. Ben Davis Club, $41.45. H. P. Osborne, $35.07. Sidney Jacobs, $8.95. Mrs. Olive Gaines, $20.86. Holy Temple Church of God & Christ, Rev. E. F. McCelloud (Buffalo, N.Y.), $12.00. St. Johns Baptist Church, Rev. Mac Curley (Buffalo, N. Y.), $17.00. St. Luke's AME Zion Church (Buffalo, N. Y.), Rev. Franklin Jackson, $20.93. Friendship Baptist Church (Buffalo), Rev. E. Franklin, $27.00. Mrs. S. Sahara Carter, $11.00 (personal and collected).

$20. Contributions

Contributions of $20.00: Youth Fellowship, Union Baptist Church (Roxbory, Mass.); thru Mrs. Eugenie Griffin; United Steel Workers of America, Local 1014 (Gary, Ind.); Dr. Charles M. Grossman, L. A. Nature Friends of America; Douglas-Singerly School (Phila.); Hood Theological Seminary.

Contributions of $15.00: H. P. Osborne (collection); Miss Angelina W. Grimke; Shiloh Baptist Church (Atlantic City, N. J.); Northside Union League; Caldwell AME Zion Church; Azteca Films, Inc.; James V. Terrell (L.A.).

$10. Contributions

Contributions of $10.00: Staff of "Ammunition" (Detroit, Mich.); Hotel & Restaurant Employees Union No. 665 (Minneapolis, Minn.); S. Rogozin; Morning View Charity Club; "Les Joyeux Club"; IWO Finnish Lodge No. 3873; Ethiopian Choral Club; Leroy Carter; Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order Lodge 142; Mt. Olivet Baptist Church; Ladies Benevolent Society; Thomas C. Mullen; International Jewelry Workers Union Local 1 (NYC); Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers Local 848 (NYC); E. Y. Harburg; Dr. Harry Friedenwald; Jamaica Progressive League.

Other contributions of $10.00: United Furniture Workers Local 140; E. L. Braunstein Co.; Nat'l Maritime Union (St. Louis); Mrs. Louis P. Karshner; Warehouse Union Local 6 (San Francisco); Croatian-American Womens Society; Miss Cylvia C. Smalls; Intl. Fur

& Leather Workers Local 87 (Los Angeles); E. M. Champion; E. Koski; I. D. Jacquier; Miss Nellie D. Bolgiano; Angelo J. Tomasulo; M. Dieth Gross (L.A.); Alpha Bowling Club (L.A.); Hezzie Lee (L.A.); Lester E. Buhai (L. A.); Victoria Kolman (L.A.); Missionary Society, Washington St. Presbyterian Church (Reading, Pa.)

Further contributions of $10.00: "A Christian Missionary"; Mrs. Roger S. Clapp; Congregation Beth-El (Camden, N.J.); Mr. & Mrs. John N. Patterson, Miss Agnes Ramsey Goodman.

$5. Contributions

Contributions of $5.00: Dr. Shruggs; Wm. H. Trott (collected); Lodge 3099 IWO American Russian Fraternal Society; Lodge 3013 IWO; Mrs. Maude Blackwood c/o UPAC; Lodge 3111 IWO; Dr. E. Garcia-Lascot; Miss Dorothy Albert; Norman O. Houston; Lodge 34 IWO Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order; IWO Lodge 211; American Russian Fraternal Society; Mrs. Josephine Sochen.

Also Mrs. Estelle Shohen; Bildungs Verein Eintracht; Albert Morrison; Garibaldi American Fraternal Society of IWO; Liberty Garment Mfg. Co. (Minneapolis, Minn.); The Woman's Club of Madison; E. W. Fisher; Lodge 940 IWO; Ukrainian Lodge 1539 IWO; IWO Lodge 3832; IWO Lodge 785; Chicago Council of Negro Organization; Fredrick Field; Croatian Branch 4322 IWO; Julius Zupoa.

Additional contributions of $5.00; IWO Lodge 4310; Miss Elmeth H. Phillips; Abraham Herman; IWO Lodge 2015; Miss Elizabeth H. Pollak; Harl R. Douglass; Hon. Peter V. Cacchione; Furniture Workers Union Local 76B (NYC); Mrs. Ysobel G. Sandler; Gr. Detroit Industrial Union Council; Rolland E. Wolfe; Intl. Longshoremens & Warehousemens Union Seattle Wash.—Local 1-9; Serbian People's Club; Food & Tobacco Workers Union Local 638 (Lancaster, Pa.); Department Store Employees, Local 2; Anonymous (thru H. P. Osborne).

Other $5. Contributions

Martin Isaacs; John Hays; Miss Amanda K. Berls; Alex Tarobic; Mrs. Harry Howard; IWO Branch 3195 (Detroit, Mich.); Club Obrero Espanol, Inc.; Albert Maltz; Anonymous; Lorain, Ohio CIO Council; Robert C. Angell; State, County, Municipal Workers Local 28; Mr. & Mrs. Victor Gettner; Nature Friends of America; Building Service Employees Local 38 (Tacoma, Wash.)

Further contributions of $5.00: Nathan Weinstein; Mrs. J. Robert James; Mrs. Abbie Clement Jackson; Schools Council of Bedford Stuyvesant & Williamsburg; Mrs. Vinetta M. Thompson; Catherine Shinar; Miss Dorothy Baldwin; Rev. J. B. Daniels; IWO Lodge 9 (Brooklyn); Walter M. Nelson; Dr. Gene Weltfish.

Also Rev. M. J. Bane; Miss Camille C. Levy; Lodge 700 IWO (Pittsburgh); Miss Stella N. Guttman; Rev. George L. Paine; Rev. Benjamin W. Arnett; Port Jefferson YWCA (Setoupet, L.I.); Sol J. Selwin; Isidore Shprentz; Henry Platov; Eugene W. Lyman; Glover Hutchins (Phila.); Frank E. Hendun (Phila.).

Also Martha Casamajor; Mrs. Richard Nunn; Dr. Ferdinand Sonnenborn; St. Vincent Benevolent Assn; Philip Dorfman; Miss Elmeta H. Phillips; Miss Rose Lacher; Louis Goldsmith; Missionary Circle, Israel Bapt. Church (Wash., D.C.); James L. Bremer; IWO Lodge 299 (Peabody, Mass.); The Negro Historians (Springfield, Mass.); Kenneth & Katheryn Kuhn; M. S. Williams; IWO Lodge 522 (San Diego, Calif.); Leslie Perry; IWO Lodge 36.

The need for food to keep Africans from starvation in the Union of South Africa continues most urgent, according to direct reports from that country. These reports contradict the assertions of South African officials in New York that "the food shortage problem is being met" and that accounts of starvation in South Africa are "exaggerated."

The Council has prepared a detailed summary of facts on the background and present circumstances of the starvation conditions in South Africa, supplementing reports given in various issues of *New Africa*. Copies of this statement are available free of charge on request.

South Africa was included in Mr. Herbert Hoover's report on the world famine areas requiring grain supplies, although the quota estimate which he indicated was far below the needs of the country. South Africa, like India, is ineligible for aid from UNRRA, not being a war-devasted country.

Although the South African government is itself attempting to purchase food supplies abroad, it took the unparalleled action of charging 25 per cent duty on the canned food which the Council on Affairs collected and shipped to South Africa for free relief distribution. This action has been protested.

The Council wishes to relay the messages of thanks received from South Africa to all those who have contributed either food or money toward relieving the distress of the African people there. It is impossible to overestimate the moral as well as material value of your help. We thank you and welcome your continued aid for the people of South Africa.

Issued May, 1946 by

Council on African Affairs

23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Editorial

THE present period is a crucial one in world history. The future of several hundred million colonial peoples hangs in the balance. Italy's colonies in Africa are on the agenda of the peace settlement. The question of the mandate colonies, and in particular the Union of South Africa's demand for the annexation of South-West Africa, is awaiting decision. The various commissions of the United Nations, many of which must concern themselves with the welfare of colonial peoples, have begun their meetings here in New York City.

This is the time-setting of the June 6 rally sponsored by the Council at Madison Square Garden.

If United States policy in all these matters is to reflect the wishes of the democratic majority of Americans, it is imperative that the voice of the American people be raised sharply at this time in vigorous support of the just demands of African and other colonial peoples for freedom and full democratic rights.

"What is happening is written clear in everyday's headline," writes Ralph Ingersoll in his book, *Top Secret.* "What is clear is that our British partner is still trying to stack the cards so that when they are dealt the Empire will win. The British are stacking them persistently and skillfully so that it will seem to our interests to preserve the British Empire intact and to align ourselves with the British against the Russians where their interests conflict, not only in the Balkans but anywhere else."

This has been only too evident in the sequence of events at the meetings of the U. N. Security Council in New York and of the Foreign Ministers Conference in Paris. While challenging almost every action of the Soviet Union, our government has smiled upon Britain's actions in Indonesia, Greece, and Palestine.

Will our government also smile upon what Britain and the Union of South Africa hope to do in Africa? Africa is the big question-mark in the world scheme of peace or war now being shaped. As Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council, stated recently, "What America does in Africa may determine whether or not there is to be another world war."

Before Big Three unity is further shattered and utterly destroyed, the course of America's foreign policy must be altered by the American people from the direction dictated by Winston Churchill and his fellow reactionaries here and abroad. It must be returned to the course pointed out and pursued by Franklin D. Roosevelt. Unless this is speedily accomplished, the future of the colonial peoples and of all the rest of us is black with disaster.

Let us close ranks and march toward peace and freedom at the Rally on June 6!

Under colonial imperialism, African labor plus Africa's great mineral resources provide super-profits for some few people in Europe and America.

News Notes

NEW DELHI—The British Colonial Office has undoubtedly been flabbergasted by the proposal made last month in the Upper House of the Indian Central Legislature, that the British government transfer the mandate of Tanganyika to India. Pandit Hradayanath Kunzru, in making the proposal, said that this would be extremely advantageous both to the Indians in Tanganyika, who number over 30,000, and the more than 5,000,000 Africans, with whom the Indians have cordial relations.

★

CAPE TOWN, S. A.—The Coloured people of the Cape Province have lost still more of their few remaining rights by the ruling in a test case which disqualified tenants of municipal housing from voting in, or standing for, Municipal Council elections. The government provides low-cost shelter for the people and then takes away their votes.

★

TOLEDO, OHIO.—At their meeting here this month International Labor Office delegates voted to request immediate United Nations help for industrially under-developed regions, as a world peace measure. At a meeting the month before in Mexico City, the I.L.O. at the instance of delegates from Panama, who condemned U.S. Jim Crow practices in that country, registered its condemnation of all forms of racial discrimination.

★

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Church and mission board leaders urged the Senate this month to restore to the State Department Omnibus Bill the provision of $500,000 to continue the work of the United States Economic Mission in Liberia. They emphasized that the failure to complete the port project for Monrovia would mean "a grave threat" to Liberia's future.

★

LAGOS, NIGERIA—Parents here, according to the *West African Pilot,* are complaining bitterly over the rising cost of education for their children. The cost of textbooks and uniforms, as well as school fees, has risen to new high levels. It is pointed out that whereas fees for elementary students were formerly two shillings and sixpence (50c), these have now doubled or trebled. There is no free public education for children in Africa, as in the United States.

★

JOHANNESBURG—Twenty delegates will leave South Africa this month on a Good Will Mission to the Soviet Union, at the invitation of the Soviet government. The members of the delegation are drawn from commerce, industry, sociology, agriculture, the arts, the church and trade unions. They will all be white persons, apparently. It is to be hoped that the delegates will return from their visit with some new ideas regarding racial equality and democracy, and will be able to spread their ideas in South Africa.

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RHODESIA'S FASCIST COLOR BAR EXPOSED BY BRITISH LABOR GROUP

The victimization of Africans by Pass Laws, residential restrictions, and slave-labor practices is found not only in the Union of South Africa. These tyrannical controls are also employed in other areas of East and Central Africa where a minority of white settlers, much fewer in number than in South Africa, have gained complete domination over millions of native Africans.

Southern Rhodesia is an outstanding example of such domination. Conditions in this semi-autonomous British colony are exposed in an article in the April issue of *Empire,* published by the Fabian Colonial Bureau, which is identified with the British Labor Party. The article states:

"Events in Southern Rhodesia provide an awful warning of what can happen when power is handed to a minority. The minority in this country is some 60,000 white people who have been given substantial self-government—with a Prime Minister, Parliament and all the rest of the paraphernalia—while 1,600,000 Africans are denied the most elementary civil liberties and human rights . . ."

The article reviews the history of descriminatory legislation in South Rhodesia: in 1906 the establishment of segregated "Native locations" for all Africans in towns; in 1914 registration of all Africans (pass system); in 1937 further tightening of the pass system; in 1941 establishment of separate land areas for Africans and Europeans, with the latter "disproportionately large and particularly favorably situated"; and in Sept., 1945, further restrictions on Africans in all townships.

The latest legislation in January of this year is described as "a document introducing measures of such blatant racial discrimination as might have graced the statute-book of Nazi-Germany." There follows a description of the measures:

Subject to His Master's Will

"In future any Native servant must live on his employer's premises or in specially set-aside areas of the town. When living on his master's premises, he is subject to his master's arbitrary will . . .

"The Governor is actually empowered to 'prescribe provisions' with which a Native must comply before he may even request his employer to provide accommodation for his wife. This means that the Governor may prescribe onerous working hours or other bad conditions; the workers is compelled to accept them if he wishes his wife to live with him; if he later does not keep these conditions he will be subject to penalties . . .

"Perhaps the most brutal feature in this Act is the scale of penalties laid down for offences against the registration laws. A Native who is absent from the location between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m. may be fined £2 or imprisoned for one month. If a pass or certificate is used by other than the lawful holder, or even if a Native *mutilates* any pass or certificate, he may be fined up to £5 or imprisoned up to 3 months for the first offence or fined up to £10 and imprisoned up to 6 months for the second offence . . .

". . . Britain has the responsibility for safeguarding the African population of Southern Rhodesia against racial discrimination. Nevertheless almost without question we have allowed these discriminatory laws to go through year after year. It is still absolutely within the power of the British Government to refuse Assent to discriminatory laws. There can be no excuse for a Labour Government following without question along the weak paths of its predecessors."

Splendid Program for June 6 Rally

Among those who will speak at the Madison Square Garden meeting on June 6 dedicated to "Big Three Unity for Colonial Freedom" will be Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Representative Hugh De Lacy, R. J. Thomas, Norman Corwin, Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Etukah Okala of Nigeria, and Max Yergan, Executive Director of the Council.

Many celebrated artists and Broadway stars will also participate in the program: the Katherine Dunham Dancers, the Golden Gate Quarter, Canada Lee, Dean Dixon, Betty Garrett, Pearl Primus, Howard Da Silva, Kenneth Spencer, Judy Holliday, Mary Lou Williams and others.

All seats are reserved. Tickets should be purchased immediately. They are available at many central points in Harlem, downtown New York, and Brooklyn, and at the Council's offices. Telephone MUrray Hill 4-6140 for information.

NIGERIANS CHARGE EUROPEANS FAVORED OVER AFRICAN CIVIL SERVANTS

Three years ago a British author, Rita Hinden, wrote in *The Colonies and Us*: "It is no longer good enough to say, 'One day we will Africanize your administrative service—here are two appointments on account.' Instead, we must say, 'We will have 100 (or 500) African administrators in 10 years—here are 100 scholarships for their training'. . . It is important to proclaim our intentions but it is still more important to carry them out within a stated time limit—as irrefutable proof of our sincerity."

The pointed truth of this observation is illustrated by the facts brought out in a recent article by A. Omololu, editor of the African publication, *Nigeria Civil Servant.*

He points out that in 1935, out of 361 officers in the administrative service of Nigeria, only FOUR were Africans and all of these were in the lowest class.

In April 1945, ten years later, out of 370 administrative officers on the permanent staff, only THREE were Africans, all very near the bottom of the scale as usual.

Reviewing the colonial development schemes outlined for Nigeria, the editor notes the numerous high-salaried positions assigned to whites in various departments. In the fisheries development, for example, various posts are listed at salaries from $2,200.00 to $4,800.00 while the senior African in this section is an assistant with a salary of $192.00 a year. The same conditions prevail for appointments in the Marine Division, Rural Water Supplies and other departments.

The scheme for the development of technical education provides for an expediture of nearly $50,000.00 a year on salaries, plus other incidental emoluments, but not a single African has been assigned to this work.

One wonders, in the light of these facts, whether the much-heralded development plans for the British colonies are for the benefit of the colonial subjects or of British job-seekers.

COLONIAL OFFICIALS FOSTER TRIBALISM AS BARRIER TO AFRICAN'S PROGRESS

Colonial officials and their theoreticians, having in mind (whether consciously or not is unimportant) that a divided people are a weak people, always stress the multiplicity of social units among the Africans (as well as Indians and other colonials) and display an anxious solicitude for the preservation of the traditional tribal existence and customs of the people.

The smug hypocrisy of this tender regard may fool some people, but certainly not the Africans. They know that the coming of the white man to Africa, from the age of the slave trade down to the present age of modern imperialism, has automatically meant the corruption and destruction of the Africans' own institutions and way of life.

What the colonial officals really mean is that they want to preserve or promote a certain type of tribal authority and leadership which will (a) unquestioningly obey the bidding of the colonial overlords and assist in such tasks of government as may be assigned; and (b) serve as a foil to the development of any broad mass movement among the people to win democratic rights and political power.

Despite the hand-picked tribal "rulers" and the whole system of "indirect rule" in the colonies, however, Africans are organizing for united action, and the god of tribalism is being exposed as a sham. Here's one illustration:—

"I am a Northern Transvaal African undergoing a course of training at the Cape among Cape Africans better known as Xosas," says the author of a letter in a Johannesburg newspaper.

"During my stay here, I have discovered that there is hardly any difference in their customs and those of other African tribes. All signs go to show that we are one in customs, rituals and rites.

"This immediately raises the question—why perpetuate that hideous dragon called tribalism? Why should we call one another despicably: 'You blanketed Xosa,' 'Cowardly Mosotho,' 'Uncircumcised Shangaan,' and 'Bloodthirsty Ndebele'?

"'We live in enlightened times and we speak of progress; how are we going to achieve progress if we still worship the god of tribalism?"

What answer can the colonial officals and "experts" give to that?

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for May, 1946

46-7-8 Council on A.A.]

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3 June 1946

sent to: W. A. Hunton
Max Yergan

Mr. Paul Robeson
Council on African Affairs
23 West Twenty-Sixth Street
New York City

THE LONDON OFFICE OF THE PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS HAS ASKED ME TO LAY BEFORE YOUR MEETING JUNE SIXTH A TEN MINUTE STATEMENT OF THE PLANS AND OBJECTS OF THE MOVEMENT.stop I REALIZE THE LATENESS OF THIS REQUEST BUT I SHALL BE GLAD IF YOU CAN COMPLY TO PUT THIS STATEMENT BEFORE YOU IN PERSON OR IN WRITING.

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Edgecombe 4-9837
409 Edgecombe Avenue, Apartment 13-H

African Council

[Council on African Affairs]
[June 6, 1946]

DECLARATION ON BIG THREE UNITY AND THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM

An imperialist foreign policy means a reactionary or openly fascist domestic policy for America. Full democratic rights for the Negro people and other minorities in the United States and security for American labor are possible of achievement only insofar as the government of the United States, responding to the democratic will of the people, strives to bring freedom and security to all peoples of the world.

Recent actions on the part of our government in helping to bolster up crumbling European colonial empires in Asia and the Middle East, represent a blow not only against colonial peoples struggling for freedom, but against the American people themselves. The administration's present drive toward taking away labor's rights is not unrelated to the imperialist foreign policy pursued by the Truman administration.

The formation of an Anglo-American bloc opposing Soviet interests in practically every sphere of international affairs menaces the peace and security of the whole world. Only on the basis of the same unity of purpose and action which brought victory over fascism, can the United States and Great Britain, working in concert with instead of against the Soviet Union, achieve victory over the present worldwide hunger and want, and the exploitation of subject peoples and weaker nations, and guarantee a lasting peace.

22-31

This great gathering of American citizens therefore demands that President Truman direct our State Department and our representatives in the United Nations -

1. to use this country's great power and influence for worthy and peaceful ends rather than selfish and war-like purposes;

2. to adhere to the course of friendly and constructive international cooperation charted and pursued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt;

3. to translate into immediate and concrete action the pledges of democratic rights and self-determination for all peoples made by the United Nations and by the heads of our own government;

4. and to demonstrate the sincerity of these pledges by welcoming the colonial peoples into the United Nations family and granting them direct representation and voice in the proceedings of that world organization.

* * * *

Resolution adopted at Madison Square Garden meeting,
sponsored by the Council on African Affairs,
June 6, 1946.

uopwa 19.

Council on African Affairs' Rally

MADISON SQUARE GARDENS

6 JUNE, 1946

FROM W.E.B. DU BOIS

MAY I BRING TO THIS MEETING PERSONALLY AND IN BEHALF OF THE PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS WHICH I REPRESENT, MY GREETING AND CONGRATULATION ON YOUR INTEREST IN AFRICA AND ITS CRYING NEEDS. I HAVE GIVEN LONG THOUGHT AND STUDY TO AFRICA AND ITS PROBLEMS. I AM CONVINCED THE WHOLE COLONIAL SYSTEM BUILT ON THE SLAVETRADE AND AMERICAN SLAVERY, HAS BEEN THE MAIN CAUSE OF THE EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN EUROPE, ASIA AND AMERICA. THIS EXPLOITATION HAS BEEN THE RECURRENT AND PERSISTENT CAUSE OF WAR AND WAR HAS CAUSED THE PRESENT CRITICAL COLLAPSE OF CIVILIZATION. IF THE WORLD WANTS PEACE, IT MUST ABOLISH THE COLONIAL SYSTEM, AND THIS ABOLITION MUST START IN AFRICA. AFRICAN COLONIALISM, EVEN MORE THAN ASIATIC, AND EVEN MORE THAN AMERICAN, LIES AT THE BOTTOM OF THE MODERN WOES OF LABOR THE WORLD OVER. I AM GLAD, THEREFORE, THAT YOU HAVE TAKEN NOTE OF THE PHYSICAL HUNGER IN AFRICA TODAY. I TRUST YOU WILL CONTINUE YOUR EFFORTS AND INCLUDE HELP FOR THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEGRADATION OF THE LAND WHERE HUMAN CIVILIZATION WAS BORN.

46-79

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—in the interest of African freedom and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

Volume 5, No. 6 June, 1946

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"AWAY WITH THE COLOR BAR!" is the cry of these 10,000 Africans parading throught the streets of Johannesburg, South Africa. They demand more and better schools for their children and higher salaries for teachers (some get only $20.00 a month)

COUNCIL URGES UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO ACT ON DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ALL COLONIES

The Council on African Affairs, through its officers, Paul Robeson and Max Yergan, last month called upon the U. N. Commission on Human Rights, of which Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt is Chairman, "to give specific consideration to the flagrant violation of the most elementary principles of human rights" in the Union of South Africa, whereby Africans and other non-white residents of the country are kept in "a status of permanent subserviency to the white or European minority."

The Council's communication, copies of which were sent to all members of the Commission and to Henri Laugier, Assistant Secretary-General for Social Affairs, contained the following three recommendations:

"1. that the United Nations Commission on Human Rights include in its set of principles specific provisions outlawing all such legal forms of social, economic and political discrimination as prevail in the Union of South Africa;

"2. that a subcommission of the Commission on Human Rights be appointed and empowered to investigate and make public its findings regarding the extent to which "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, laguage, or religion" (Article 1, Section 3 of the U. N. Charter) is observed and practiced in all colonial and dependent countries and in other countries, such as the Union of South Africa, where the great majority of the population are barred from exercising citizenship rights;

"3. that the Commission on Human Rights adopt the principle that no state which regularly pursues a governmental policy of racial discrimination shall be eligible to become or remain a member of the United Nations, and that the Commission make recommendation accordingly to the Security Council on the basis of the findings of the subcommission above referred to."

An International Danger

The Council's officers emphasized in their letter that the racial policy and practices of the Union of South Africa were not a matter of local cencern for that country, but rather a matter of *international concern.*

Bearing this out is the fact that only a few weeks ago the government of India reached a formal decision to bring the issue of discrimination against Indians in South Africa to the attention of the United Nations. Dr. Kahre, Commonwealth Relations member of the Indian government, said that the matter would be brought up "at the proper time."

Radiogram from New Delhi, India

Paul Robeson
Council on African Affairs

I send my greetings to mass meeting convened by Council on African Affairs demanding colonial freedom. Without colonial freedom and equal opportunities for all races there is going to be no peace in the world and we shall inevitably drift into another world conflict and disaster.

All those who want to avoid this catastrophe must therefore realize imperative necessity of solving this problem.

Nazism and fascism have been crushed in their homelands but their spirit still continues. In South Africa Indians and Africans are being treated in typical Nazi fashion.

We in India stand for elimination of colonialism everywhere and for racial equality and we join you in your demand.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

South Africa's discriminatory policies, it was emphasized, have spread to other areas of Africa and are a threat to the peoples of the continent as a whole.

The Council's recommendations to the Human Rights Commission and charges against the South African government were amply documented. Attention was called to the fact that several members of the South African Parliament have registered objection to the clauses on racial equality in the United Nations Charter, stating that it was impossible for South Africa to abide by them.

The Commission was also reminded of the fact that General Smuts himself, in addressing the General Assembly of the Union on March 14, 1945, remarked that everybody "except fools" was agreed on "our fixed policy to maintain white supremacy in South Africa."

The following testimony by James B. Leyburn, professor of Sociology at Yale University, was referred to: "There is much evidence to support the contention that discrimination against the blacks in the Union of South Africa is more far-reaching, more cynical, than in any other self-governing country in the modern world."

Discrimination in the Colonies

"Discrimination between the races characterizes all colonial regimes in that large-scale enterprise, industrial, extractive and crop-producing, is controlled by non-native interests and the native peoples provide the labor at very low wages. The problem is seen at its most dangerous in the Union of South Africa where the official policy of "parallelism" includes a legalized color bar.

"South African attitudes have invaded neighboring territories . . . In Southern Rhodesia and in Kenya pass laws are enforced. The native people, 95 per cent of the total population, are restricted to 30 per cent of the poorest land... Varied forms of registration are found in French, Belgian and Portugese colonies." — *from the April* 13, 1946 *issue of* Information Service, *published by the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.*

"Prejudices Legalized"

Among other testimony cited was that of the Right Reverend S. W. Lavis, Coadjutor Bishop of the Anglican Synod of the Province of South Africa, who stated just this year, "Here we find rooted tyrannies which deny human freedom . . . In no other country in the world is it possible for a group to have its own prejudices legalized and turned into a powerful weapon for serving its own interest at the costly harm to some other group."

The Council's letter reviewed the code of laws passed by the South African government to place and keep Africans in a status of permanent subservience. It was pointed out that:

• The Land Acts limit the areas where the African may reside, and restrict his ownership or disposal of property.

• The Pass Laws require the African to carry with him as many as twelve different legal documents, under penalty of arrest for being in any place where he has no right to be. Under the law, an African may be removed "from any place to any other place" for any reason and at any time.

• The Color Bar Act denies Africans the right to work in skilled occupations.

• The Industrial Conciliation Act denies legal recognition to African trade unions.

• Special taxes are applied to the Africans, who are legally barred from representation in the government.

• Acts which are recognized as criminal offenses *only when committed by Africans,* include breach of contract of service, failure to pay tax, failure to produce tax receipt on demand by the police, all breaches of the pass laws, and striking for higher wages.

Concluding the letter to the Human Rights Commission, the Council's officers urged adoption of the three recommendations made, "not only in the interest of the eight million black or brown people in the Union of South Africa and of the many millions more in other sections of Africa where South Africa's vicious racialism has taken root, but also in the larger interest of interracial and international harmony on a worldwide scale."

In the African colonies, the governors hold absolute powers. They have the right of veto and certification issue ordinances, declare emergencies, and call upon the police and military to crush the people's struggle for a better existence.

Without political power in their own hands, it is impossible for the Africans—

- **to remedy the inhuman conditions of labor which bind them in poverty and disease;**
- **to break the strangle-hold on their lives, land, and natural resources exercised by foreign exploiters;**
- **to rise out of illiteracy and add to the great contributions which Africans made to world culture before the advent of the imperialist conquerors;**
- **to live as free men.**

The demand for full responsible self-government within a definitely-stated time limit has been voiced by representative African leaders in the British West African colonies and elsewhere. In colonies such as Uganda a complete system of African government exists, but it is under the supervision of a British colonial regime.

The organization of Africans demanding increased political rights has lately developed at a rapid pace, spurred on by the concepts of freedom and self-determination so frequently expressed during the war.

The people of Africa look to America and the United Nations to fulfill the war-time promises of freedom and democracy for all peoples.

WHY NOT ADMIT COLONIES TO U.N.?

"Colonial countries are backward only in the sense that they have been forcibly held back from developing a modern economy. Many similarly backward countries are today members of the UNO. To prove that their independence is taken for granted in principle, supervised countries should be immediately made members of the United Nations with absolutely equal rights.

"If Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and India can be members of the UNO, there is no reason why other colonies in Asia, Africa and elsewhere cannot become members of the UNO now. This will make supervision a genuine courtesy and really meaningful, showing that the peoples themselves desire it only to speed up the process of their modernization." — *Kumar Goshal, author of "The People of India."*

THESE AFRICANS LOOKING AT YOU are part of a crowd of several thousands who took part in a mammoth demonstration last June in Cape Town, South Africa, calling for abolition of the detested Pass Laws. These laws, applied exclusively to Africans, require them to carry official permits to leave one place of residence or employment, to visit some other place, to look for work in the city, to be out on the streets during certain hours, to certify employment, payment of poll tax, etc. Thousands of Africans are jailed monthly for no other reason than failure to possess one of these passes.

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This is your News of Africa
for June, 1946

THE STAKES FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM IN AFRICA

What Role Will the United States Play?

TODAY Africa is ruled by Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Italy (the latter's territory now under British military control).

It would be a great mistake, however, to consider Africa as only the problem of the European powers who won it. *The United States has important political and economic stakes in Africa, though it holds no colonial territory there.*

General Smuts, who, like his predecessor, Cecil Rhodes, has great plans for Africa—but not for the Africans—not long ago extended the following invitation to American business interests: "Africa holds the key to European peace, because the continent is teeming in wealth, and only awaits American capital . . . Europe and America should come into Africa as joint partners and help in its development but without interference in the existing administration of its territories . . ." Note the "but without interference"; the colonial system is to be left undisturbed.

Hitherto America has been a junior partner of Europe in the exploitation of Africa's wealth, although the millions of American dollars invested in Liberian rubber, Rhodesian copper, South African gold and other resources, represent no small figure.

Monopoly Controls

American corporations are linked with the international cartels which dominate Africa's mineral production. For example, the Anglo-American Corporation, which with its affiliates controls the major part of South Africa's industry, is linked through DeBeers Ltd. to the powerful International Chemical Industries in the United States.

Trade between United States and Africa before the last war, however, was restricted by the trade preference and exclusive rights exercised by the colony-holding powers in Africa. For instance, American exports to Egypt were only 18 per cent of British exports to the same country, and only 12 per cent of British exports to Nigeria.

With Europe under Nazi rule, a large proportion of Africa's trade was diverted to the United States. American tin plate was boiled in African palm oil. Cobalt from the Congo was used in the forging of American high speed machine tools. United States trade with the Belgian Congo alone, in 1944, amounting to $100,000,000, equalled the total value of American exports to all of Africa in 1938.

U.S.—European Rivalries in Africa

The question now is whether these war-time gains in United States-African trade will be cancelled out by the return of the former economic restrictions which are an integral part of the colonial imperialist system.

A member of the State Department responsible for Africa, Mr. Henry S. Villard, said in 1943, "I feel certain that the American principle of equality of opportunity in trade will remain a paramount factor in Africa, applicable in the colonies of whatever nationality."

With the United States the only great power today possessing vast accumulated capital awaiting investment, it can be expected that American economic penetration into Africa will be greatly accelerated.

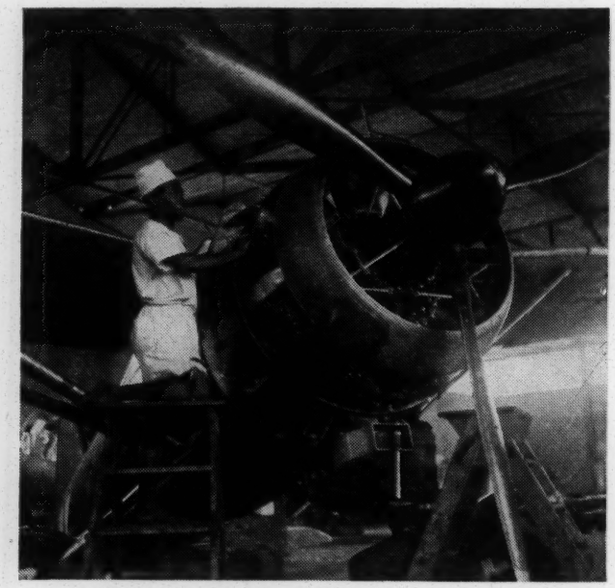
There are already many signs of this, among them being the oil concession in Ethiopia negotiated last year by Sinclair Oil, the new concession to American firms for mineral prospecting in Liberia, and our government's present investments in that country, including the building of a modern port and the establishment of a U.S. military base at Monrovia.

Also worthy of note is the reported arrangement for the United States to receive continued shipments of uranium for making atomic bombs from the large deposits in the Belgian Congo.

The Question of the Mandate Territories

Apart from its economic investments in Africa, the United States has a vital relation to the future of that continent by reason of the decisive role which it plays today in the solution of such questions as the future of the African mandate colonies and of the African Italian colonies. . . . *more* ➞

This?



Or This?

Will America help to continue the colonial exploitation of Africans engaged in primitive, back-breaking and wasteful labor? . . . Or will America help provide the training and opportunity for Africans to take their proper place in the modern, industrial world?

In 1876 Foreign Powers Held Only 10 Per Cent of Africa; In 1946 They Hold 93 Per Cent Under Their Rule

	Area (sq. miles)	*Population*
Under BRITISH Rule		
Colonies	2,603,253	45,000,000
Mandates	727,000	7,000,000
U. of South Africa	472,347	10,000,000
Total	3,802,600	62,000,000
United Kingdom itself is	94,274	46,000,000
Under FRENCH Rule		
Colonies	3,807,784	34,600,000
Mandates	195,0000	3,400,000
Total	4,002,784	38,000,000
France itself is	212,659	42,000,000
Under BELGIAN Rule		
Belgian Congo	899,854	10,500,000
Mandate	20,000	3,500,000
Total	919,854	14,000,000
Belgium itself is	11,755	8,000,000
Under PORTUGESE Rule		
Colonies	799,983	8,700,000
Portugal itself is	34,254	6,000,000
Under SPANISH Rule		
Colonies	133,780	1,100,000
Spain itself is	195,000	24,000,000
Under ITALIAN Rule		
Colonies	889,112	2,600,000
Italy itself is	120,000	41,000,000

Total area under foreign rule (Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia) ..... **10,568,112 sq. miles**
Total area independent ..... **776,000 sq. miles**

Total population under foreign rule ..... **126,400,000** (White: 4,158,000)
Total population independent ..... **27,300,000** (White: 59,000)

A West African Hero of World War II.

In the British West African colonies alone, 1,000 Africans gave their lives and over 3,000 were wounded in World War II. These and other Africans fought—just as Americans did—for FREEDOM.

With the exception of South Africa, which is insisting on annexing its mandate, the mandate powers have indicated their intention of having their "'trust territories" brought under the United Nations trusteeship system. But they have, at the same time, made it clear that they intend to retain sole responsibility for the continued administration of these colonies.

Whether the new trusteeship supervision of the mandates will speed the progress of independence of these territories depends on the terms of the agreements whereby these mandates are transferred to the trusteeship council's jurisdiction.

Included among the agreement terms should be a definite time limit, not to exceed ten years, after which trusteeship gives way to independence. The United States should support such a stipulation in order to guarantee that the trusteeship system does not become an instrument of permanent control over subject peoples, as the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations was.

Moreover, the terms should provide for consideration of the views of the inhabitants in the areas concerned. The native inhabitants of Togoland and the Cameroons have petitioned the United Nations to remedy the cruel and arbitrary separation of these people which resulted from the division of these former German colonies between Britain and France. And the Africans, and most certainly the Indians, of Tanganyika might prefer India rather than Britain as "guardian of the territory.

The Italian Colonies

After extended discussion and numerous proposals and counter-proposals at their last conference, the foreign ministers of the four major powers failed to reach agreement on the disposition of the Italian colonies.

In the discussions, Secretary Byrnes supported Britain on most points. The issues resolved themselves into the right of Britain to retain a dominant position in the Mediterranean area (which it calls its "Empire life line"), as over against the Soviet Union's insistence upon having a position of equal responsibility with the other major powers in this area.

Mr. Bevin made a bid for expanding British Empire control over the entire northeastern corner of Africa, bordered by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. He made the astounding proposal that Britain be granted sole trusteeship authority over the entire Somaliland area, including the French and Italian as well British sections, plus the large Ogaden Province of sovereign Ethiopia.

It should be noted that the Italian colonies and also the Ogaden Province of Ethiopia are still under British military administration. If it is agreed to postpone the settlement of the Italian colonies question for a year or more, as Secretary Byrnes has suggested, it will mean continued British rule in these areas, strengthening the British hold on them.

On the question of the Italian colonies as on the question of the mandates, United States policy, instead of being linked with that of Great Britain in pursuance of Churchill's Anglo-American formula, must adhere to the United Nations principle of self-determination and equality for all peoples.

All Africans Must Be Accorded Democratic Political Rights and Self-Government

While there have been some minor concessions toward a greater degree of African participation in the political life of the French and British territories during the past two or three years, there is yet no evidence of any inclination on the part of the colonial rulers to grant general political rights and authority to the people in the colonies.

The evidence is all to the contrary. The *London Economist,* October 14, 1944, stated, "In Africa the question of universal suffrage has hardly yet arisen . . . For the majority of colonies, universal suffrage must still remain a distant goal. So, too, must the attainment of full responsible government."

Likewise, the *London Times* near the same date, stated editorially, "No British possession in tropical Africa is yet ready to emerge from the colonial stage. . . ." *more* ➟

FACTS ABOUT STARVATION CONDITIONS IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

ON every hand, Americans are being urged to conserve food today in order to help the starving peoples in the famine stricken areas of the world. But seldom, if ever, mentioned in these appeals is the fact that millions of Africans in the Union of South Africa, not to mention other sections of that continent, are suffering hunger and starvation along with the peoples of Europe and Asia.

It is, of course, to the advantage of the government of the Union of South Africa to keep the outside world uninformed concerning the food needs of the eight million Africans resident there. To tell the truth about the situation would necessitate disclosing the fact that the Africans' hunger is the consequence not merely of the severe and prolonged drought there, but of the system of exploitation and oppression which the ruling class among the two million whites in the country has built up for its own profit.

As far back as September 9, 1945, however, the South African Government Information Office in Pretoria stated: "Maize (corn) is going to be much in the news in the next few months —or rather the lack of it—and **the chief sufferers will be the 4,000,000 Natives living in the rural districts who depend solely on maize for their subsistence."** ***(Our emphasis—Ed.)***

Famine in the Reserves

The Natives Reserves are the segregated rural areas in which approximately half the Africans in the Union are confined by the Government. The utter inadequacy of the little land allowed them and the difficulty of providing a bare subsistence for themselves in these crowded reserves makes for chronic hunger. With an exceptionally severe drought destroying both their maize crop and cattle, chronic hunger has been transformed into a famine crisis.

Today, maize—when available—is rationed out by traders to the people in the reserve territories at the rate of ¾ of a pound per person per day. This ration is below 1500 calories. According to nutrition experts, 2200 calories are needed to insure normal growth of children and prevent malnutrition diseases.

To get this ration many Africans have to walk 20 miles or more. Long lines of people wait for hours to get their little supply of food, and too often there is no enough to serve all in line.

Last fall Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, an African leader, stated: "The descriptions of starvation conditions given lately in the *Guardian* are easily corroborated notwithstanding propaganda to the contrary from official circles." (letter to the *Guardian,* a Johannesburg newspaper, November 22, 1945.)

Five months ago, Major Doyle, a member of the South African Government's Maize Control Board, reported: "Five million natives in the rural areas are facing starvation through lack of maize," and that the Africans could not even get their ¾ of a pound daily allowances of maize—not even on the black market. (Reuters dispatch from Johannesburg, January 14, 1946.)

Africans in Cities Also Go Hungry

Africans in the cities, as well as the "poor whites" who make up a quarter of the white population, are also hard hit by South Africa's grain shortage. There are all forms of outrageous black market victimization of these poor people. Bread is rarely sold to them by the whole loaf. A half loaf of bread brings ls. (20c); a thin slice of bread with a small smear of jam on it is often sold for 6d. (11c).

It is frequently impossible for the African to get bread at any price. With the reduction of meal supplies to bakers on

Lena Horne, of Broadway and Hollywood fame, joins the officers of the Council, Max Yergan and Paul Robeson, in appealing for American aid to South Africa's famine victims.

April 1st, a dispatch from Johannesburg to the *London Times* reported: "Hardest hit, by the curtailment, because of their inability to buy satisfactory substitutes, are the poorer sections of the community, particularly the natives, many of whom seeking bread for lunch today walked from shop to shop in vain, because supplies had been sold out earlier."

Despite widespread demands from both Africans and whites, the government has refused to take the one most important step necessary to aid the Africans, namely, adopt nationwide consumer rationing of foods. The various halfway measures introduced to conserve grains do not touch the central problem, which is the ability of those with money to pay the high black market prices for food, leaving none available for the poor people.

Food Needs Must Be Met

The conservative *Cape Times* (equivalent of the N. Y. *Times*) stated editorially on April 3, 1946, "Every single bushel of grain has to be used to the people's advantage if scores of thousands of our people are not to fall into starvation." Without consumer rationing, there is practical certainty of these scores of thousands dying of starvation.

These are the facts about the food shortage in South Africa. These are the facts which South African officials have withheld from the outside world. Yet these facts give only a faint suggestion of the widespread suffering, disease and death. More food supplies *must* be made available for South Africa's black millions.

Through generous responses to a nation-wide campaign which the Council on African Affairs and a Sponsors Committee have conducted during the past six months for South African famine relief, it has been possible for the Council to forward thus far nearly $5,000 and approximately 22,000 cans of food to aid hungry Africans in South Africa.

America must see that Africans, too, are kept from starvation.

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—in the interest of African freedom and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

Volume 5, No. 7 July-August, 1946

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Action on Italian Colonies at Paris Conference is Test of Peace Aims

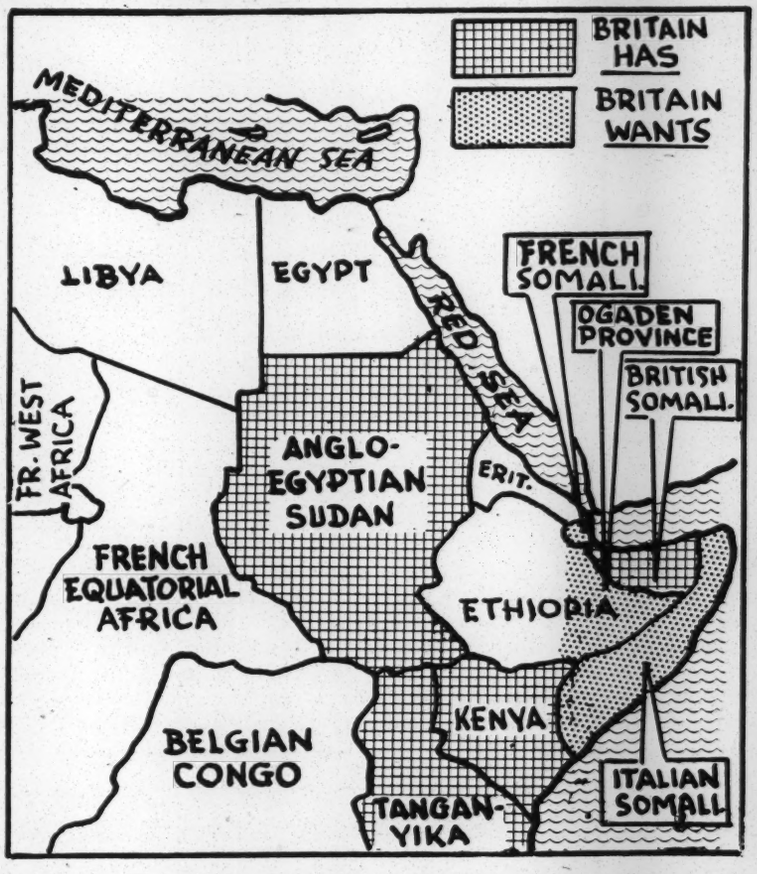
Addressing the House of Commons on June 4th, the British Foreign Minister, Ernest Bevin, said: "I think that Mr. Molotov has been more than unjust in stating that we are trying to expand the British Empire at the expense of Italy and Ethiopia and to consolidate what he calls the monopolistic position of Great Britain in the Mediterranean and Red Sea.

"In all innocence we propose that British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, and the adjacent part of Ethiopia, if Ethiopia agreed, should be lumped together as a trust territory so that the nomads should lead their frugal existence with the least possible hindrance, and there will be a real chance of decent economic life, as understood in that territory. But what attracted Mr. Molotov's criticism was, I am sure, that I suggested Great Britain should be made the administrating authority."

"All I want to do in this case," he declared, "is to give those poor nomands a chance to live . . . that is all there is to it. It is like the Englishman's desire to go into Scotland—to get a decent living." Even staid members of the House of Commons laughed at that.

It is important to remember Mr. Molotov's statement that "These British plans were not criticized by the United States delegation (at the Foreign Ministers' Conference). On the contrary, every proposal which seemed undesirable to Great Britain . . . met with resolute resistance not only by the British but by the United States delegation as well."

And so the question of what to do with Italy's former colonies ended in a stalemate. Decision was deferred.



Terms of Italian Treaty

The draft of the Italian peace treaty, which will be the basis of discussion at the current Paris conference, provides (1) that Italy shall renounce "all right and title" to her former African colonies, (2) that "pending their final disposal, the said possessions shall continue under their present administration" (which means British Military Administration); and (3) that the final disposal of the territories "shall be determined jointly by the governments of the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., U.K. and France within one year of the coming into force of the present treaty."

It is quite possible that the Paris delegates may attempt to resolve this question themselves, as the Ethiopian minister has urged, instead of postponing it for future Big Four decision. But should it be postponed, it remains necessary to challenge very sharply the right and propriety of the British to continue their present rule in the former Italian colonies.

British Military Administration in Eritrea (part of Ethiopia is also still under British control) has been distinctly anti-Ethiopian and pro-Italian. Many of Mussolini's fascist officials still hold important posts in the colony. And every effort has been made to stifle the cry of Eritreans for unity with their motherland, Ethiopia.

The demand of the Emperor Haile Selassie for the return of Eritrea is wholly justified. There is actually no separate Eritrean nation. The economic and cultural interests of the Eritreans and Ethiopians are one. Furthermore, the progress of Ethiopia from semi-feudal backwardness into a developed modern state depends upon breaking through her present landlocked boundaries and getting access to the Red Sea.

The demand for the reunion of Eritrea with Ethiopia is therefore a progressive demand. It is part of the fight against imperialism and for the free development of nations.

The people in all sections of Africa and in other imperialist-dominated lands are watching closely this first test of what kind of Africa and what kind of world the statesmen assembled in Paris intend to promote.

Is Africa to continue to be regarded as merely the pawn and property of foreign powers? If so, there will most certainly be no peace in the world!

GENERAL SMUTS PREPARING TO "PROVE" SOUTHWEST AFRICANS WANT ANNEXATION

A Cape Town dispatch in the South African newspaper, *The Guardian,* sounds the following warning:

"When General Smuts stands at the rostrum of UNO in September to plead before the United Nations the Union's case for the annexation of South-West Africa, he intends to produce evidence that the inhabitants of the territory—both black and white—are unanimous behind him in the move. But he is not so anxious to make public the means he is using to sound non-European opinion.

"This, at the moment, is No. 1 'top' secret in Government circles and the arrangements for the referendum of South-West African Natives are surrounded in a cloud of secrecy. One thing is certain and that is the referendum will be nothing but a gigantic farce that is not likely to hoodwink other nations . . .

"As the Native reserves of South-West Africa are even more closely guarded than those in the Union and well patrolled by police, there is little chance of impartial observers finding out how the referendum is being carried out. In Cape Town the Union Department of External Affairs is directing the referendum activity and refuses to give any information, saying this 'would give away the Government's case.'

"But reports which have been trickling through to the Union show that Africans in South-West are being deliberately kept in ignorance over the whole affair. Many who are just slightly illiterate think the referendum is some new form of pass law and give their assent resignedly.

"It is also alleged that little effort is being made to correct the impression among others that the only alternative to incorporation in the Union is the return to German rule."

Further light on this matter is given in the May bulletin of the South African Institute of Race Relations, an organization which enjoys high offical esteem. The Institute sought to send a delegation to South-West Africa to get the facts regarding the attitude of the Africans toward proposed annexation. It was dissuaded from doing so, the government being "very apprehensive lest these inquiries should confuse the native mind."

The Institute's bulletin expresses the belief that General Smuts will probably have "very rough passage at the UNO meeting. Russia will not be alone in opposing the annexation of South-West Africa, and there may be strong opposition even to the Union being allowed to administer the territory under the Trusteeship Council."

We earnestly hope so. That is precisely what the Council has repeatedly urged.

U. N. URGED TO LOOK INTO ENTIRE SYSTEM OF S. AFRICAN DISCRIMINATION

As forecast in the April issue of *New Africa,* legalized racial discrimination in the Dominion of South Africa has been brought to the attention of the world by the petition recently presented by the Indian government for consideration of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Council on African Affairs in a letter to Herschel V. Johnson, United States delegate to the U.N., has urged "maximum support" of the Indian government's protest.

The letter pointed out that: "Although the Indian Government's petition does not refer to the manifold discrimination against other non-white peoples in the Union of South Africa, it is necessary to view the charges made on behalf of the quarter million Indians in relation to the government's general policy of differentiation between whites and non-whites, a policy which bears most heavily upon . . . the eight million Africans resident in the Union of South Africa.

"The restrictions on property ownership and franchise rights of South African Indians, which form the basis of the Indian Government's present petition, parallel restrictions already enforced against the Africans. This legislation represents the attempt to make segregation and discrimination uniformly applicable to all non-whites, whether Asiatic or African."

It is already apparent that considerable public pressure will be necessary to prevent the Indian petition from being shelved. The imperialist powers do not intend for the United Nations Organization to accept appeals from their colonial subjects, or petitions such as that submitted by the National Negro Congress demanding democratic rights for American Negroes. The people must insist that there be no such evasion of duty.

In South Africa, the Indian resistance movement which began on June 13th in protest against the discriminatory legislation, has resulted in arrests running into the hundreds. The usual sentence given those arrested, including even women, is three of four months at hard labor. Dr. Xuma and other African and Colored leaders have expressed common cause with the Indian's struggle.

★

Demonstration held in Johannesburg, April 4, 1946, against government's Indian Land (ghetto) Bill.

★

Editorial

THE Council on African Affairs, through its chairman, Paul Robeson, has joined with other organizations in making known to President Truman the indignation and horror with which all decent citizens of this country regard the rising tide of anti-Negro violence and lynching, climaxed by the recent cold-blooded murder in Georgia of two Negro men and their wives.

Effective federal action in a case such as this, where local authorities are unable or unwilling to see that justice is done, is obviously and imperatively necessary. What is done about the brutal lynching in Monroe, Georgia, is a test of our government. The steps taken—or *not* taken—to arrest and punish the lynchers are being closely watched not only by Negroes or Americans generally, but also by peoples in Africa, Asia and Europe, wherever they have heard of this hideous crime.

There are, however, some people in Europe and other countries, professional apologists for imperialism, who will be only too glad to see the federal government take no action on the Monroe lynching. These people are spiritual kinfolk of the Bilbos, Rankins and Talmadges, who shout "white supremacy" and are the real instigators of lynchings in the South. While our native fascists protest against federal "interference" in "states rights," the imperialists abroad protest with equal vehemence, on the principle of "national sovereignty," against the United Nations doing anything positive and contructive about the shameful and war-inciting conditions existing in Spain, Indonesia, Palestine, or the Union of South Africa.

But the vast majority of Americans want a *democratic* America, and the vast majority of the people of the world want *peace and freedom.* The task of the hour is for the majority to make its mighty strength count for victory over the minority of reaction.

The lofty speeches of Secretary Byrnes in Paris cannot cancel out the shameful crime of Monroe, Georgia. An apple that is rotten on the inside cannot be a good apple, no matter how fair its exterior. And our nation's foreign policy (i.e, what it *really* does and intends to do in international relations) can be no better than its domestic state of affairs. If our government wants its promises of promoting the welfare of peoples abroad to be taken seriously, it must first guarantee the full protection of the rights and lives of its *own* citizens.

Let the people shout louder and louder until their government heeds and acts—*Justice for the Negro and other minority peoples in America! Justice for all the oppressed peoples of the earth!*

Workers of all complexions march together in a strike at a factory in Capetown, South Africa.

News Notes

FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE—The eighth anniversary of the founding of the Sierra Leone section of the West African Youth League was celebrated on May 10th. A feature of the celebration was the hoisting of the National Flag of West Africa.

Mr. Wallace-Johnson, founder and leader of the Sierra Leone Youth League, was refused travel credentials by London authorities to attend the World Federation of Trade Unions meeting in Moscow.

★

PARIS—The newspaper, *Le Pays,* carried a report on June 23rd of widespread agitation for independence among the four million native people of Madagascar, the 1,000 mile-long island and French colony off the coast of Southeast Africa. The riot broke out on the arrival the new French Governor, General Raoul de Coppet, and demonstrators carried signs reading "Down With France!"

★

MONROVIA, LIBERIA—A recent issue of Monrovia's *Weekly Mirror* carried an editorial praising the work of the Agricultural Mission directed by F. E. Pinder, a Negro agricultural expert lent by the U. S. government to help develop Liberia's food resources. The editorial stated that Mr. Pinder's work had aroused "enthusiasm and hope in the feelings of the man on the farm and the man in the bush whose interests were served."

Liberia was one of the twenty-seven nations officially represented at the July 4th ceremonies marking the independence of the Philippines.

★

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The United States, through the Export-Import Bank, has provided $3,000,000. credit to the Ethiopian government with which to buy needed mechanical equipment in this country. Additional funds are also to be provided for the work of the U.N.R.R.A. mission in Ethiopia.

★

CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA.—The first post-war influx of missionaries took place when 100 missionaries representing twenty-one different denominations arrived here in the middle of May from the United States. They were bound for Uganda, Tanganyika, French Equatorial Africa and other parts of the continent.

★

DAR ES SALAAM, TANGANYIKA — A British film made with the cooperation of the Ministry of Information, entitled "Men of Two Worlds," had its premier showing at a small theatre in this city in July. The film portrays the life of a British District Commissioner in Tanganyika, and will presumably be used to interest more Britons in entering the colonial service.

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BREAD RATIONING IS FINALLY INTRODUCED IN SOUTH AFRICA— AFRICANS AS USUAL PENALIZED

At long last, the months-old campaign of the South African masses, black and white, for food rationing, has brought results. It was announced in May by Dr. H. J. van Eck, the government's new Director of Food Supplies and Distribution, that bread rationing would be put into effect within three months.

[Great Britain, with a population four times that of South Africa, started bread rationing on July 21st. The daily ration of bread for adult Britons is 9 oz; in South Africa it will be 8 oz. or, as alternatives, 6 oz. of wheat meal or 10½ oz. of mealie (corn) meal.]

The South African rationing scheme is supposed to apply equally to all inhabitants regardless of color. But there are two strikes against the African at the very outset. In the first place, the rationing scheme will not be enforced in rural areas, where large sections of the African population in the reserves suffer hunger, but only in the main urban areas.

In the second place, the rationing scheme for Africans will be linked with the hated pass system. Ration books will be issued to them only if they have the proper passes. According to Dr. van Eck, this will tighten up the control of all unregistered and unemployed Africans within the cities. Those without proper pass credentials will be unable to get ration books for bread or mealie meal and will consequently have to starve or leave the city. (And starve elsewhere, we presume.)

ARE THE BANTU REALLY HUNGRY!

"All this soft-pedalling about the Bantu need must have the effect of drying up the concern and charity which seems to be urgently necessary in the present crisis. . . . Topi and Mfana are hungry today, and their gaunt mother has not the daily bread with which to feed them. . . .

"The immediate task is to give (them) food, to send food to the reserves, in spite of all the protestations of officialdom, to give food to the Bantu in town, where they are often fainting for lack of it. . .

"Let us stoutly nail the lie that the Bantu are not hungry. They have been hungry, by and large, for decades, ever since the reserves filled up and their soil faded out."—Jessie Hertslett writing in the South African magazine *Common Sense,* June, 1946.

WAGE INCREASES DEMANDED

"If the authorities continue to refuse to even listen to representations made peacefully by our Union, I'm afraid there can only be one result," said Mr. J. B. Marks, President of the African Mine Workers' Union in South Africa, last May, when the workers' demands for a minimum daily wage of $2 and improved rations still remained unanswered.

Since then, spontaneous one-day protest strikes have occurred at gold mines all over the Transvaal. With food and living costs constantly mounting higher, the African workers' daily wages of 50c or less a day, pegged down by agreement among the mine operators who comprise the Chamber of Mines, are hopelessly inadequate.

As pointed out in the May issue of *New Africa,* African railway and harbor workers are likewise demanding a $2 minimum daily wage.

At the end of June, 1400 African employees of the Union Steel Corporation not only went on strike but picketed the plant.

African National Congress Thanks and Endorses Council

The Council on African Affairs has received a cable from Cape Town, South Africa, noting the action of the African National Congress in session there adopting a resolution expressing "sincerest gratitude for assistance given by Council African Affairs in the recent distress in Ciskei."

The resolution also thanked the officers of the organization, Paul Robeson and Max Yergan, "for the great stand your Council is taking on behalf of Africans who have implicit trust in your representation of their case in world councils which they themselves are barred from attending. Peace is impossible when millions suffer gross injustice."

Another communication from the African Food Fund in Cape Town, July 5th, expressed "sincere appreciation" for the "very valuable assistance given by the Council on African Affairs to the relief campaign."

"The African people," the letter stated, "are profoundly moved by the help given to them and the solidarity shown to them from the United States, through the activities of your organization. It is not only that the food and finance are of immediate help, but it is a great encouragement to know that the struggle against South Africa's colour bars and cruelly discriminatory legislation has roused opinion in America."

NEARBY B'KLYN AND DISTANT PANAMA ADD TO FAMINE RELIEF FUND

We wish to thank the officers and members of the Women's Voters Council of Brooklyn for that organization's splendid work in raising $233.10 for South African famine relief. Mrs. Margaret V. Brown is president of the Council and the organization's welfare department, which organized a church meeting in the interest of food relief, is headed by Mrs. D. M. B. Mdodana. She and her husband are both from South Africa and gave the main impetus to collection of funds. A further contribution of $200.00 has been pledged by the organization.

Also meriting special notice and thanks is the contribution of $132.50 raised by the *Panama Tribune* in Panama, and sent in by Sidney A. Young, editor of that paper.

Other large contributions received for the African Famine Relief Fund since our last report in the May issue of *New Africa* include $159.94 from Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr. of the St. John's Congregational Church, Springfield, Mass.; $100. from the Progressive Baptist Church, Berkeley, California; and an additional contribution of $400. from the relief committee in Nassau, Bahamas, headed by Mr. Bert A. Cambridge.

AFRICAN VOW TO BURN PASSES; COMMISSION TO STUDY LAWS

A new stage in the campaign against the pass laws of the Union of South Africa was reached when delegates to the second National Anti-Pass Conference, held in Johannesburg in June, agreed that, within three months, a day of national stoppage of work would be organized and passes burned.

The conference, under the chairmanship of Dr. A. B. Xuma, President of the African National Congress, further instructed Africans in the Cape Province to refuse to register for passes or cooperate otherwise in the extension of the pass laws, as from July 1.

These proposals bring to mind the militant action of the A.N.C. back in 1925 when African women marched through the street of Johannesburg without passes in defiance of the law that they should carry them. Arrests were made, but the A.N.C. fought the case through the courts and won.

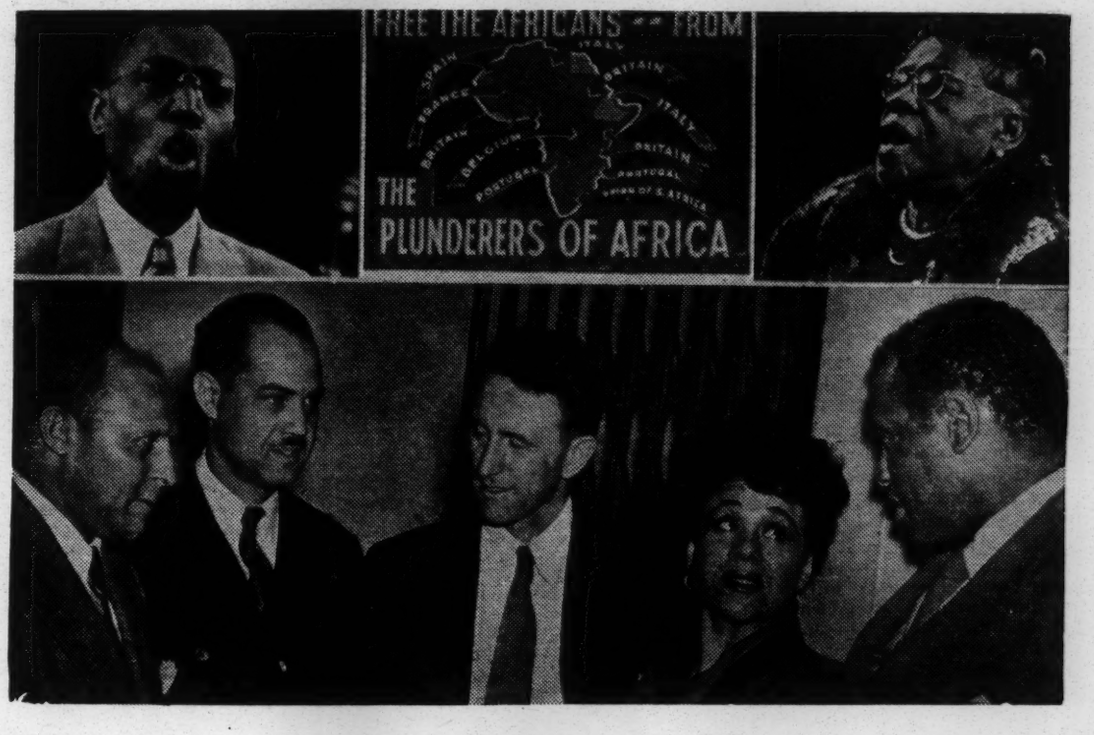
Linking the Africans' anti-pass campaign with the Indians' passive resistance movement protesting residential segregation, the Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr. D. Singh, pledged the Anti-Pass Conference every possible "physical, financial and moral support from Natal. The Indian people are themselves engaged in a similar struggle for rights."

Meanwhile, the Government, which last year refused to receive a petition demanding abolition of the pass laws, signed by several hundred thousand Africans and their supporters, has at least responded to the people's pressure to the extent of appointing a judicial commission to investigate the pass laws, migratory labor system on the mines, and the operation of the Urban Areas Act.

However, as a N.Y. *Times* dispatch of June 23 states, "months must elapse before the commission reports and in the meantime the demand for the abolition of the pass laws has become the battle cry of the native population."

Women in the of South Africa's "locations" where Africans are permitted to live, stand in long lines waiting hours for a little food to be distributed to them.

"We are still waiting for the first European power in Africa to declare that its African subjects may exercise the right of self-determination and achieve self-government in the next ten years, the next twenty years, or even the next 100 years!"



The mass meeting held by the Council on Africans Affairs at Madison Square Garden, New York, in June, marked a new high level of American interest and action on behalf of Africans. The audience of 15,000 Negroes and whites enthusiastically endorsed the demands for African freedom.

Pictured above are a few of the principal participants in the program: Etukah Okala of Nigeria (top, 1.) and Mary McLeod Bethune (top, r.). Also (lower group, 1. to r.) Max Yergan, Executive Director of the Council; Judge Hubert T. Delany; Congressman Hugh DeLacy; Katherine Dunham, who presented dances with her company; and Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, principal speaker.

Messages of greeting and support for the Colonial Freedom Rally were received from Jawaharlal Nehru (text printed in June issue of *New Africa*) ; Louis Saillant, Secretary-General of the World Federation of Trade Unions; Leonard Barnes, noted British economist and author of several books on colonial affairs; Senator Harley M. Kilgore, liberal leader of the U. S. Senate; Dr. A. B. Xuma, President General of the African National Congress in South Africa; Ken Hill, Vice Chairman of the Trades Union Congress of Jamaica, B.W.I., and many others.

The resolutions adopted at the rally have been sent to the appropriate officials, and copies have been forwarded to scores of organizations of all types throughout the country with the request that their support of these demands be made known to the governments and United Nations representatives concerned.

There has been gratifying response to this request from several organizations. The New England Baptist Missionary Convention, headed by the Reverend Dr. W. T. Hayes, embracing approximately one million Baptists, has endorsed and pledged support of the Council's program.

Main Points of Resolutions

The meeting urged President Truman to direct the State Department and U.S. representatives in the U.N. "to translate into immediate and concrete action the pledges of democratic rights and self-determination for all peoples made by the United Nations and by the heads of our own government; and to demontrate the sincerity of these pledges by welcoming the colonial peoples into the United Nations family and granting them direct representation and voice in the proceedings of that world organization."

The "Charter for African Freedom" adopted by the gathering called for:

- "A just settlement of the disposition of the Italian colonies, with full recognition of Ethiopia's territorial and reparation claims, and absolute rejection of the efforts to extend Britain's imperialist control over northeast Africa."
- African colonies of Spain and Portugal to be brought directly under U.N. supervision.
- Voice for peoples of mandate territories in making new trusteeship arrangements, and a specified time limit on all trusteeships "so that such jurisdiction shall be clearly understood to be simply a transition to full independence."
- An end to the present exploitation of African resources and labor, and provision for full trade union rights and rapid economic and social advancement for Africans.
- "Immediate exercise of full democratic rights, and political self-determination within a definitely-stated time limit, for the peoples of every African dependency."

Action on Union of S. Africa

With respect to the Union of South Africa, the meeting went on record demanding:

- that the Union of South Africa immediately abolish the pass laws, residential restrictions, color bar and other discriminatory measures now in force and that it provide adequate land for the African population to prevent further starvation;
- that the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations adopt the recommendations of the Council on African Affairs, calling for investigation and exposure of violations of the principle of racial equality in the Union of South African and other countries, to be followed by recommendation to the Security Council for expulsion of countries found guilty of persistent violations;
- that the United States and the United Nations not only should refuse the South African Dominion's request for annexation of the mandate territory of Southwest Africa, but should revoke the Union's jurisdiction over that territory and should bar its participation in the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations on the ground that the Union of South Africa is grossly unqualified to act as a colonial trustee.

CROWD OF 200,000 MOURNERS AT FUNERAL OF HERBERT MACAULAY

One of West Africa's greatest sons died on May 7th at the age of 81 in his home at Lagos, Nigeria. Mr. Herbert Samuel Heelas Macaulay, member of the Society of Arts and graduate of the Royal Institute of British Architects, was a renowned political leader, journalist, scholar and historian. He was the grandson of the late Bishop Crowther, first African bishop of Nigeria.

He was the founder of the Nigerian National Democratic Party, an organizer and staunch supporter of the National Congress of West Africa, and President of the more recently established National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, an organization of great power and wide influence among millions of West Africans.

Mr. Macaulay had a leading role in many of the great struggles for African rights, dating back to the beginning of the century. The introduction of the West African Court of Appeal, the fight for the franchise, the Apapa land case, and the fight on behalf of Prince Eleko, were a few of the causes which had his support. He was twice imprisoned.

The funeral of Mr. Macaulay held at Lagos was attended by a throng estimated at 200,000 people, the largest assemblage ever to pay tribute to any man in West Africa. Representatives of many of the Provincial African rulers took part in the procession.

In a stirring funeral oration, Mr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Secretary of the National Council of Nigeria, declared that Mr. Macaulay had inspired millions to look forward to a new life.

"Let us erect a monument on this hallowed spot," he said, "as a fitting climax to his glorious life, so that this chapter in our national history, which is now closed, will open a new page in our onward march toward the crystallization of the new Africa."

AMERICANS DISCUSS LIBERIA'S FUTURE

Negro leaders gathered at Howard University, Washington, D.C., on July 26th to discuss Liberia's present and future and to plan American participation in the centennial exposition of Liberian independence, which is scheduled to open on July 26, 1947 at Monrovia, capitol of Africa's only self-governing republic.

In a symposium on the status of the African republic, Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director of the Council on African Affairs, said Negroes could not support any Liberian oligarchy that failed to serve the masses. "It must be true," he said, "that any Liberian government must stand or fall by the democratic nature of its government."

Dr. Yergan praised the electoral and land reforms introduced by President William V. S. Tubman and declared that the U.S. State Department and foreign offices of other governments in their relationship with Liberia, "must represent the common people and not the plunderers whom they have represented in the past."

Others participating in the symposium included Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, and Mr. Clare Timberlake of the African section, U. S. State Department.

The conference was arranged by the Liberian Centennial Commission, Mr. Hilyard R. Robinson, Technical Director.

This man is Arnold Adams, a West African merchant seamen. He got lodged in a jail in Durban, South Africa, because he stood up for his rights. He is wearing the prison garb, a Hessian shirt, given all non-white prisoners (white prisoners had shoes, a cap, and khaki shirts and shorts).

This man was taken off his ship by Durban police and, after a perfunctory hearing, sentenced to seven days at hard labor, with no option of fine. What had he done? He had protested to the ship's officers concerning the failure to provide clean blankets for the Negro crew members after several months at sea, and concerning the filthy Jim Crow quarters to which they were assigned in Durban while the ship underwent fumigation.

The magistrate who sentenced him remarked that Adams "should learn to respect white people" and not consider himself their equal.

In the Durban jail this man was confined with six others in a cell twelve feet square. Their bed was the cement floor.

BRITISH PARLIAMENT TALKS ABOUT FUTURE OF FAR-FLUNG COLONIES

On July 9th, when the question of estimates for the Colonial Office came up in the House of Commons, one of those infrequent and desultory Parliamentary discussions on the British colonies took place. As usually happens, most of the members absented themselves and at one point during the discussion there were only about twenty in their seats.

Part of the statement by Mr. George Hall, State Secretary for Colonies, was obviously directed to the American press, which carried such headlines as "Commons Told Colonial Policy Seeks Self-Rule."

Mr. Hall did indeed say, "Every effort was being made to accelerate progress toward self-government." But he was quite vaque as to just *how* this was being done, nor did he mention that the people of the Gold Coast, Nigeria and other British Colonies in Africa as well as elsewhere were quite dissatisfied with the limited constitutional reforms lately introduced.

Contradicting the statement just quoted, and speaking more directly for the benefit of his immediate audience, Mr. Hall said at the close of his remarks, "Without great improvement in basic economic conditions, few of the colonies could be expected to show substantial social or political progress." This latter statement brought forth cheers from the few members present in the chamber.

Emphasis on Economic Development

The greater part of the Colonial Secretary's speech dealt with economic and commercial matters in the colonies. He was much more specific in his discussion of the ways whereby the colonies might contribute larger quantities of raw materials to the well-being of the United Kingdom. He particularly emphasized the importance of strengthening "the connecting link between London and the colonies," and this entailed, he said, preserving colonial preference arrangements in trade with the colonies "unimpaired." This statement also elicited cheers.

Dissatisfaction with Mr. Hall's views was expressed not so much by Churchill's Tory followers as only some of the more plain-speaking Laborites themselves. They pointed out, among other things—

- that there was no evidence that the Labor Party was doing anything new in colonial affairs and development. Could they not realize that these colonial peoples were capable of a great cultural and economic development, and could we not help them to go forward to those ends?
- that it was desirable that advance in measures of self-determination should go along with measures for economic rehabilitation, but there did not seem to be a path of constitutional advance to which the various steps conformed.

One member, Mr. Rankin (from Glasgow, not Mississippi) remarked that one of the prime causes of poverty in the colonies had not been given much attention. He referred to the reports of commercial companies which revealed low wage rates paid to native labor.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

P. L. & R. 562

This is your News of Africa
for July-August, 1946

[COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS]

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August 14, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40 Street
New York City 18

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I telephoned your office today to let you know that the Council on African Affairs will be glad to cooperate in the proposal outlined in your letter of July 24th, and that we are prepared to send a representative to a meeting which may be called in August to consider the proposal set forth in your letter.

Further, I left word with your secretary that our Executive Committee has instructed me to confer with you at the earliest possible moment relative to the general situation with which you deal in your letter. I shall be glad to do this at your convenience. I recall that aftef our Madison Square Garden meeting it was our hope that we could have lunch, or find some other time, to discuss matters relative to Africa in which we are mutually interested.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Max Yergan
Executive Director

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New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

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Volume 5, No. 8 September, 1946

African Mine Workers Stage Greatest Strike in South African History; Police Shoot Down Strikers, Force Them Back to Work at 40c a Day Wages

Something historic happened in the Union of South Africa during the week of August twelfth. The white ruling class of that country, accustomed to riding contentedly along on the backs of its black workers, was given a sudden and upsetting jolt. It happened when an estimated 200,000 African mine workers employed in the gold fields around Johannesburg walked off their jobs in the greatest strike the country had ever seen.

Government authorities, after ignoring petition after petition from the African Mine Workers Union, intervened with a vengeance—on the side of the mine owners and operators—when the strike broke on the morning of August 12.

Truck loads of armed police by the thousands were rushed to the mines. Police broke up meetings and demonstrations of the workers, made wholesale arrests, chased and rounded up those who refused to work, and forced them with bayonets and rifles back down into the mines.

Simultaneously, the police raided and ransacked the offices of the African Mine Workers Union and the Council of Non-European Trade Unions in Johannesburg. Mr. J. B. Marks, African head of the Mine Workers Union, and other labor leaders and strike supporters were arrested.

A South African Gold Mine Worker — one of 350,000

All in all, the police performed a brutally thorough strike-breaking job for the Chamber of Mines. In a period of six days at least thirty of the strikers, according to one source, were shot down or otherwise killed and uncounted hundreds were beaten and seriously injured.

"The African mine strike has revealed the face of Fascist South Africa in all its ugliness," states a South African magazine. "Scenes have been witnessed reminiscent of Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy—trade union leaders arrested, police bands swooping down on trade union headquarters and removing files, pamphlets and printing machinery, a ceaseless stream of propaganda intended to rouse the maximum of fear and race prejudice, and to cap all, an actual exaltation and glorification of brutality as 'strong measures'."

Prime Minister Smuts had the audacity to call the strike the work of "agitators." He declared the workers had no real grievances. *These are some of the all-too-real grievances which caused the African mine workers to go on strike:*

- *They are compelled to live in prison-like, walled in compounds, twenty to eighty men in a room, sleeping on bare concrete cement bunks in some cases.*
- *They are given, against their pay, food which at its best is unappetizing and which is often so bad that the workers have gone on hunger strikes.*
- *They are separated from their families for the long periods of their work contracts, incur occupational diseases in the mines, and then are discharged and sent back to their homes as physical wrecks.*
- *For a work-day of ten to fourteen hours the African worker receives 2s. (40c) for surface work and 2s. 3d. (46c) for underground work. Except for a recent increase of a few pennies, these are the same wages the workers received forty years ago. The workers demand a minimum daily wage of 10s. ($2.00).*

It is a token of their desperation, courage and proletarian development that these workers planned and executed their great strike in the face of legal prohibitions against Africans exercising normal trade union rights, and despite their employers' spy system, general intimidation and exploitation of tribal differences among the workers. These workers have not been cowed. They are not defeated.

"After living through last week, of one thing I am sure," says a writer in the South African *Guardian*, reviewing the strike.

"There will be no return to the 'normal' so desired by the wealthy and so hated by the oppressed and downtrodden people of our country. The African mine workers have opened a new chapter in our history. They have lit a flame of freedom that will never be put out.

"The days ahead will no doubt be hard for those who defied the mine owners' dictatorship that has revealed itself as the real government of South Africa. The miners' strike was more than an industrial battle—it was a blow for African freedom and a democratic South Africa."

NEW LIGHT ON THE FRENCH COLONIES— BRAZZAVILLE DECISIONS CRITICIZED

In a recent speech in the French National Assembly, Henri Lozeray, Communist Member, Vice President of the Overseas (Colonial) Commission, gave the conditions of the democratic and progressive policy which the Communist Party would like to see applied in France's colonies. His observations are fully pertinent to British and other colonial territories in Africa. He said:

The Communist Party, which has so often denounced French colonial policy, gives its full support to a policy of rational and bold development, with the condition that this development is made in the interests of the native population.

A big effort should be made to industrialize these countries. Industrialization has, until now, been delayed by considerations alien to the real interests of the people, as, for instance, the fear of a black proletariat.

Technical and economic backwardness must be overcome as quickly as possible and, in order to do this, we must make efforts not only in the economic field, but also in the social field.

Monopolies Stifle Development

But we must clearly realize that neither economic nor social reforms can be put into practice if the trusts are still predominant, which in these territories, more perhaps than in the Mother Country, have managed to monopolize all forms of economic activity.

In the whole of French Africa, a very small number of companies have, in the same way, managed to retain the monopoly of trade of colonial products, but they are interested in production itself only incidentally.

The result is very serious backwardness and an unbalanced economy. Seeking to realize rapid profits with the minimum of expenditure, these colonial companies are interested in absorbing the products of native traders or of plantations established on cheap concessions and in which native workers are compelled to work under extremely bad conditions. . . .

It is regrettable that at the Brazzaville Conference [Feb., 1944] all these questions, including the suppression of the Trusts, were not taken up.

Colonial Self-Determination Affirmed

Nor was this the only mistake made at this conference, a conference which some people would like to represent as the decisive step for a progressive overseas French policy.

The first of its recommendations starts as follows: "The aims of civilization pursued by the French policy in the colonies set aside all idea of autonomy, all possibility of evolution outside the French Empire. The eventual constitution of self-government, even in the future, is to be set aside."

But unity is inconceivable and, above all, it can never be lasting if it is not freely accepted on both sides.

No political federation can be solidly constituted if each country has not shown its desire to be a part of the federation. . . .

As regards social questions, the Brazzaville recommendations show the same desire to interfere without taking into account the point of view of the people. They foresee the maintenance of traditional institutions, a very complex and delicate question. We must be careful not to maintain the traditional institutions which are reactionary, feudal, and help us to maintain a subjection which has already lasted too long. . . .

African Leaders Are Prevented from Voicing Objections to Annexation of South-West Africa

There is mounting evidence, supplementing that presented in the last issue of *New Africa,* that the government of the Union of South Africa is determined to prevent any unfavorable expression of African opinion regarding the proposed annexation of South-West Africa by the Union from coming to the notice of the United Nations or the outside world.

Africans in the mandate territory of South-West Africa, in the adjacent British protectorate of Bechuanaland, and in the Union itself, are strongly opposed to the South-West Africa grab for which General Smuts proposes to ask when the United Nations General Assembly meets. But, naturally, the Prime Minister is not very anxious to have his plea exposed to ridicule by the testimony of this opposition.

So it is not surprising to learn that those who want to present such testimony are finding it impossible to get permission to leave Africa.

First, there is the case of the five African leaders in South-West Africa, one of them a chief of the Hereros, who recently wrote as follows to the *Guardian,* liberal Cape Town newspaper:

"The Africans of South-West Africa as a whole are not in favor of being incorporated and subjected to the Boer rule of *prejudice and colour bar.*

Travel Permit Denied

"We have already sent a cable to New York, but we do not know if it has been received. In addition we wanted to send representatives from our people, but were not successful as the Government would not grant them a permit. It is not our wish that a white man should represent us.

"We demand that a black representative should state our case to U.N.O., or, failing that, that U.N.O. should send a commission to South-West Africa to investigate."

Next to be cited is the case of 40-year old Chief Tshekedi Khama, Regent of the Bamangwato, whose territory covers about half of Bechuanaland, a British colony (High Commission Territory) larger in size than France.

Bechuanaland, like Ethiopia, is a land-locked country, hemmed in on the north, east and south by the Rhodesias and the Union of South Africa, and on the west by South-West Africa. While controlled by a British High Commissioner, appointed from London, the colony is in large measure dependent upon and dominated by the Union of South Africa. The South African government's imperialist expansion aims include not only South-West Africa but also Bechuanaland and the other two British commission territories, Swaziland and Basutoland, which are likewise encircled by the Union.

Chief Tshekedi Khama was authorized by the other five Chiefs of Bechuanaland to represent them and the people of that country in making known to the British government in London and to the United Nations the fact that they were firmly opposed to the annexation of South-West Africa by the Union of Souh Africa.

To carry out this mission, Tshekedi, although a ruler of his people, had first to get the consent of the British High Commissioner to travel abroad. This was refused. It was held that the question of South-West Africa was none of Tshekedi's business!

Bechuanaland's Stake in South-West Africa

The people of Bechuanaland look forward to the economic development and independence of their land. To achieve these aims and to escape from South Africa's domination, Bechuanaland must secure free access to the sea through its western neighbor, South-West Africa. But so long as that territory continues under the Union government's jurisdiction, Bechuanaland will remain imprisoned and helpless.

The Council on African Affairs has recently received a copy of the detailed document setting forth the stand of the Bechuanaland Chiefs and prepared for direct presentation to the London authorities. The document was forwarded with the request that the Council aid in bringing the case of Bechuanaland to the attention of America and the world.

The Chiefs contend that the incorporation of South-West Africa in the Union of South Africa "will ultimately lead to the incorporation of Bechuanaland itself . . . would mean economic ruin for Bechuanaland and the native tribes of the territory, because of the increasingly restrictive legislation in the Union affecting natives, and because this legislation is a direct negation of one of the fundamental principles of the San Francisco Charter."

"We urge," the document states, "that South-West Africa should be kept a separate entity from the Union of South Africa for all time in view of that government's declared policy of racial discrimination."

"The Colonial System Means War"—F. D. R.

IT IS most instructive to compare what is going on in the world of international diplomacy today with the plans which the late President Roosevelt had in mind for guaranteeing a really stable and lasting peace. A central requirement for such a peace, in his view, was the *liquidation of the colonial system.* His thoughts on the subject, hitherto known to the world only in general terms, are now brought to light at a most opportune moment in a forthcoming book written by the President's son, Elliott Roosevelt, entitled "As He Saw It," a condensed version of which has appeared in recent issues of *Look* magazine.

When the President went to Africa for the Casablanca Conference, we are told, he saw the immense possibilities of the great continent if only *development* could replace *exploitation.* Imperialists, he said "robbed this continent of billions—and all because they were too shortsighted to understand that their billions were pennies, compared to the possibilities! Possibilities that must include a better life for the people who inhabit this land. . . ."

"The colonial system means war," the President told his son. "Exploit the resources of an India, a Burma, a Java—take all the wealth out of those countries but never put anything back into them—and all you're doing is storing up the trouble that leads to war. . .

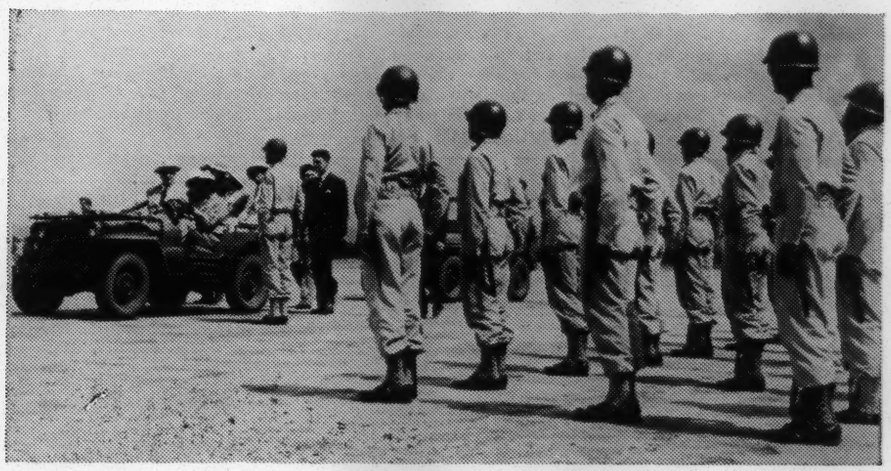
"The Big Four—ourselves, Britain, China, the Soviet Union—will be responsible for the peace of the world when we've won the war. These powers will have to assume the task of bringing education, raising the standards of living, improving the health conditions—of all the backward, depressed colonial areas of the world. And when these areas have had the chance to reach maturity, they must have the opportunity extended them of independence—after the United Nations as a whole have decided that they are prepared for it.

"If this isn't done, we might as well agree that we're in for another war."

At the conclusion of the Casablanca Conference, President Roosevelt said, "I've tried to make it clear to Winston [Churchill] that while we're their allies, they must never get the idea that we're in this war just to help them hang on to archaic, medieval empire ideas. I hope they realize, after we've won, that we're not going to sit by and watch their system stultify the growth of every country in Asia and half of Europe."

That was 1943. In 1946 we find the government of the United States—no, not sitting by and watching—but actively aiding and even leading the way in the perpetuation of imperialism. The forced resignation of Henry Wallace because he challenged this policy must awaken the American people to full awareness of the frightful consequences of the Administration's present aggressive foreign policy.

Let it be shouted from the house tops for President Truman and Secretary Byrnes, and Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin to hear and heed: *"The colonial system means war."*



On his return from Casablanca in 1943 President Roosevelt stopped off in Liberia to review American Negro Troops stationed there.

News Notes

PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA—One of the many repercussions from the smashing of the mine workers' strike was the unanimous decision of the Native Representative Council to adjourn indefinitely "as a protest against the government's breach of faith toward the African people." Members of the Council told the government they were no longer prepared to continue the farce of attending a "parliament" to which no one listened. The government's refusal to recognize and negotiate with African trade unions, and the brutal treatment of the mine strikers, were sharply condemned.

★

NAIROBI, KENYA—A party of seven Africans from Kenya made a six weeks visit to England during the summer. They conferred with officials of the Colonial Office and were invited to tea with the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace. Included in the group were three Chiefs and Mr. Eliud W. Mathu, first African nominated to the Kenya Legislative Council.

★

ADDIS ABABA—The Soviet Union has sent a special medical mission to Ethiopia to aid in the reorganization of the public health service there. The mission will be responsible for establishing a general hospital and outpatients clinic in Addis Ababa. A medical college will also be set up to train Ethiopians locally, after which they will go to the Soviet Union for advanced medical study. Large quantities of medical equipment have been shipped from the Soviet Union to Ethiopia.

★

PARIS—The question of South Africa's discrimination against Indians was raised at the Peace Conference last month by the Ukrainian delegate, Mr. Manuilsky, in response to the Australian delegate's reference to South Africa as (belief it or not!) a model example of the treatment of minorities.

★

LAGOS, NIGERIA—During the past four months a delegation of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons has covered 7,500 miles and visited over sixty towns and cities, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Acting President of the National Council, reports. Over £5,000 was collected for the work of the Council, which is in the forefront of the Nigerian people's struggle for democracy and self- government.

★

SOUTHERN RHODESIA—Not all the so-called "witch doctors" in Africa are Africans. A European here by the name of P. A. Britz was lately arrested for offering bottles and packets of powder, crushed shells, herbs, fish and a large wooden crocodile to African women clients who consulted him about loss of goats, barrenness, and other problems. The European, in keeping with the double standard of justice for whites and blacks, was let off with a suspended sentence.

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At Least He Is Frank About It!

Imperialism wears many masks and has various falsetto voices. But at unguarded moments one can occasionally see and hear it for what it really is. One such moment occurred when a white member arose at a recent session of the Legislative Council of Tanganyika (a colony inherited by Britain from Germany in East Africa) and said:

"The wealth is there for men of intiative to take—vast hordes of it in gold, diamonds, coal, manganese, nickel and lead, thousands of tons of it. What is the government doing to help the man of initiative who, with the very able help of our Mines Department staff, will prove this wealth and where possible exploit it?"

Quoted in East Africa and Rhodesia, July 11, 1946.

GOLD COAST LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL HAS 21 AFRICANS OUT OF 31 MEMBERS

The new Legislative Council of the Gold Coast, which opened on July 23rd established on the basis of the revised constitution, is the first such body in colonial Africa to have a majority of African members. Of the 31 members of the new Council, 21 are African, 18 of these having been elected.

It should be noted, however, that the elections are not based on any general franchise. Thirteen of the African members are nominated and elected by Councils of Chiefs, namely the Ashanti Confederacy Council (the Ashanti previously had no representation in the Gold Coast government) and the Joint Provincial Council for the Eastern and Western Provinces. The other five elected members are chosen by a small minority of qualified tax-payers in the municipalites of Accra and Kumasi.

It is of great significance, however, that the Ashanti Confederacy Council returned three out of four members who were not chiefs, while the Joint Provinical Council returned two non-chiefs out of nine elected, one of them being Dr. J. B. Danquah, brother of the late illustrious Ofori Atta and one of West Africa's most prominent intellectual leaders.

The three white members among the six nominated by the Governor represent the mining, commercial and missionary interests in the colony.

The African-edited Gold Coast *Observer*, though it has been strongly critical of certain features of the new constitution, speaks of it as "the seed for our plant of liberty."

"It has been heart-breaking," the paper says, "to see the sons of the Gold Coast attend the Legislative Council, attend as representatives of the 3½ million inhabitants to whom this country belongs, express their voice, and vote in support of that voice, and see their voice and vote turned down by a handful of officials voting to order, even though against their Christian consciences, but voting all the same to order against the interest of what the people hold precious but in favour of what the suzerain authority holds in other light.

"The new Constitution heralds the change from this heart-breaking reality to a new era in which the people of this country may live in the 'expectation' that there will be great opportunities for their countrymen who represent them to get their voice and veto to count, and to pray that the Governor of the day, whoever he may be, would not exercise his right of veto in such cases to stultify and nullify that hope."

NOW THE WAR'S OVER, YOU CAN GO BACK TO YOUR DUNGEON, SLAVE!

When they were called upon to enlist in the fight against fascism, Africans were assured that their welfare after the war would be guaranteed. Numerous schemes for utilizing the returned soldiers' proved abilities were announced. Today the colonial governments sing a different tune.

In Nigeria, for example, the government recently declared: "It cannot be too strongly stressed that paid employment will only be available for a small proportion of ex-servicemen and that the majority must return to their farms whence they originally came. Government has never, at any time, promised employment to all ex-servicemen since it has never been in a position to do so."

What damnable, insulting arrogance! Why not simply say, "Back to your serfdom. We're through with you." No one expected jobs to be found for *all* ex-servicemen. But why can only about 900 men out of the average of 5,000 demobilized monthly in Nigeria find employment—especially when Britain is begging for men and women (white) to enter the Colonial Civil Service?

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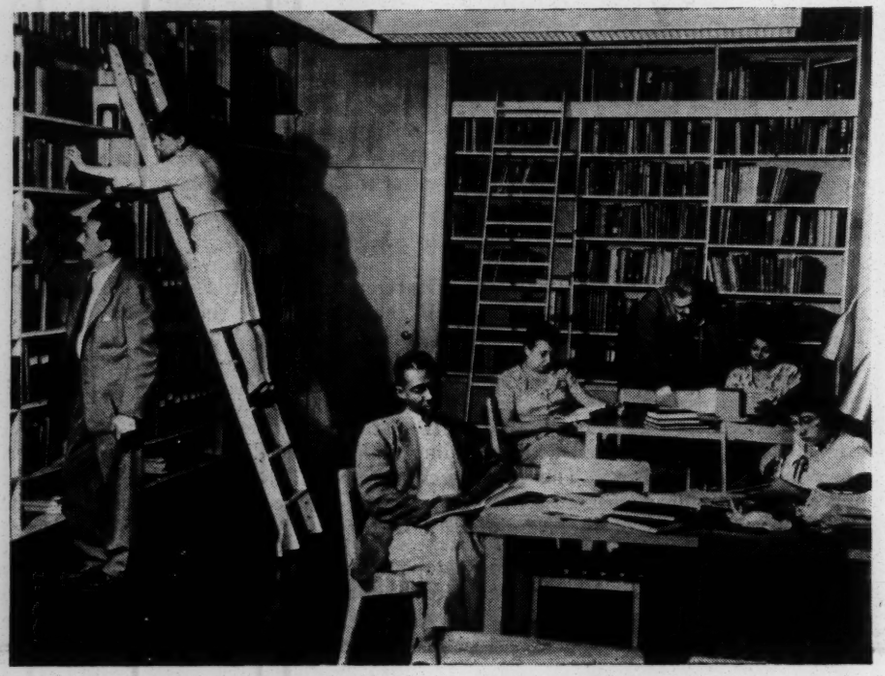

A corner of the Library of the Council on African Affairs at 23 West 26 Street, New York City. Over one hundred summer school students and several teachers from New York's colleges were guests of the Council at a reception for them in the Library on August 2. The general public as well as students, writers and other specialists are invited to make use of the African, Pan-American and Far Eastern materials housed in the joint Library. For information, telephone MUrray Hill 6-6860.

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WHAT ABOUT THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL—ONLY MAJOR U.N. BODY NOT YET SET UP?

The U.N. Charter's provisions with respect to colonial peoples, inadequate to begin with, have not yet been implemented. Over two months ago the Secretary General of the United Nations called attention to the fact that the proposed Trusteeship Council was "the sole principal organ of the United Nations which has not yet been established."

The Trusteeship Council cannot be set up until former mandate territories have been transferred to the United Nations so that the Council may have duly constituted members and some territories to administer.

It was agreed last January, at the behest of the Soviet Union, that the transfer from mandates to trusteeship should take place "preferably" by the time of the Spring session of the General Assembly. It is now nine months since the mandatory powers, with the exception of the Union of South Africa, declared their intention of bringing their "trust" colonies acquired from World War I under U.N. jurisdiction.

But to date only one government, France, has submitted the proposed trusteeship agreement for its territories for the approval of the General Assembly, —and France apparently sought agreement from only one state, Britain.

As for Britain herself, her trusteeship recommendations for Tanganyika were published last June, but the United States objected to certain sections. The proposed Tanganyika contract, which was the model not only for the British Togoland and Cameroons contracts but for the French and Belgian transfer arrangements as well, has been sharply criticized in several quarters as representing no substantial advance over the old mandate terms. (An analysis of the British draft agreement will be given next month.)

The U.S. State Department demands an "open door" commercial and trade policy in the "trust" territories. Britain, on the other hand, wants to retain the right to establish economic monopolies when it deems them to be in the best

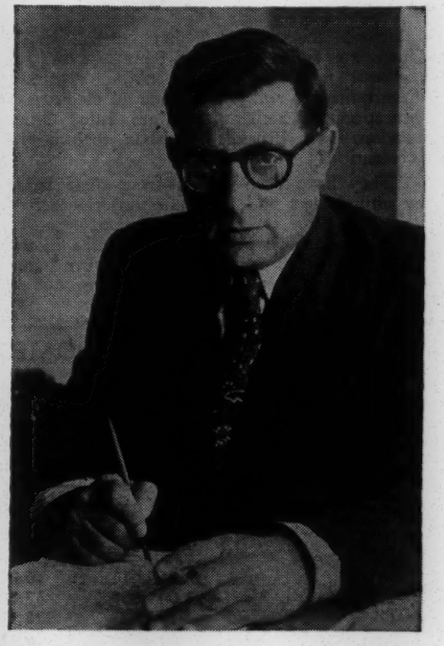
(*Continued on last page*)

All-Out Attack on South African Democratic Forces Is Government's Answer to Mine Workers' Strike

When the great mine workers' strike took place in South Africa two months ago, General Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union, refused to acknowledge its real cause, but offered instead the lame and oft-repeated excuse of "agitators." He declared that "the government would take steps to see that these matters were put right."

That was the signal for launching an intensive drive against the so-called "agitators," namely those individuals or organizations which through word or deed gave their support to the African miners' demand for a decent living wage of $2.00 a day. The witch hunt was conducted on a scale far surpassing any attempts by the government to curb the fascist fifth column which seriously endangered South Africa during the war, and which still continues to "Heil Hitler" even now with impunity.

The police raids got under way at the very start of the strike in August when the President of the African Mine Workers Union, J. B. Marks, and other leaders were immediately arrested and the headquarters of that union and the Council of Non-European Trade Unions in Johannesburg were searched and rifled. The arrests and raids continued, reaching a climax on September 21st when simultaneous raids were conducted in all of the major cities of the Union, particularly Cape Town.



Senator H. M. Basner of Africa's Parliament says this about Smuts' "agitators:" "There are no greater agitators in this country than the Ministers of Mines and Native Affairs, because every speech they make leaves the native people without hope. If people are hungry and oppressed, they do not need any agitators." Senator Basner is now in the United States on a visit and will have more to tell the American people about South African conditions.

Homes, Offices Raided

While the Communist Party (the only political party in South Africa which maintains a clear cut and consistent stand against racial discrimination) was the main object of attack, it was by no means the sole target. The police raids covered the offices and homes of officials of trade unions; of the Springbok Legion, a progressive ex-servicemen's organization; of the Friends of the Soviet Union, a non-political organization; of *The Guardian,* South Africa's leading progressive newspaper; and even a book shop.

October 4th, forty-six of those arrested received court sentences. Though the original charge of conspiracy and incitement was reduced merely to the charge of aiding and abetting the strikers, the sentences were unexpectedly harsh. Fines ranged from $60 to $200 with the alternative of two months in jail at hard labor, part of the sentence being suspended for one year on condition that there be no repetition of the "offenses."

But South African progressives are fighting back. A committee of prominent Johannesburg citizens has set up a fund of $80,000 for the legal defense and aid of the hundreds of persons arrested in connection with the mine strike.

India to Oppose Annexation of South-West Africa; Nehru Warns "Racialism" Threatens "World Disaster"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, present leader of India's Interim Government, at a press conference on September 26th, stated very plainly that the Indian government, through its delegation to the United Nations, would press complaints against South Africa in the matter of discriminatory treatment of Indians there, and would oppose the Union of South Africa's request to annex the mandated territory of South West Africa.

"Annexation of the mandated territory would be fundamentally opposed to the conception of mandates and trusteeship," Mr. Nehru said. "The correct course would be for Southwest Africa to be placed first under trusteeship and for the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations then to consider its future."

In a radio broadcast on September 7th, Mr. Nehru further declared, "In South Africa racialism is a state doctrine and our people are putting up an heroic struggle against the tyranny of a racial minority. If this racial doctrine is going to be tolerated it must inevitably lead to vast conflicts and world disaster."

Where Does America Stand?

While India and the Soviet Union have made clear their opposition to the request which General Smuts will bring before the U.N. General Assembly, there has been no indication of such a stand from any official sources in the United States and even very little thus far from organs of public opinion in this country. Among the few exceptions, outside the Negro press, to the prevailing silence on this key issue, are statements in the *Nation* and *Christian Science Monitor* supporting the Indian government's complaint.

Marc T. Greene, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor,* says, "The South African problem is not only one of the East Indians in Natal and the Transvaal and the social and economic discrimination against them, concerning which Indian leaders have protested to the U.N. It is also a problem of how to raise the living standard of millions of blacks to something like the subsistence minimum. . . .

"The Rand Daily Mail (of Johannesburg) recently referred to the food position among the blacks of South Africa as 'desperate and threatening to become catastrophic'. . .

"The U.N. must certainly give reasonable ear to the demands of Indian leaders for some check to the often-implemented prejudice against their brothers in Africa, and common humanity urges immediate measures looking to improvement in the really desperate economic condition of the native blacks."

We agree with the writer, but we would emphatically add that it is not only the economic condition of the Africans which is desperate. Discriminated against on a far wider and harsher scale than the Indians, the Africans' entire social and political status also requires immediate and drastic improvement.

The Council on African Affairs called a conference in New York on October 16 and is taking other steps to rally organizations in this country to voice opposition to South Africa's annexation scheme and support the Indian government's protests.

Has your organization acted?

EXPLOITATION OF AFRICAN LABOR EXPOSED AT I. L. O. CONFERENCE

Quite a stir was created at the recent meeting of the International Labor Organization in Montreal when a white labor delegate of the Union of South Africa, Mr. E. S. Sachs, General Secretary of the Garment Workers Union, urged adoption of a resolution to create an I.L.O. agency to investigate social conditions in Africa.

He told the conference that native Africans "including eight million of South Africa, are the least privileged of all mankind. They are disenfranchised and denied even an elementary education. Whether they are ruled from London, Paris, Brussels or Lisbon, their plight is identical.

"They have been driven from their lands by unjust laws and forced to sell themselves as indentured slaves on white men's farms. Often they must work fourteen months in the field before they are permitted to return home to visit their wives and children for a few weeks . . ."

BRITISH SHOOT DOWN CIVILIANS IN ERITREA AND SOMALILAND

Though several representatives, in addition to Ethiopia's spokesmen, urged the Paris Peace Conference to reach an immediate settlement of the Italian colonies question, this thorny problem was one of those referred back to the Big Four to decide.

Recent events in Eritrea and Somaliland, which have gone unnoticed in the U.S. daily press, underscore the urgency of a quick decision on this problem, especially with respect to relieving Great Britain of its present responsibility for administering these former Italian colonies.

Since July, civilians in Eritrea and Somaliland have been shot down by order of British officers. More than forty were killed and a hundred injured in one outbreak at Asmara. In this instance British officials, following the well-known custom of using troops of one subject people to hold down another, ordered Sudanese soldiers to fire upon a throng of Eritreans.

Somalis in Mogadishu, protesting against British orders regarding rationing of foodstuffs, were ordered fired upon when some in the crowd threw stones at the headquarters of the British Military Administration.

Behind these clashes is the resentment of the people against favoritism shown by British authorities toward Italian and Arab residents, and resentment of British efforts, sometimes open and sometimes subtly disguised, to suppress the popular demand for reunion of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland with Ethiopia.

MEDICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR LIBERIA IS ANNOUNCED

An elaborate banquet sponsored by Frederick C. Price, Consul General of Liberia, was given at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York on September 20th, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Liberia.

The principal feature of the evening was the announcement of a gift to Liberia by Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., President of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company. The gift was $250,000 for an institute for research in tropical medicine to be established in Liberia. Mr. Firestone said the American Foundation for Tropical Disease had agreed to provide funds for an annual operating budget of $60,000.

POPULATION INCREASES INDICATED BY NEW CENSUS OF SOUTH AFRICA

On August 13th the South African government made public the results of the census taken on May 17th of this year, the first since 1936.

All sections of the population showed an increase: Europeans, 16.55 per cent; Africans, 17.27 per cent; Colored, 17.59 per cent; and Asiatics (mainly Indians), 28.61 per cent.

Strangely enough, these census figures appear just at the time when the government is pleading the "alarming" increase of the Indians and the "influx" of Africans to the cities as reason for invoking new discriminatory restrictions upon these sections of the populations.

The new census figures are as follow:

Provinces	*Europeans*	*Asiatics*	*Colored*	*Africans*	*All Races*
Cape	859,611	16,901	813,190	2,327,099	4,016,801
Transvaal	1,041,835	37,505	55,270	3,049,169	4,183,779
Natal	232,923	228,119	22,623	1,699,068	2,182,733
Orange Free State	201,091	14*	13,967	660,473	875,545
Total of Union	2,3,35,460	282,539	905,050	7,735,809	11,258,858

*Indians have been legally barred from Orange Free State province since 1891.

Major Cities (including adjacent areas set aside for segregated locations):

	Europeans	*Asiatics*	*Colored*	*Africans*	*All Races*
Johannesburg	324,304	16,166	27,294	360,179	727,943
Cape Town	214,209	7,959	197,484	34,408	454,052
Durban	124,892	113,440	10,206	108,866	357,304
Pretoria	124,542	5,096	4,614	102,115	236,367
Port Elizabeth	64,745	3,636	30,794	47,056	146,231

Resolution on Issues Affecting Africa Arising at the Meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations

As American citizens concerned with economic security and democratic rights for oppressed peoples in other countries as well as for the Negroes and other minorities who suffer discrimination and mob violence in the United States, we call upon our government and upon the United Nations to support and adopt the following policies with relation to Africa at the current session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

1. Reject the South African Dominion's request for annexation of the mandate territory of South-West Africa and place that territory under the direction of the Trusteeship Council itself, the justification for such action being the gross contradiction of United Nations principles represented by the claim for annexation and the manifest unfitness of the Union of South Africa to continue as trustee over any peoples or territory;

2. Give full consideration to the petition of the Indian Government on the matter of discrimination against Indians in the Union of South Africa, and adopt the recommendations submitted to the Human Rights Commission by the Council on African Affairs May 10, 1946, calling for investigation and exposure of violations of the principle of racial equality in the Union of South Africa and other countries, to be followed by recommendation to the Security Council for appropriate action to be taken against countries found guilty of persistent violations;

3. Grant the indigenous peoples of the African mandate territories the right to be heard in drawing up trusteeship agreements for these territories, and limit trusteeship of all colonies to a specified period of time so that such jurisdiction shall be clearly understood to be simply a transition to full independence;

4. Place the African colonies belonging to the fascist governments of Spain and Portugal directly under United Nations supervision so that the inhabitants of these colonies may be protected from fascist tyranny;

5. Use the full powers of the Economic and Social Council to provide for the full protection of the rights of labor in all sections of Africa on the same basis as labor in free countries; foster the development of local industries and collective enterprise; promote the rapid economic and social advancement of the African people;

6. Provide guarantees to the subject peoples of Africa for the immediate exercise of full democratic rights, and the achievement of political autonomy and self-determination within a definitely stated time limit;

7. Provide for the representation of African colonial peoples in the United Nations so that they may have a direct voice of their own in affairs which concern them.

. . . . . .

Please cut off section below dot line and forward the above to:

Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Lake Success, N.Y.
Mr. James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State, Department of State, Washington, D.C.
Office of Public Affairs, Department of State, c/o U. S. Delegation to the United Nations, Fisk Building, 250 West 57th St., New York 19, N.Y.

The above resolution was unanimously adopted at a conference called by the Council on African Affairs in New York, Oct. 16, 1946. All organizations are urged to approve and forward this resolution with a covering letter to the officials indicated. Additional copies of this statement will be gladly supplied.

Kindly notify Council on African Affairs, 23 West 26 St., New York, of action taken.

"We Are Resolved Not To Carry Passes!"

THE place is Langa, an African settlement outside Cape Town, South Africa. The time is 4 o'clock on the afternoon of Sunday, August 4, 1946. It is a grave, tense moment. The time has arrived for a decision to be taken to burn the "passes" of slavery in order that the flame of freedom may be lit.

The vast crowd of dark-skinned men and women, with a few whites here and there, is hushed and motionless as the resolution is read aloud to them:

"We are determined to rid ourselves of the pass because we recognize it as the most important administrative instrument by which the Government is able to carry out its policy of impoverishing us, and preventing us from improving ourselves economically by denying us the right to move freely in search of employment in the land of our birth.

"We are resolved not to carry passes any longer, and, if arrested, not to pay fines."

Hands on all sides rise into the air, endorsing the resolution. Passes, voters' registration forms, service contracts are passed up to the platform to be burned. A murmur of voices like the wind sweeps through the crowd.

The moment has come. On the platform the chairman of the meeting calls upon an African woman to set on fire the passes which he holds in his hands. The crowd immediately grasps the electric significance of this act. An African woman setting the passes on fire and burning her own dramatically symbolizes and affirms both sex and race equality.

As the scraps of paper burn in a large drum, the people sing "Mayebuye" (The Freedom of the People). The smoke from the burning passes rises into the sky to be wafted away, perhaps as a message to the Peace Conference in Paris or to the United Nations in New York.

The message carried by the wind is the same as that written on the banners held aloft in the crowd, written also deep in the hearts of the people:

"Abolish the Pass Laws!" "We Demand Equality, not White Supremacy!"

The delegation of Africans from Kenya which visited England last summer is here seen being received by Mr. George M. Hall, British Secretary of State for the Colonies. Directly to the right of Mr. Hall is Mr. Eliud W. Mathu, sole African member of the Kenya Legislative Council.

FOR THE RECORD: When the delegation representing the American Crusade to End Lynching interviewed President Truman on September 23, the President remarked that Britain and the United States were the last refuge of freedom in the world.

Replied Paul Robeson, leader of the delegation: "The British empire is one of the greatest enslavers of human beings."

From across the Atlantic came the indignant protest of the London *Daily Mirror*, chiding Robeson and reminding him that while it took a civil war to end American slavery, the British empire had voluntarily abolished it 113 years ago.

To which we reply: *So what?* How will you draw the line between slavery of yesteryear and the slavery of forced labor found today in British Africa and other imperial domains?

News Notes

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y.—Is it merely a coincidence that Liberia, Ethiopia and Haiti were among the few states of the United Nations *not* included among the thirty-nine members who were elected a few days ago to 120 positions on eight of the permanent commissions of the Economic and Social Council?

★

MOMBASA, KENYA,—The East African National Congress, meeting here last month, adopted a resolution calling for the formation of a common organization for African, Indian and Arab peoples. A number of young African leaders were in attendance at the meeting. The Congress took a firm stand against control of Indian immigration which British East African governments are tightening up. Taking a cue from the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia's annual Municipal Conference recently called on the government to enact legislation restricting the sale of property to Indian and Colored people.

★

BASUTOLAND, S. AFRICA.—Lekhotla La Bafo, a nationalist movement of the people in this British colony, has appealed to the United Nations in protest against the ban on its activities by the British government. Although the association fully supported the war against fascism, several of its leaders were interned and public meetings and political activity of the organization were prohibited. These restrictions are still in force.

★

LOVEDALE S, AFRICA.—The missionary school here for Africans was the scene of a disturbance in August which has caused widespread indignation. After their request for improvement of food rations had been ignored, the students went on "strike." The principal of the school called in the police who arrested and jailed 150 students for rioting.

★

NORTHERN RHODESIA—Mr. Roy Welensky, leader of the Northern Rhodesia Labor Party, recently disclosed some figures on the copper mining industy in this colony. The annual revenue from copper in Northern Rhodesia, he said, amounted to about £3,000,000 pounds ($12,000,000,000). Yet the average income of people of all races in the colony did not exceed £8 ($32.) a year. Daily wages of African workers range from 40c to $1.00; for skilled European workers, $6.00 to $6.80 a day.

★

JOHANNSBURG—The summer Conference of the National Union of South African Students adopted a resolution declaring in part: "It is essential to South Africa's well-being that the employment of undergraduates, especially in the fields of medicine, science, agriculture. engineering and teaching, should not be conditional on race."

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SMUTS SNUBS W. F. T. U. SECRETARY'S APPEAL ON BEHALF OF MINE WORKERS

In response to appeals for support from the African Mine Workers Union in South Africa, Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, addressed a letter to the South African Premier, General Smuts, citing the deplorable conditions of labor and low wages which provoked the mine workers' strike, and urging correction of these grievances.

When General Smuts came to Paris to attend the Peace Conference, Mr. Saillant asked him to receive a W.F.T.U. delegation to discuss this matter.

"Smuts refused point blank," Mr. Saillant states, "and said we were interfering in affairs of which we had no knowledge. He suggested we were free to bring the matter before the International Labor Organization or the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations."

Interviewed in New York where he came to head the W.F.T.U. advisory delegation to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, Mr. Saillant affirmed that his organization would press for action on the oppressive exploitation of labor in South Africa and in the colonial world in general.

It should be added that at the Executive meeting of the W.F.T.U. held in Moscow last summer, the decision was made to establish a special department to aid the trade union movement in colonial and mandated countries and to send a mission to various Pacific and African territories.

TRUSTEESHIP DELAY (Cont'd)

interest of the inhabitants of the territories—at least, that is the excuse offered. Here we get a glimpse of the inescapable imperialistic rivalry over colonial markets.

The Tory British attitude on this question was voiced just the other day by Oliver Stanley, former Secretary for Colonies, speaking at the conference of the Conservative Party at Blackpool. He asked, "Why is it that the American empire which has a continuous land bloc, can exclude the trade of the world, and the British empire because it is separated by salt water, be forbidden to do so?"

While challenging the British terms for its "trust" territories, the United States has yet to indicate its trusteeship policy with respect to the Pacific Islands taken from Japan or otherwise claimed as American military outposts. This is another important factor in delaying the establishment of a functioning United Nations Trusteeship Council. More than that, it is blocking progress toward international confidence, essential basis of world peace.

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CAN THE BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT REGAIN CONFIDENCE OF AFRICANS?

Writing on "Labor and West Africa," a correspondent in a recent issue of the London weekly, *New Stateman and Nation,* notes that "Colonial enthusiasm which greeted the Labour Government has largely evaporated. The loss of faith is due to seeing no real change, and no near prospect of any change, from what is opprobriously termed the 'old (Colonial) system.'"

This loss of faith, he observes, is due primarily to the fact that, while speaking about "partnership," Labor Government no less than its Tory predecessors, has failed to take into serious account the desires and outlook of the "educated classes" among the African people.

"There must be immediately the fullest consideration and regard for local opinion on questions relative to mining rights, land sequestration, produce marketing schemes, outside trading arrangements and agreements, etc.," he states.

In addition, he calls for "a very substantial widening and encouragement of elected forms of political representation; an enlargement of direct representation on Legislative Councils progressing rapidly towards the elimination of present bureaucratic systems; the removal of all unnecessary and anomalous restraints and restrictions on political and public discussion; and equal social and economic incentives, consonant with qualifications, in *every* aspect of Government service."

FRENCH COLONIAL DEPUTIES WARN AGAINST CONTINUED IMPERIALIST RULE

"Colonial empires are cracking throughout the world. While there is still time, France should establish relations with her overseas territories on a more democratic basis," declared Aimé Cesaireé, Deputy from Martinique, during the discussion last months on the new draft constitution.

Other colonial representatives in the French Assembly joined him in emphasizing the importance of instituting a regime of democratic autonomy in France's overseas possessions. The representative from Dakar, French West Africa, insisted that there should be no distinction as to race, color or religion in the French Union. "The Republic should be one and indivisible."

The draft constitution contains thirty-two articles bearing on the organization of the French Union and the status of departments and overseas territories. The constitution states, "The Assembly of the French Union is composed half of members representing metropolitan France and half of representatives of the several departments and territories and the associated states, and organic law shall determine the conditions under which the different parts of the populations will be represented."

Another clause reads, "All natives of overseas territories have the status of citizens with the same standing as French citizens of metropolitan France or of overseas territories. Special laws will establish the conditions under which they will exercise their rights of citizenship."

BELGIUM CONVERTING ATOMIC ORE FROM CONGO AS COAL SUBSTITUTE

Plans are under way for converting the vast uranium resources of the Belgium Congo into fissionable material closely resembling that used in the atomic bomb, but in the form of high quality 'canned electric power' as a badly needed substitute for coal and other fuels in Belgium, *PM* in New York reports.

The Belgian government, it is stated, has already built a pilot plant in the Congo as the first step in what may be the world's first serious use of atomic energy for socially useful rather than destructive purposes.

The United States had a virtual monopoly on uranium from the Belgium Congo during the war. It has been rumored, though not confirmed, that one of the conditions for the recent loan given Belgium was the continuation of shipments of Congo uranium to America.

The Belgian experiment has one bad feature: apparently, as in the case of all the rest of Africa's resources, controlled atomic energy from Congo uranium is going to help *other* people, but not the Africans.

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New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

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U. N. Approval of Indian Resolution is Blow at Racialism Throughout World

The full airing by United Nations delegates given to the question of discrimination against Indians in the Union of South Africa, and the final vote of 32-15 by the General Assembly on December 8 supporting the Indian government's petition on this question (*see last page*), represent a major defeat for those governments and interests throughout the world which foster or condone racial discrimination.

The issue at stake concerned far more than the question of discrimination against the Indian minority or even against the eight million Africans in the Union of South Africa. Delegates who spoke on both sides of the issue were fully aware of this.

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, chief of the Indian delegation, who ably presented the case against General Smuts' government, told the delegates: "We want a decision whether the United Nations stands for the Charter or whether the Charter itself is a scrap of paper."

Mr. Gromyko, speaking for the Soviet delegation, which strongly supported India's case, declared that the United Nations must take action to exterminate "the plague of racialism everywhere." The Polish delegate, among others, made the same appeal, recalling what resulted from the Nazi doctrines of racialism.

Spokesman for the oppressed—Mrs. Pandit

On the other side, supporting General Smuts' demand for "non-intervention" in the domestic affairs of South Africa, Sir Hartley Shawcross, Britain's spokesman, warned of the precedent-making implications of the question under discussion. He stated that if the United Nations shoud decide to take action on the question of discrimination against Indians in South Africa, it might lead to other things, including an investigation of the Negro problem in the United States.

While Sir Hartley and certain members of the United States delegation regard such an eventuality with dread, those on the side of democracy will welcome it. It will be recalled that a petition on the discrimination and oppression suffered by Negro people in the United States has been submitted to the United Nations by the National Negro Congress, and that efforts are being made to get a hearing on this petition.

Britain and the United States led the opposition against the Indian resolution. They dodged the question whether there was or was not discrimination practised against Indians in South Africa and whether the United Nations should or should not act on the matter. Instead, they resorted to a flank attack, arguing that the question whether the United Nations had the *right* to act on this case, should be referred to the International Court of Justice for decision. They based their argument on Article 2, Section 7, of the Charter which forbids the U. N. to intervene in matters "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state."

The issue before the delegates was whether to shelve the dispute in this way, as General Smuts himself had requested, or to take direct action in accordance with those sections of the Charter which bind member nations to preserve "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

Mrs. Pandit recited the record of South African discrimination against both Indians and Africans. Her adversary speaking for South Africa vainly tried to deny, explain, justify. In the extremely sharp exchanges between the Indian and South African spokesmen, the latter was hopelessly outclassed, embarrassed and defeated.

The main point of South Africa's argument was that "racial distinctions" (a discreet euphemism) were essential in South Africa for the "maintenance of western and Christian civilization."

To this Mrs. Pandit replied: "When South Africa contends that the presence of Indians in that country constitutes a threat to Western Civilization, what is meant, of course, is that it is a threat to Western European domination. It is not civilization that is threatened but the doctrine of white supremacy. Safeguarding white supremacy means, in effect, safeguarding economic domination of a particular race over all others."

In conclusion, mention must be made of the far from worthy role played by the United States delegation in the debate on this question. The speeches made by the American representative, Mr. Charles B. Fahy, on November 28 and again on December 7, immediately following the final plea of General Smuts, sounded very much like speeches often heard in Congress opposing federal action to enforce constitutional guarantees to Negroes in America.

"One cannot fail to be deeply impressed by the difficulties of the situation within the Union of South Africa," he said, aiding Smuts. No member of the United Nations, including South Africa, he maintained, would defend racial discrimination (this despite what South Africa's delegates had plainly said during the debate). The United Nations shouldn't *gang up on* this one little country, he said, in substance, but should refer the question of jurisdiction to the International Court and wait patiently for the "interior improvement of one's thought and conduct" and the extension of "good will" to solve the "stubborn problems" created by "racial differences."

In the first major test case before the United Nations on racial discrimination, the two foremost Anglo-Saxon powers, Britain and the United States, were defeated. Oppressed peoples in Africa and throughout the world will be greatly heartened by this evidence that the United Nations *can* be a great force for democracy. Congratulations to India's interim government and its delegation for pressing this case to victory!

Committee Upholds Flat Rejection of S.W. Africa Bid

As we go to press, the General Assembly has not yet taken final action on the question of South West Africa's incorporation in the Union of South Africa, but thus far the delegates most strongly opposing this step have been victorious.

In the first round of this fight in the opening debate on the subject, the proponents of annexation, South Africa and Great Britain, were smothered by the overwhelming expression of opposition, but in the sub-committee to which the matter was referred, these proponents won a partial victory when a joint U. S.-Denmark compromise resolution was adopted over the objections of a minority of the sub-committee.

The third round of the fight took place on December 8 when the full committee on trusteeship, supporting the strong appeal of the Indian delegate, V. K. Krishna Menon, rejected the U.S.-Denmark resolution adopted by the sub-committee and approved by vote of 17-15 the India-Cuba resolution which the sub-committee had turned down.

The U.S. resolution merely "invited" South Africa to give further consideration to placing its mandate territory under trusteeship while leaving the door open for future approval of annexation by stating that information "before this Assembly" did not justify approval of incorporation of the territory.

The India-Cuba resolution, on the other hand, said categorically that "the General Assembly rejects any solution involving the incorporation of the territory of South West Africa in the Union of South Africa; and recommends that the mandated territory of South West Arrica be placed under the international trusteeship system and that the government of the Union of South Africa be requested to submit for the consideration of the General Assembly a trusteeship agreement for the aforesaid territory."

The United States, United Kingdom and South Africa representatives led the opposition to this resolution in both the sub-committee and full committee meetings. When they had overcome their astonishment at the result of the vote upholding it, these representatives resorted to desperate parliamentary maneuvering in an effort to undo the action.

They argued that the vote had been taken out of order, that the U.S.-Denmark resolution should still be voted upon despite adoption of the other opposite stand, and that the delegates had not been fully aware of what they were voting on. Mr. Dulles (see next page), the United States delegate, finally insisted that the question be reopened and a roll call vote be taken. Despite objections of many of the delegates, a vote was finally taken on whether to accede to the U.S. request.

Again the United States-United Kingdom-South Africa bloc suffered a defeat. They were able to muster only 14 votes on their side. There were 19 against with 4 abstaining. Thus ended the third round of the fight. The fourth and final round will take place in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

But General Smuts has left for home, preferring not to risk another humiliating defeat. He departed even before the final adverse vote on Indian discrimination took place.

Pretoria, South Africa

The Secretary,
Council on African Affairs,
New York, U.S.A.

Sir,

The African members of the Natives Representative Council assembled in Pretoria this 18th day of November, 1946, wish to express their appreciation of the service which the Council on African Affairs is rendering to the cause of African freedom by its firm stand on the question of the incorporation of South West Africa and the policy of the Union towards its non-European nations.

We wish to mention that your Council has the full support of the African members of the Natives Representative Council, and trust that your Council will leave no stone unturned in making clear the opposition of the African people to the incorporation of South West Africa in view of the non-European policy of the Union.

Yours faithfully,
(signed) Z. K. MATTHEWS,
Chairman, Caucus N.R.C.

A PRACTICAL QUESTION FOR THE U. N. TRUSTEESHIP COMMITTEE

Tanganyika, governed by Great Britain, is the biggest, most populous, and wealthiest of the mandate territories in Africa which are expected to be brought under the trusteeship system. In this colony enormously valuable diamond deposits, the largest in the world, have recently been found by a Canadian geologist.

When Mr. Creech-Jones, the British Colonial Secretary, visited Tanganyika earlier this year, he was approached by some of the African chiefs who asked him, "Is this not our wealth? Our you going to get foreign interests to take it away from us? Why cannot we mine diamonds and sell them ourselves?"

The Colonial Secretary gave no positive answers and he has not since then made any clear declaration as to what would be done.

The question confronting the Trusteeship Council, once it assumes responsibility for Tanganyika, is this: Will the interests of the African people in that colony be fully protected against the claims of the foreigner who discovered the existence of the diamonds there; will they be protected against corporations like DeBeers, which has already begun negotiating for diamond concessions in Tanganyika; and will they be protected against "crown land" claims of the British government itself?

GOLD COAST COMMISSION INVESTIGATES WAR-TIME ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION

Something unusual in the annals of colonial administration would seem to be indicated by the recent appointment of a three-man Commission of Inquiry, including one African member, to look into the conduct and management of the Gold Coast Supplies and Customs Departments during the war.

The Commission's task is to determine whether there is justification for allegations that the powers and controls exercised by these departments were contrary to government policy and resulted in favoritism toward certain firms and individuals to the exclusion of others (presumably African).

BRITISH MAGNATES, BUT NO AFRICANS APPOINTED ON COLONIAL COUNCIL

A fair index to the direction of British colonial policy is provided by the personnel of the Colonial Economic and Development Council recently appointed by the Secretary of State for Colonies.

This Council has the job of advising the Colonial Secretary "on the framing and subsequent review of plans for economic and social development in the colonial empire and on questions of general economic and financial policy."

The chairman of the committee is Lord Portal, Chairman of Great Western Railway and a director of other large concerns. Other members include —

- Sir Graham Cunningham, Chairman of the newly organized Ship Building Advisory Committee and half a dozen British companies.
- Sir William Goodenough, Chairman of Barclay's Bank and Barclay's Overseas Development Corporation (which control vast investment holding throughout Africa).
- Sir Bernard Bourdillon, former Governor of Nigeria and Uganda, and now a director of Barclay's Bank and various insurance companies.

We join with one of the members of Parliament, Major Cecil Poole, in asking why it should be assumed that such people as these are best qualified to advise the government on colonial economic questions—unless the policy to be followed is the customary one of letting the big corporations exploit the colonies as they wish.

The membership of the Council lacks any agricultural expert, any Socialist economist (the Labor Government professes ot be Socialist), and—above all—any representative of the colonial peoples themselves.

WHAT PRICE COLONIAL PROGRESS? EUROPEAN PROFITS TAKE PRIORITY OVER AFRICAN ADVANCEMENT

About three years ago there was a big fanfare accompanying announced plans for rapid and intensive mass education in Britain's African colonies. (See *New Africa,* Feb. 1944). Today the administrators in these colonies are singing a different tune.

The Director of Education in Uganda says, "Any plans for the rapid cure of illiteracy would be impossibly expensive." And a financial expert, Sir Wilfrid Woods, in a recent survey of economic conditions in the East African colonies, states:

"None of the territories possesses a taxable capacity which could provide sufficient funds for anything approaching universal elementary education, even up to the first three or four standards, for the African majorities without drastic curtailment of what must for the time being be deemed to be the prior claims of economic development. Very slow progress with African education is all that will be possible for many years. . . ."

The implicit assumption here is that economic development *can* take place while the overwhelming majority of the population remains illiterate and uneducated. The "expert" plainly states: "Taxation must leave to non-Native enterprise sufficient of its profits to satisfy that element of self-interest without which inducement to effort would lack reality." Draw your own conclusions.

FOR THE RECORD

December 6, 1946

To the U.S. Delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations:

The Council on African Affairs is deeply concerned about the position which the United States delegates . . . have taken . . . with regard to the questions of trusteeship and the two items concerning South Africa. . . .

W feel sure that a large section of the American public has been deeply disappointed in the fact that the United States, instead of standing with those nations which urged unqualified rejection of the proposal to annex South West Africa to the Union of South Africa, assumed a conciliatory role and brought about the adoption of a resolution which makes possible approval of the proposal at a later date. The same reaction of disappointment, we feel sure, resulted from the part played by the United States in supporting the South African and British demand for disposing of the Indian Government's complaint regarding discrimination against Indians in South Africa by referring this matter to the International World Court, instead of taking an immediate and positive stand against the admitted violation of the Charter principles on racial equality.

We also urge you to reconsider . . . the question of military bases in trust territories and other aspects of the trusteeship agreements. The consequences of the action taken on these matters are extremely grave. We are convinced that the United States can gain immeasurably in terms of the larger issue of fostering mutual trust and good will among the larger powers, as well as between ruling and subject peoples, by adopting in these matters the course of action urged by several of the non-colonial powers, notably India and the Soviet Union. . . .

Respectfully yours,
(*signed*) Paul Robeson,
Chairman, Council on African Affairs

* * *

December 7, 1946

Dear Mr. Robeson,

I have your letter of December 6. It is, I think, based on some misapprehension. The United States proposal involved unqualified rejection of the proposal to incorporate South West Africa in the Union of South Africa. There was virtually no difference in the committee in that respect. It is true that the rejection was in the United States proposal couched in more conciliaory language than in the case of some of the other proposals, but I did not feel that the United States, in view of its own record, was justified in adopting a holier-than-thou attitude toward the Union of South Africa.

Very truly yours,
(*signed*) John Foster Dulles,
[*Principal U. S. representative on U. S. Trusteeship Committee*]

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, U. S. delegate to the U. N., greets Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov. In the background are Mr. A. Y. Vishinsky and Mr. A. A. Gromyko of the Soviet delegation. (Official U. N. Photo)

News Notes

KAMPALA, UGANDA—African women have been trained and employed as conductors on buses in this city by the Uganda Transport Co. They receive the same wages as male conductors, also African. (Officials in Washington, D.C., U.S.A., where Negroes are not yet permitted to operate buses, will *please note!*)

★

PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA—The Customs Department recently seized all copies of the British edition (Victor Gollancz, publishers) of Mrs. Paul Robeson's book, "African Journey,"coming into South Africa, pending a decision of the Board of Censors in Cape Town. Nevertheless, the book was obtainable in many books shops and was enjoying a good sale. It is reported that there was objection to the publisher's blurb on the cover likening South Africa to Belsen, the town of Nazi atrocities.

★

LONDON—A British news agency last month reported the arrival of a ship at Liverpool from the Belgian Congo, carrying over 860 tons of uranium ore, raw material for atom bombs. British officials would neither deny nor confirm the report.

★

NEW DELHI—A letter was recently received by Pandit Nehru, head of the Indian interim government, from six representative Africans in Kenya. The letter proposed that scholarships and facilities be made available for Africans to pursue their university and other special training in India, and also that a conference of African and Asiatic leaders be convened in order to foster closer relations between the two continents. Mr. Nehru, in reply, welcomed the suggestions and assured the Africans that India would always support the cause of African freedom.

★

KENYA—Recent reports indicate a rapid advance by the African press in Kenya with an estimated circulation of about 100,000 copies per month. The major newspaper, which made its appearance in April 1945, is *Sauti ya Mwafrika* (The African Voice), published by the Kenya African Union. There are four Swahili papers, one Kikuyu, one Luo, one Kamba, and one Bantu Kavirondo paper. Uganda African newspapers have a monthly circulation of about 60,000. There is yet no African press in Tanganyika.

★

NIGERIA—It appears that Nigerians are becoming fed up with the political indoctrination of Catholic missionaries in that colony. The *Southern Nigerian Defender* in a recent editorial reviews the role of Catholic missionaries in West Africa from the time when they first arrived in 1481, noting that in recent years these ambassadors from Rome have shown no interest in the "fight for our emancipation" and have "engaged in attacking the Russian way of life."

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42/90/58

MRS. PANDIT, DR. XUMA ADDRESS MEETING HONORING S. AFRICAN MINE WORKERS

An enthusiastic crowd joined in paying tribute to African mine workers shot and maimed in South Africa's great srtike last August, and in calling upon the United Nations to reject the demand for annexation of South West Africa, at a mass meeting sponsored by the Council on African Affairs in New York on Sunday, November 17.

Dr. A. B. Xuma, President-General of the African National Congress, Senator H. M. Basner, liberal leader of the South African parliament, Mr. H. A. Naidoo, Natal Indian spokesman, and Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and other members of the Indian delegation to the United Nations addressed the gathering.

Declaring her full support of the United Nations, Mrs. Pandit said, "We must, everyone of us, see that the United Nations succeeds and makes a reality of all those beautiful words that have been written in the Charter. Looking through the pages of history, one sees nothing but charters, and between charters there are wars. Non-implementation of a charter brings on another war. What is required today is implementation of all those promises held out to human beings."

Mrs. Pandit called the eradication of racialism "the challenge of Africa" and said that the world would move forward only to the extent that the United Nations accepted that challenge.

Speaking of her own country, she said, "We know that the day of our freedom will mean the freedom of all suppressed people. A free India will be a powerful India. India will fight for their freedom and against all those injustices which prevent the people of the world from living together in harmony and peace."

United Front Against Reaction Urged

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, alternate delegate for India and personal envoy of Pandit Nehru, warned the audience that American Negroes as well as all other peoples must be alert to the meaning of the trusteeship system being evolved by the United Nations. The colonial powers, he said, "always speak about the white man's burden, but unfortunately the white man's burden is always carried by the black man."

Mr. Menon described the world-wide division between the people who amass wealth and those who produce it by their labor. This division, he emphasized, was not simply a matter of color.

"In every metropolitan country men and women are fired by the same ideals," he said. "It is our job to organize them into *one united front*—it is our purpose to fight reaction. Too long have we been the instruments of tyranny. We must band ourselves together in a common union of fellowship." The audience responded with tremendous applause.

Dr. Xuma, in his address, told of the decision of the convention of 500 delegates called together in South Africa by the African National Congress, just before he left for New York, to hold simultaneous mass meetings throughout South Africa on November 17 in honor of the victims of the brutal police suppression of the mine workers' strike.

He stated that he would be more than glad to report, on his return home, that Americans too joined in this tribute on the same day and that people in this country are increasingly aware of and are lending their support to the struggles of his pepole in South Africa. He urged that American labor and all progressive forces here increase that support.

Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director of the Council on African Affairs, presided at the meeting and told of the work of the organization in pressing for United Nations action in behalf of democratic rights for Indians and Africans in South Africa, and for the abolitic of colonialism in general.

Aftermath of Mine Strike

The first official report on the number of African strikers killed and maimed by police action during the strike of 60,000 or more workers led by the African Mine Workers Union, has been given out by the Director of Native Labor in South Africa. He reports nine killed (other estimates went as high as thirty) and 1248 injured.

A relief fund for these victims and those arrested in connection with the strike has been widely contributed to by liberals in Johannesburg. An appeal for assistance has also been sent to the United States.

In ironic contrast with the action of the mine operators and government in smashing the African strike without the least consideration of their grievances, white mine workers who went out on strike a few weeks after the Africans' strike were completely unmolested by police and quickly won an annual wage increase award totaling $4,000,000. This is only the most recent of several increases given white miners during the last three years.

The division between the small progressive and larger reactionary sections of white labor in South Africa has been sharply highlighted by the great August strike and the government's subsequent punitive campaign against the leaders and friends of African labor.

WE THANK YOU !

The officers and members of the Council on African Affairs wish to use this means of thanking the many organizations and individuals, too numerous to list here, who have sent communications to our State Department and the American delegation to the United Nations, supporting the Council's resolution dealing with African issues before the present meeting of the General Assembly.

This action, we feel sure, has had good effect, but there is obvious need for an ever wider and more active consciousness among all Americans of the role of the United States and the United Nations in relation to the future of Africa and its people.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION ON INDIAN DISCRIMINATION

"The General Assembly, having taken note of the application made by the Government of India regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa, and having considered the matter:

"1) States that, because of that treatment, friendly relations between the two Members States have been impaired, and unless a satisfactory settlement is reached, these relations are likely to be further impaired;

"2) Is of the opinion that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with the international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two Governments, due account being taken of the provisions of the Charter;

"3) Therefore, requests the two Governments to report at the next session of the General Assembly the action taken in this behalf."

The division of votes on this important issue, together with the results of other roll-call votes in the General Assembly, will be presented in a composite table in the next issue of *New Africa.*

THIS MAKES US HAPPY !

Believing that you will share our pleasure, we pass on to you the main contents of a letter received from a student at LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tennessee. He tells of the address of a white South African from Cape Town at a student assembly in his school, which address "in effect, sought to canonize the Dutch in South Africa while picturing the Natives as being well fed, happy and contented with their lot under their benevolent masters."

The speaker said: "I am appalled by the continuous strikes in American industry. We have not had a strike in South Africa in twenty years. Representatives from the unions and management meet regularly once each month and work out any difficulties before they arise."

"This was too much," our correspondent writes. "I then asked him about the recent strikes in the Transvaal and quoted wage rates from your *New Africa.* When the speaker denied that any such strike had taken place, I dug out a copy of *New Africa* and gave it to him to read.

"I then questioned him sharply about hunger, living conditions, pass laws and franchise rights. He was unable to give any satisfactory answer to these questions and was roundly booed by what had previously been a sympathetic audience. Most of the students left the hall. . . .

"Well, I may have to face the administration tomorrow for embarrassing today's guest speaker—but tonight I feel that it was well worth it."

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Springbok Legion, N, '45.
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Tanganyika, Ap, N, '44; My, S, D, '46.
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Uranium, F, O, D, '46.

Van der Byl, P., F, S, '44; Ja, '46.

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Xuma, Dr. A. B., S, '43; Ja, Mr, Je, '44; Mr, Jy, '45; Mr, Jy, N, D, '46.

Youth, D, '43; Jy, '44; Ap, N, '45.

(*) Communications and Resolutions, United Nations, Je, Au, '45, Je, Jy, D, '46.

[1946]

Action Appeal SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.
Telephone: MUrray Hill 3-7622

AN URGENT CALL FOR IMMEDIATE PROTEST AGAINST RACIAL INJUSTICE AND THE BRUTAL SMASHING OF THE AFRICAN MINE WORKERS' STRIKE IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The wave of lynch terror against Negroes in the United States has its counterpart in an even more acute form in the fascist-like racial oppression and exploitation which is the official government policy of the Union of South Africa, illustrated so clearly in the smashing of the African mine workers' strike as reported on page one of this Bulletin.

The mine workers' strike in South Africa dramatically symbolizes the refusal of the eight million Africans in that country to endure any longer their enforced poverty and hunger. (The Council on African Affairs has been forwarding money and food to relieve the starvation there.) The same desperate determination is seen in the recent public burning of passes by Africans in the nation-wide campaign against the pass law system, which deprives Africans of freedom of movement, as were Jews under Nazi rule. The Indian minority of 250,000 in South Africa is likewise up in arms against the government's efforts to further restrict their rights; several hundred Indian men and women have been jailed for demonstrating their defiance of the recently passed Indian "ghetto law."

Will the government of the Union of South Africa, headed by Prime Minister Smuts, continue to crush these efforts to achieve elementary democratic rights with the same brute force that was used to smash the African mine workers' strike? And will Prime Minister Smuts succeed in his outrageous effort to annex South-West Africa to the Union, extending the area of "White Supremacy" tyranny in Africa?

The answer depends largely upon the pressure of outside opinion, particularly American opinion. (South Africa's gold economy is directly dependent upon U. S. favor.)

It is for this reason that the Council on African Affairs earnestly requests that you take the following action at once:

Protest to Mr. H. T. Andrews, Minister of the Union of South Africa, 3101 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C., against the continuation of the pass system, the denial of trade union rights and decent living to African workers, and the brutal smashing of the African mine workers' strike.

Urge President Truman, the U. S. State Department, and Mr. Hershel Johnson, U. S. delegate to the United Nations, to give full support to the Indian government's petition to the United Nations protesting against the South African Government's discrimination; to support also the petition of the Council on African Affairs (sent to the Human Rights Commission on May 10, 1946) for a United Nations investigation of racial discrimination and denial of human rights in the Union of South Africa; and to reject the request for annexation of South West Africa and to remove that territory completely from under the jurisdiction of the South African government.

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Please fill out the form below and return to the Council on African Affairs so that we may have a record of action taken.

.....

Dear Mr. Robeson:

I personally have sent communications (check here:_____)

My organization (name: . . . . .) has sent communications to (please check) Mr. H. T. Andrews (____), President Truman (____), U. S. State Department (____), Mr. Hershel Johnson (____).

My Name . . . . . .

Address . . . . . .

City and State. . . . . .

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8 Million DEMAND FREEDOM!

What about it, GEN. SMUTS?

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Pamphlet Series

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W. E. B. Du Bois

[1946]

8 Million Demand Freedom!
What about it,
Gen. Smuts?

39-7-2

by **I. B. TABATA**

A Publication of the
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New York, 1946

"There is much evidence to support the contention that discrimination against the blacks in the Union of South Africa is more far-reaching, more cynical, than in any other self-governing country in the modern world." — Professor James B. Leyburn of Yale University, "Urban Natives in South Africa," *American Sociological Review*, October 1944

"Here (in South Africa) we find rooted tyrannies which deny human freedom. . . . In no other country in the world is it possible for a group to have its own prejudices legalized and turned into a powerful weapon for serving its own interest at the costly harm to some other group."— The Right Reverend S. W. Lavis, Coadjustor Bishop of the Anglican Synod, Cape Town, January 1946

"The plain truth, whether we like it or not, is that the dominant mentality in South Africa is a 'Herrenvolk' mentality." — Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, Minister of Finance in the South African Government, March 17, 1946

Foreword

THIS INCISIVE and challenging revelation of the systematic oppression and exploitation imposed upon Africans by the small ruling-class minority in the Union of South Africa, under the guise of maintaining "White Supremacy," was written by a native South African, I. B. Tabata.

It was originally published in South Africa, December, 1945, under the auspices of the All African Convention, as an appeal to all sections of the oppressed majority in the country to unite in the common struggle against their common oppressors, the wealthy few who own and control the rich resources of the land.

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During the current year, 1946, there have been many signs of such common struggle in the intensified fight against the pass laws, in the militant strikes of African workers in the mines and other industries for a decent living wage, and in the resistance campaign against new anti-Indian legislation. But the government has answered these strivings for democratic rights with ever harsher repression, so clearly and shamelessly exemplified in the smashing of the mine workers' strike in August of this year.

It is imperative that America and the world know what fascist-like violation of human rights prevails in the Union of South Africa, hidden behind the silken screen of Prime Minister Smuts' appeals for "a better, freer world" and "humane" treatment of defeated Germany. The cry for freedom raised by eight million dispossessed, disfranchised, down-trodden people in South Africa must not go unheard, unanswered.

The South African government now asks the United Nations for the right to annex the mandate territory of South-West Africa, extending still further its regime of racial oppression

and exploitation. That request must be rejected. The American people, in the light of what is revealed in this pamphlet, must insist that it be rejected.

In taking such a position America and the United Nations will be upholding the Atlantic Charter, with its guarantee against territorial aggrandizement; they will be breathing life into the United Nations Charter, with its pledge of "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

8 Million Demand Freedom!

What about it, Gen. Smuts?

THE WHOLE ruling class without exception in the Union of South Africa — whether it is the United Party, the Labor Party or the Malanite Party[1]—are agreed on what they call the "Native Policy." That is, they are unanimous on the policy of reducing and keeping the Black man as a slave to minister to the needs of the White man and as a beast of burden to create wealth for him.

The only difference that exists among the ruling class on this question is a difference as to the *method* of attaining their ends. There is the old Boer method, that of the feudal landlord—the method of the sjambok. Then there is the much more cunning method used by the British Imperialists—the method of creating a set of circumstances which will force the African to toil for the White man.

It is the second method, of British Imperlialism, that has proved to be by far the more efficient. All the laws passed and the regulations made for the Black man have been devised in pursuance of this policy. To understand this is to have a key to the understanding of a mass of apparently contradictory laws. With this key, every law, every enactment of the Union of South

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1. The Nationalist Party, composed mainly of unregenerated Boers and pro-fascist elements, is headed by Dr. D. F. Malan and forms the main opposition to the United Party, headed by General Smuts, which now holds the majority of seats in the South African Parliament. The minority "Socialist" Labor Party does not include racial equality among its tenets. (Explanatory footnotes are supplementary to the original text.)

Africa is seen to fall into its proper place as a step in the steady progression towards the fulfilment of the basic policy of the ruling class.

Forcing the African into Wage Slavery

After the African people had been conquered and their land taken away from them, they were herded together into small strips of land known as the "Native Reserves." These were deliberately made small so that hunger would drive the African out of the Reserves to labor for the White man.

With the discovery of the gold mines in the eighteen-eighties and the resulting expansion of trade and industries, the building of railways and the growth of agriculture, the demand for African labor reached such huge proportions that the Government had to devise means to squeeze them out of the Reserves at a still faster rate. So they imposed a hut tax payable in cash which could only be earned by working for the Europeans.

But this was not enough, so they applied a drastic measure known as the Land Act of 1913. This Act prohibited Africans from buying land except in the overcrowded Reserves and made it illegal for them to occupy land on White farms on a rental or squatter system. Without warning, thousands of people were forced to sell their possessions and hire themselves out as laborers to the farmers or on the mines.

But the insatiable greed of the rapacious mine-owners and farmers demanded a still more violent expulsion of the African from the land. They therefore introduced the Poll Tax, hypocritically named the Natives Development Act. Under the pretence of bestowing a benefit upon the African they devised a more vicious method of forcing him out of the lean Reserves, and significantly made non-payment of the tax a criminal offense.

But still the demand for labor was greater than the supply, so that still more efficient schemes had to be evolved by the rulers. In 1936-1937 they passed the notorious "Native Acts," the Native Representation Act and the Native Trust and Land Act, the very names of which were an outrageous lie.

No Voice in Government

The form of representation provided under the Native Representation Act was a monstrous deception and a mockery. Three people were to represent eight million as against 150 representing 2½ million. And who were these three people? Members of the exploiting group representing the exploited! The whole idea is ludicrous. The jackals sit in council to discuss the fate of the sheep and ask the sheep to elect a few jackals to represent them! [2]

The Native Trust and Land Act is no less fraudulent, for the last thing it does is to give more land to the Africans, as they have learned through bitter experience since the Act was passed.

Nine years after the passing of the Land and Trust Act which was supposed to *give* land to the Africans, Mr. D. L. Smit, Secretary for Native Affairs, said before the House: "There never will be sufficient land to make every Native a farmer, not even when all the land in the Released Areas has been bought up." And the Minister of Native Affairs, van der Byl, said outright in Parliament: "We did not buy this land for the Natives to settle down and become peasants."

These ominous words were no accident, no mere expression of a whim on the part of the Minister, but the clear enunciation of a policy laid down long before him. Cecil Rhodes, during whose premiership the Native Policy for South Africa began to be more clearly defined, when introducing the Glen Grey Bill in 1894, said: "It must be brought home to every Black man

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2. Though the white representatives for the Africans, some more than others, have supported the interests of Africans, they are completely helpless to influence legislation. It should be noted that the Native Representation Act took away the right of Africans in the Cape Province to vote in the common election, and established a separate communal franchise for them, the same as was provided for the Indian population this year. Moreover, only a tiny fraction of the Africans who can meet the property qualification (white voters have no such requirement) enjoy the limited franchise. The demand for the cancellation of even this pretense of political representation of Africans has been recently voiced in the South African Parliament.

that in the future nine-tenths of them will have to spend their lives in daily labor, in physical work, in manual labor."

"What a Source of Labor!"

This is the same Rhodes who, riding through the territories and seeing a great gathering of Africans, was moved to exclaim: "What a source of labor!" Indeed, what a great source of labor! This phrase, whether it is expressed or unexpressed, must throb in the heart of every member of the ruling class when he sees a crowd of Africans. It was so, long before Rhodes' time, and it is so today. It is a remark that sums up the fundamental attitude of the White rulers towards the African. All the laws and regulations made against him are dictated by this attitude. They are made to reduce him into the position of nothing more than a laborer and a slave.

The process of creating a set of circumstances to force the Black man to labor had been going on for decades and therefore when Hertzog introduced his Native Bills in 1936-37, the whole ruling class thought that this time the job was being completed. They were delivering the last blow and, as they said, with smug self-satisfaction, the "Native Question" was being finally "settled." But no sooner had they made their plans for hounding Africans out of the Reserves than they realized that the expected gush of labor was not flowing out in sufficient numbers to meet their ever-increasing requirements, nor was it going exactly where they wanted it to go—i.e., to the mines and the farms.

Loud complaints of labor shortage were heard from all over the country. The representatives of the farmers were screeching in Parliament that their wheat was collecting rust and their mealies [corn] were rotting in the fields for lack of Black hands to gather them in. They complained that "hordes" of Africans in the Reserves were basking in the sunshine and drinking beer or flocking into the towns, attracted by bioscopes [movies] and a life of indolence. The Government wasn't doing its job properly and ought to be kicked out.

Smuts to the Rescue

Then Smuts calmly pointed out that his critics didn't know what they were talking about; he and his Government had the situation well in hand. He had sent his Minister of Native Affairs to discuss the labor shortage with the Agricultural Union. (The Minister of *Native* Affairs, if you please, goes *not* to the "Natives" but to the farmers to discuss the fate of the "Natives.") He (Smuts) regretted that the farmers had not co-operated and followed the example of the mines in the handling of their labor problem.

He went on to assure them that: "The Government would have to take steps to come to the assistance of the farmers . . . to create an organization for the recruitment of farm labor and the division of farm labor. . . . These were the matters that were being discussed with the Agricultural Union." (Hansard, 14th March, 1945.) The Government was not asleep. It had plans, comprehensive plans covering the whole African population; it had schemes for those in the Reserves and for those in the towns.

By day and by night, during peace and during war, the rulers never ceased laying their plans. While thousands of our people, at the call of the Government, joined up and went to fight against Fascism in Europe, and while the rest of the people at home had their eyes turned upon their brothers fighting afar off and breathlessly scanned the casualty lists to see if a father, a husband or a son were not among the list of the dead—all this time the rulers were ceaselessly working out their schemes for the further enslavement of our people.

But it was only after the war that the Africans began to realize what had been happening. Even before the war was over, when the rulers were already feeling more confident after the threat from the Germans and the Japanese was removed, the Africans had a foretaste of what was in store for them. These plans are on a national scale, covering the whole front, not only of the 8,000,000 Africans, but also the 900,000 Colored (people of mixed racial ancestry) and 250,000 Indians—the entire non-European (non-white) population.

Many Methods but One Purpose

On the African front they take one form in the Reserves to meet conditions there; in the towns they take another form and are called by different names. But their purpose is one and same, namely, the complete regimentation of African labor. Africans have to be hounded out of the Reserves and the so-called "redundant Natives" have to be hounded out of the towns and all driven, from whatever direction, into one inescapable channel leading to the White farms and to the mines, which are regarded as "the economic fly-wheel of the country" and therefore indispensable to its whole economy.

The latest plan for those Africans in the Reserves goes by the grand name of the Rehabilitation Scheme. As always in the past, the rulers would like to make out that it is something which will greatly benefit the Africans. They argue that soil erosion is rampant; it is increasing every day and is rapidly turning the Reserves into a desert. Yes, we agree. This is all terribly true. Then they say that the soil must be saved. Very good. We also agree. But how? That is the crux of the matter. Before you can treat a disease you must find out the cause of it, and it is here that we take our point of departure.

The rulers argue that soil erosion is due to overstocking and that therefore the African people should drastically reduce the number of their cattle. This is a preposterous argument. Today our people are disease-ridden because of malnutrition; they haven't the oxen to plough; the majority of the babies do not survive the first year because mothers are too starved to be able to feed them. Children are dying like flies from all sorts of diseases because there isn't enough cow's milk to build up their resistance to disease. These well-known facts give the lie direct to the statement that the Africans keep too many cattle. On the contrary, they have far too few cattle for their requirements.

It is not that the cattle are too many, but that the land is too small. There is an appalling shortage of land.

How the Land Is Divided

"Die Suiderstem," a Government paper (April 11, 1938), clearly set forth the land position in South Africa soon after the Land and Trust Act had been passed. The farmers had expressed alarm at the lavish promises of land for Africans made by the Government during the passing of the Bill. So to allay their fears the Government had to call its own bluff and explain the real situation to them, as follows:

"(1) The surface area of South Africa is 141,000,000 morgen.[3] Of that, the Natives will have only 16,800,000 morgen when all the Natives have been segregated and occupy all the areas which have been demarcated; i.e., they will then have one-eighth or 12 per cent of the total land area of the Union, which will leave 124,200,000 over for the Europeans.

"(2) As against that, the European rural population of the Union is about 700,000, while the Native population, when segregation is complete, will be 6,500,000; i.e., that the European rural population is approximately one-tenth of the Union's population and the Natives nine-tenths.

"(3) We thus have the position that at the conclusion of segregation, 10 per cent of the rural population, which is European, will inhabit 88 per cent of the surface area, while 90 per cent will inhabit only one-eighth of the area.

"(4) While therefore there will be 177 morgen for every European person, man, woman or child, there will be approximately 2½ morgen per Native."

Poverty in the Reserves

Once these bare facts on the real position of the division of land between European and African are revealed, the arguments of the rulers become exposed in all their enormity as a fraudulent hoax. One is amazed that with so little land for the Africans there is even a blade of grass left in the Reserves.

3. A morgen is 2.1 acres.

In fact, looking at the tiny strip of land into which so many people are concentrated and herded together, one would expect that the people alone, without any stock, would have trampled the soil bare with their feet. It is quite obvious that *there can be no talk of Rehabilitation in the Reserves while the land position remains as it is.* No amount of juggling with words will alter the plain fact that the root of the problem is LAND HUNGER.

It is not that the Government does not realize this. Their deliberate ignoring of this stark fact, and their stressing instead of over-stocking reveals their real intentions. (Those cattle again—they have always been a sore spot with the rulers!) They are not concerned with the welfare or prosperity of the African people in the Reserves. If they were really concerned about it, before talking about anything else, they would go straight to the root of the problem and give the Africans MORE LAND commensurate with their numbers.

But this would cut right across their plans. It would be the negation of their whole policy. For this shortage of land is not an accident; it is a deliberate policy on the part of the rulers.

More Government "Plans"

Their real intention comes out more clearly as we watch them unfolding their scheme. They propose to shift the population and reshuffle it in such a way that the "residential sites" are together on one side so as to leave an open space where there will be arable land on the one side and grazing fields on the other. This may sound plausible to some people. But what follows?

They are going to establish three types of new village settlements. Type (a) will be built near forests for those people who will be employed to work there. Type (b) will be placed near factories, presumably to be established by the Government for those people who will be employed there. In both these types of villages the workers will be able to return to their families

every night. Type (c) will be reserved for those workers who will be employed far away in places like the mines and the towns and can only return to their families at intervals of many months.

All these village-settlements will be subjected to rigorous supervision and the only people who will be allowed there will be those employed in the respective concerns. In those villages nobody will be able to live by ploughing because there will be no arable land attached. They will not be able to keep cattle or any other stock because there will be no grazing land attached. Of course there is a suggestion that milk will be sold cheaply to the people.

Those Africans occupying the village-settlements must be servants and live only on their wages. (Let us not ask what wages!) But this is not quite the whole point. The important thing is that the people must be permanently divorced from the land. They must be entirely deprived of any means of independent existence and rendered destitute, without land and without cattle. "Abandon hope all ye who enter here."

All this talk about special villages around forests, factories and so on, is spurious talk. What forests are there in the Reserves to warrant special villages? How many people could these forests absorb all told? As for these nebulous factories, precisely where and when are they going to be built and for what purpose? Are they charitable institutions? How many people will they absorb and what wages will they pay?

Has the Transkei,[4] suddenly revealed itself as a fertile field for business speculation with attractive factory sites all over the place and raw materials galore? No. These village-settlements are traps. They are actually intended to be labor depots to feed the mines and the farms.

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4. The Transkei is one of the most overcrowded "native reserve" areas in the Cape Province, notorious for the poverty, disease, and hunger prevalent there. A sample survey of the Transkei revealed that between 15 and 25 per cent of the African children died during the first year, about 30 per cent before the age of 2 years, and about 60 per cent before the age of 18 years.

No Future for Africans on the Land

In this light, the proposed reshuffling of the population reveals itself as a device to comb out all those Africans who have no arable land registered in their name. Only those who already possess arable land will get sites in the "residential area." The rest will be pushed on to the village-settlements (a), (b) or (c), according to the nature of their previous employment or the whim of an official in charge of the reshuffling operations. It is a well-known fact that the majority of the people in the Reserves have no land. It is only the old people who have plots registered in their names.

An old man may have four or five sons all married and living with him because they have no allotments, despite the fact that for years they have been paying the extra tax for those allotments. All those will be driven out into the village-settlements. Only the old men will be left in the Reserves. The mines and the farms have no more need for them; they have already been sucked dry and now they may go and die in the Reserves.

It is young blood that is wanted. The young men must be driven from their homes into the village-settlements, the labor-depots, and from there they must enter the inescapable channel that leads them to the mines and the farms. The whole diabolical scheme must have been worked out in detail in a cold, calculated fashion. This is the real purpose of the Rehabilitation Scheme. This is part of the whole plan to which Smuts referred in Parliament when he assured the farmers that the Government was taking steps to help them to increase their labor supply.

Control of Africans in Urban Areas

The Africans living in and entering the towns do not escape from these all-embracing plans. The machinery for dealing with them is different from that employed in the Reserves, but it is designed for the same purpose. They come under the Urban Areas Act of 1923 with its many Amendments for the control of

Africans in town, so that now it is only necessary to create a set of regulations under the existing laws.

The latest scheme for urban Africans, then, goes by the grand name of a "Housing Scheme," accompanied by the new Pass System grandiloquently called "Regulations for the *protection* and control of Natives in town." By this time their language has become familiar to us—a vicious attack is always cloaked in fine words and the appearance of bestowing a benefit upon its victims. The more vicious the attack, the more pretentious is the language. Their grand "Housing Scheme" means nothing else but locations[5] and their "Regulations for the protection of Natives" are nothing less than the old Transvaal Pass System extended to the Cape.[6]

Let us now examine both these schemes, which are in fact two complementary parts of one and the same plan of urban control. The people, especially those in the Cape, do not always realize the full significance of locations. Many Africans think that locations are built because of two reasons: (a) that Europeans do not like to live side by side with Black people, and (b) that municipalities want to provide cheaper and better houses for the poor Non-European.

The former reason is used by the Malanites with their usual brutal frankness because for them residential segregation (i.e., locations) is the logical completion of the accepted policy of segregation in the political as well as the economic sphere. On the other hand, the second argument is typical of the more subtle methods employed by British Imperialism and its agents, the Government supporters and the liberals, the so-called "friends" of the African.

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5. Locations are segregated residence quarters for non-white urban workers situated some distance outside the city limits. They are owned and rented by the municipalities and are in general the worst type of congested slums.

6. The four Provinces of the Union of South Africa are Transvaal, the gold mine region where restrictions on non-whites are most severe; Natal, where the Indians this year were placed under permanent residential restrictions; Orange Free State, European farming country where new gold fields were recently discovered; and the Cape, which formerly was relatively less discriminatory than the other Provinces in its treatments of non-whites.

"the most appalling conditions"

Even the Minister of Native Affairs, while steering the Native Laws Amendment Bill through Parliament (1944) and in the very act of launching a new attack upon the people, beat his breast and shed crocodile tears over "these unfortunate Natives who come to the Peninsula to look for a better job and a better living, but who are living under the most appalling conditions." As usual they give any and every reason for their schemes except the correct one.

The real reason for creating locations is to isolate the Africans and concentrate them in one spot for the purpose of bringing them under complete control. An independent African living in town may, by virtue of occupying or owning a house, become a voter and possess certain human rights (limited though they may be) which safeguard him from being treated as a sub-human chattel. But in a location he is deprived of these rights. He may not become a voter by virtue of occupying a house no matter what its valuation is or what monthly rent he pays.

The location is no place for an independent African. A location is a glorified compound[7] which only those may occupy who are required for the needs of the urban employer or who are actually employed. Just as on the mines no man may occupy a compound unless he is actually employed, so no man may live in a location unless he is employed in that town to which the location is attached. The only difference is that in the town compound (i.e., the location) a man may be allowed to live with his wife and family.

The Hated Pass System

But their plan for complete urban control requires something further, namely, the pass system. The latest scheme, the introduction of the Pass System to the Cape, is designed as the completion of this process of the control of Africans in the town.

7. A fenced-in barracks on mine property where African mine workers live, separated from their families.

Every Black man in town is to be docketed, so that there is a complete check-up on how many there are, what their employment is, and where they stay.

Every Black person must carry a pass to show that he is looking for work, a pass to show that he has got work, a pass to show that he is allowed to be in the urban area, or a pass to show that he has to clear out, or a pass to show that he does not need to carry a pass. These apply to every man, woman and child.

As we know, in a concentration camp all the inmates are tagged and docketed; and in a prison each man has a number written in large letters on the shirt he wears. Here, African casual laborers and independent contractors must wear a badge placed in a prominent place on their person. A dog, too, wears a badge round its neck to show that its license has been paid.

But that is not all. The rulers have made preparations also for those who will be driven by hunger out of the Reserves and other parts of the country to come and seek work in the towns. They have made provision for a recruiting system like the Native Recruiting Corporation for the mines, so that all Africans coming into town must pass through this recruiting channel that leads to the labor-depots in town. But in case some should escape the recruiting channel and get into the urban area on their own—they have made plans for them, too.

As Smuts pointed out during the debate on the control of the "influx of Natives" into town, it is extremely difficult to prevent them from coming in. The country is wide and they come from all over. "It is an impracticable measure," he said. "We would have to do it throughout the whole country and we would have to call into being administrative machinery for that purpose, which is *not* possible." (Hansard, 14th March, 1945.)

So what should be done? Smuts proceeds to suggest a way out. "It is very much better," he said, "to create the *bottleneck* here. The Native comes here to look for employment in a big centre and here we can get hold of him. Here he comes under the *control* of the administration."

The Pass Regulations, then, make provision for those people who enter town in this way. On their arrival they would have to go, within 24 hours, to report to the urban authorities and get one or more of the many passes. The whole scheme is such that there is no loophole of escape. Every Black man, woman or child who puts foot into town is docketed and comes under rigid control. He is here, stripped of all rights and completely at the mercy of the urban authorities.

The rulers have indeed laid their plans on a nation-wide scale. In the towns they propose creating bottle-necks at the labor-depots; in the Reserves the bottle-necks are to be the so-called village-settlements. Here we have a picture of a whole population forced through bottle-necks and dammed up in labor reservoirs. From these reservoirs channels are created, leading to the White farms and the mines. This is the meaning of their Rehabilitation Scheme in the Reserves. This is the meaning of their Housing Scheme and their Pass Regulations in the town.

Even this is not all. The Fascist mind which conceived these plans knows no limit. Not content with preparing for the complete enslavement of the adult Black population, they now propose to deal with our children, too. A Government body known as the Social and Economic Planning Council has worked out a scheme whereby the Government is asked to form what they call a Utility Corporation, "to train Natives aged 14 to 19 and form them into service units to undertake farming and industrial work."

Regimentation of Child Labor, Too

As usual they declare the scheme to be "for the welfare" of the Africans. Let us see what this amounts to. The Utility Corporation is to recruit young boys of 14 to 19. Their parents have to sign a contract handing their children over to the Corporation for a period of five years. The boys will be housed in tents in various camps throughout the country. They are supposed to receive "scholastic and vocational training" and will be called "students."

But the very purpose of creating this Utility Corporation, as declared by the Government body itself, namely, "to form service units to undertake farming and industrial work," explodes the myth of "scholastic and vocational training" and exposes the whole hoax. In fact, the boys will be hired out to farmers and industrialists in the respective districts, and these will pay, not the boys for their services, but the Corporation.

The enormity of the fraud of doing something for the "benefit" of young Africans comes out in the payment which the Corporation in turn proposes to give the boys for their labor. For the first year they are to get 3d. (about 5 cents) a day; in the second year, 9d. a day, with deferred pay of 3d. In the third year they will get 1s. (20 cents) a day, with deferred pay of 6d.; in the fourth year, 1s. 3d. a day, with deferred pay of 9d.; in the fifth year, 1s. 6d. a day, with deferred pay of 1s. At no time in the five years, therefore, will the boys get more than 6d. a day!

Then the deferred pay will be invested and the interest will go to the Corporation, which will thus make its profits by hiring the boys out to the farmers and industrialists and proceed to make further profits by collecting the interest from the deferred pay. When we consider that they propose to recruit 60,000 boys for a start, then we have some idea of the amount of money they will make out of our children.

But again and yet again. That is not the end of the matter. Just as the other schemes of the rulers are designed to wrench the people from the soil, strip them of all rights, herd them together in labor-depots and hold them under complete regimentation, so this proposed Utility Corporation Scheme for our children is designed to create child-labor battalions placed at strategic points all over the country. There is a completeness and a thoroughness about their plans that is truly diabolical. In case the schemes for the adult population do not work out with clock-like perfection (for they have found this to be so in the past) they will have in readiness a supplementary army of boys. And these child-battalions can also be used for another purpose.

They can be used to scab on their parents if they should go on strike for higher wages.

White Labor Also Faces Attack

These sinister plans to turn the whole African population, adult and child, into a regimented labor-force are a grave threat to the whole working class of South Africa.

During the course of the war, the most devastating in the history of mankind, the rulers were haunted by the spectre of the depression which they feared would come afterwards. They feared that the end of the war would herald a period when the various countries would be faced with crisis after crisis and the whole world would be held in the grip of economic depression. South Africa would not escape it, and they decided to take drastic measures to meet it. So they set about making their preparations.

The primary purpose of the exploiters is to maintain their rate of profits at a high level. During a depression this is effected by reducing the wages of the workers. Now organized labor resists this through its trade unions, so it is necessary for the rulers to devise means for smashing them. There are two ways of doing this. The one is by collaring the existing unions and turning them into company unions under the control of the bosses. The other is by smashing them outright.

Already attempts are being made to do the former and they are starting with what they regard as the weaker unions, i.e., the Colored and Indian Unions. It is certain that if the European trade unions do not come decisively to the aid of the Colored and Indian unions, they, too, will be attacked in the same way.

No Trade Union Rights for Africans

African trade unions are in any case not recognized by law and, sad to say, the powerful European unions are in agreement with this. In spite of non-recognition, however, the African

trade unions have been growing from strength to strength and fighting for and getting improvements in their conditions of work.[8] The Government now seeks to curb and undermine this development by giving them some sort of "recognition"—which actually hands them over holus-bolus to the control of the Native Affairs Department.

As to the other alternative open to the Government, namely, of smashing the trade unions outright, preparations have already been made. The rulers know no other than the old and well-tried method of "divide and rule," of setting one section of the oppressed against another. This is what they want to do now on a wide scale.

"Divide and Rule"

The White worker has been so well bribed at the expense of the Non-European worker and so long fed on color prejudice, that he has been completely blinded to his real position as a worker and has aligned himself with the exploiter against the Non-European. Up to now he has not only connived at the oppressive measures directed against his fellow-workers, the Non-Europeans, but he has actively assisted the Government in enslaving them. So blind is he that he does not even realize that their depressed and helpless condition constitutes a threat to his own position, and that in fact the Black man is eventually going to be used against him.

The system of recruiting Black labor is designed to lower the wage level of the African people. But this in itself is a threat to the wage level of the Colored and Indian worker and, in the long run, of the White worker, too. The recruiting system accompanied by the damming up and regimentation of African

8. A notable instance of the rising strength of organized African labor in South Africa, despite the withholding of collective bargaining rights and the repressive measures of government and management, was the history-making strike led by the African Mine Workers Union in August, 1946. The strike was smashed with brutal efficiency by the police; this was accompanied and followed by widespread raids on progressive organizations and arrests of labor leaders and strike supporters, white as well as African, throughout South Africa.

labor constitutes more than a threat to the whole working class.

In the final analysis organized labor has only one weapon of defense against an attack on its wage level and that is a strike. At the present moment recognized trade unions (i.e., European, Colored and Indian trade unions) can boast of and rely on their Industrial Conciliation Boards and other channels for negotiating with the employers. But when a crisis arises and the employers brush aside the Industrial Councils, etc., then the trade unions will have to resort to strikes.

But this is precisely the contingency which the ruling-class has prepared against. They will have in readiness the mass of controlled Black labor to be used as strike-breakers against them. The White, Colored and Indian trade unionists will have their trade union cards in their hands, but they will be without work unless they are prepared to accept the terms of the employers. This mass of regimented Black labor will knock the bottom out of the trade union movement. In other words, one section of the workers will be used against another section.

Need for United Struggle

This then clearly indicates the inter-connection between the struggles of the different sections of the workers and oppressed peoples. It is a vital necessity for the workers to view their struggles against the exploiters, NOT as sectional, isolated and unconnected problems, but as forming one individual whole. Thus what might have appeared on the face of it as simply an attack on the one section, the African, reveals itself as in fact an attack on all sections of the workers and oppressed people.

Oppression is indivisible. The Government plans for the whole and each scheme is part of a single comprehensive plan. Each scheme or attack is in the nature of a sortie in a long, nation-wide front. It is precisely this circumstance which imposes on us the duty and necessity to view OUR STRUGGLE ON A NATIONAL SCALE.

Each struggle must be seen as a particular aspect of resistance

to one common oppression. And this common oppression flows from one source—THE LACK OF POLITICAL RIGHTS.

The struggles of the Africans, the struggles of the Colored and of the Indians are inseparably connected. It is not a question of the disabilities of the Africans or the disabilities of the Colored or of the Indians. It is not a question of this particular law or that particular law. IT IS A QUESTION OF A WHOLE OUTRAGEOUS SYSTEM OF OPPRESSION. You cannot lift that oppression from one section and leave the other straining under its yoke. You cannot hope to liberate one section without at the same time liberating all.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, INC.

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THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, organized in 1937, has as its central purpose to provide an accurate understanding of Africa and its people and to stimulate public opinion and action toward supporting the Africans' struggle for security, democracy, and freedom.

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The library of the Council at the above address is open to everyone interested in the study of African problems. Bibliographies of recommended materials for use in reading programs on Africa are available. All requests for information are welcome.

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THE UNITED STATES AND LIBERIA
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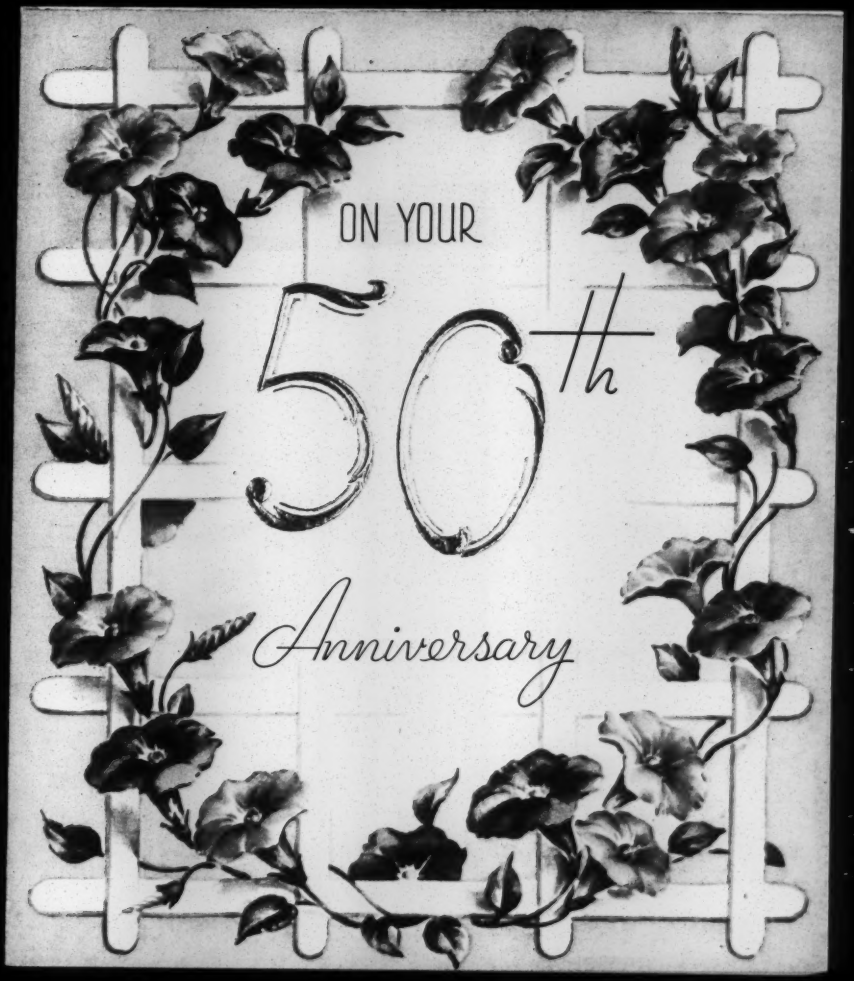
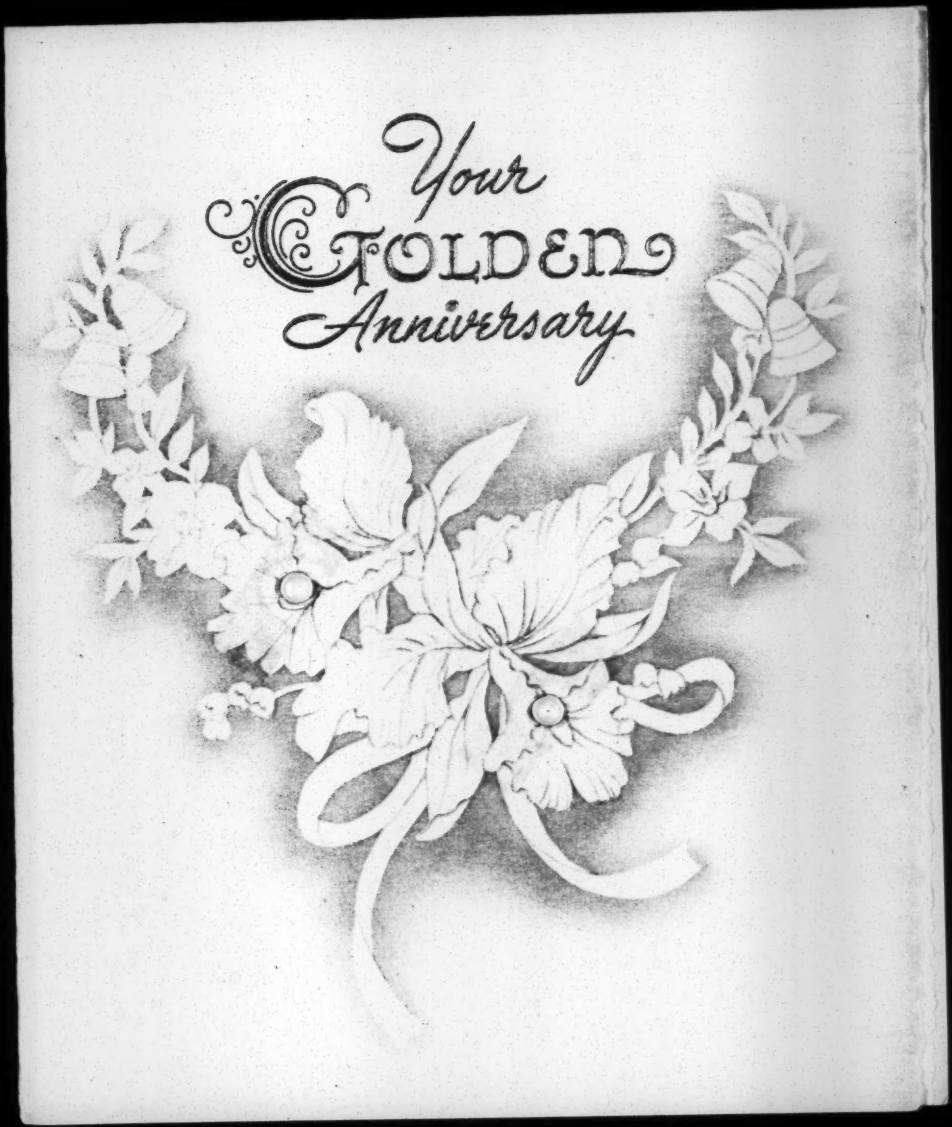

ON YOUR
50th
Anniversary

Sincere congratulations!
May this Anniversary mean
You will have a golden harvest
Of still brighter joys to glean,
And a future so delightful
That each milestone that appears
Will mean still happier memories
To be counted with the years!

Alice + Fred Crawford


Your
GOLDEN
Anniversary

Dr & Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois

My dear Friends,

As my sister Otelia is away at this time, I am writing for the family to congratulate you on this occasion.

Very sincerely yours,

Mary E. Cromwell

CONGRATULATIONS
and
GOOD WISHES ~
and may
happy contentment
continue to bless
your days together.

(W.P. DABNEY)

21-29-82

Dabney Publishing Company

AND

Office of The Union

Phone Main 5168

238 EAST FOURTH STREET

CINCINNATI, OHIO

5/6/46

Mr. Dan Boris-

I more than regret my inability to come across financially for your Golden Wedding, as I did many years ago, "100" bucks with the Spingarn Corps of fifty of the faithful, to salvage your old family Estate. Since then I have been dealing with Aunt Dinah's Children —

and that is a "No" to a
prosperous financially.
However such is life,
but the Lord always knows
best for you, yet I have
not forced so well under
auspices of his Satanic
majesty.

Best wishes for you
& family. Yours
Conrad.

"An old old man"

P.S. Have taken the liberty of
making mention of you in the humor
this week.

(DAGNY)

On your
GOLDEN
Anniversary

Congratulations

Dr and Madam
W. E. B. Du Bois.

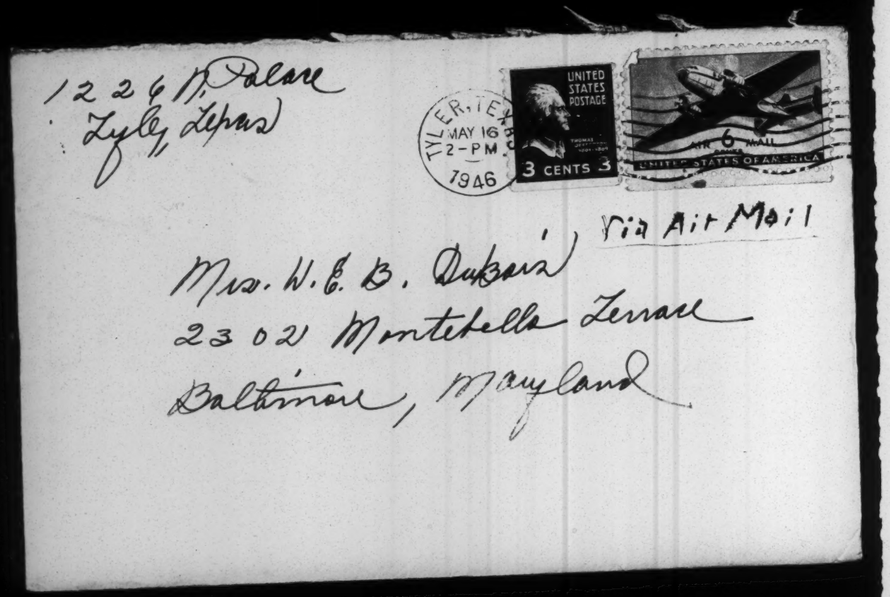
Congratulations — and many, many

good wishes for happiness on this,

your Golden Anniversary.

From one D# to another,
A friend is closer than a brother,
For the parents made the one,
But we select the other.

Wendell Phillips Dabney
Cincinnati, O. 5/12/46



(DARNELL)

1226 N. Palace
Tyler, Texas
May 16, 1946

21-28-16

Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mrs. DuBois,

You will think this a most absurd letter. But I am exposing my affairs to you, believing that you have lived long enough to be acquainted (not by experience) with circumstances which almost make one mentally unbalance or impaired.

2.

Before I tell you my story I am asking that you keep it as one of the things that you never will reveal. There are many people of prominence who know me, and I am sure we know some of the same people.

21-32-12

My name is (Mrs.) Harriet E. Darnell. I am graduate of one of the best State Colleges (not of Texas Prairie View, I am not a Texan). I have been married fourteen years to a methodist minister. My husband has been especially trained for the ministery, having spent three years at Gammon

21-28-18

Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia. He is just about to be released from the army where he has served as a Chaplain. I have one daughter, we lost our eldest daughter two years ago this May.

While my husband was away he asked that we save a certain amount for a years time: but it has been impossible, but I agreed to it. He does not realize the multiplicity of things which enter into every day living. And as you know things

21-28-19

have been over fifty per cent higher. I paid for a lot and have our home in process of construction. I worked last spring as an Emergency War Food Assistant for four months, which is all the work I have done since my husband has been away. On April 15, '40 I began a full time job teaching tailoring in a school for veterans.

Mr. Dutair I want to you to loan me two thousand dollars which I need to balance my account. You may wonder why not get it here. First, I can

21-28-20

not get it from the bank with out giving a lean on my home. Second, my friends who would do this for me, cannot. I am not begging for a gift but a loan with interest. You could so fix it as that your daughter would have charge. And for my self, my husband made me power of attorney, and so, he is an honest honorable man and would not hesitate to take any transaction that I would (only) ↑ lead. I have a good government insurance that you could hold. You see I do not want to disappoint

my husband, even though it is an extreme sacrifice. One day I shall tell him.

I am an honest woman, have lived in this community for fourteen twelve years. My credit rating is good. Please do this for me, you will not lose. I have asked God for help. I will repay you — I simply want a long time loan, with what ever interest you ask.

You are wondering I am sure why ask you. Last week I read of your Fiftieth Anniversary; may I please here & offer "Congratulations"; and some how it came to me

21-28-21

21-28-22

That you might be an answer to a problem which has given me much agony.

Please forgive me for what may seem a breach of business, & do prayerfully consider me and try to sympathize with my position & I wish that I could see you and talk. Some times people of your status have not the capacity to sympathize with their less fortunate brother.

Again congratulations to you and your illustrious husband on this your ~~Fifty~~ Fiftieth Anniversary of marriage.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth L. Darnell

TELEPHONE
NEWTON No. 0245

OFFICE HOURS
3 TO 4 & 7 TO 8 P.M.

CHAS. A. DAVENPORT, M. D.
25 PARK STREET
NEWTON, MASS.

21-29-48

May 10. 1946

Dear Du Bois:

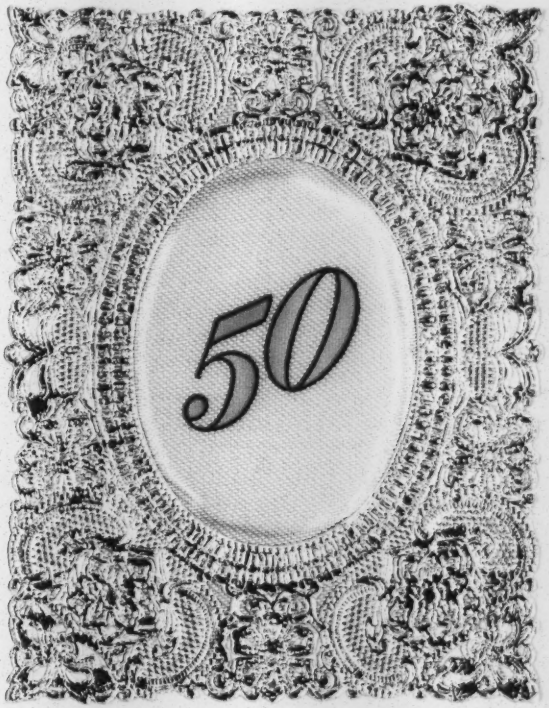
I received your Golden Wedding Announcement, and wish to extend you and yours my hearty congratulation, and wish you many golden years of health and happiness.

Sincerely Yours

C A Davenport

(DAVIS)

On your
GOLDEN
Anniversary



Congratulations

Congratulations — and many, many

good wishes for happiness on this,

your Golden Anniversary.

Emma & Carrington Davis.

[Davis]

1050 East 98th St.
Cleveland, Ohio
March 2nd, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

21-19-110

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I was more than sorry to learn of the illness of Mrs. DuBois, but am glad to learn that she is improving. Will you please convey to her the best wishes of Mrs. Davis and myself.

Mrs. Davis herself has been home from the Cleveland Clinic Hospital for about a week, where she was confined with a very serious illness. She is now on the upgrade and gives every indication of complete improvement. I will convey your good wishes to her.

Sincerely yours,

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm

2 May 1946

21-19-78

My dear Mr. and Mrs. Davis:

Thank you so much for your hospitality. I assure you it was a very pleasant interlude. I found everything all right here.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. and Mrs. Harry E. Davis
1050 East 98th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

17 July 1946

21-19-95

My dear Davis:

I want to send a circular letter to the colored masons. Should I direct it to one person or to several state organizations and in either case can you send me the proper address or addresses?

I hope this will find you and Mrs. Davis well.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Attorney Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

HARRY E. DAVIS
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
202-206 ENGINEERS BUILDING
CLEVELAND 14

MAIN 1320

21-21-35

July 18, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

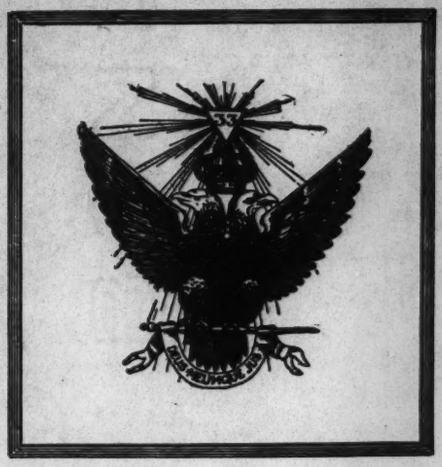
Your circular should be sent to each State organization as they are sovereign and independent.

I enclose the names and addresses you requested.

Very truly yours

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm



The United Supreme Council

Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry (Prince Hall Affiliation), Northern Jurisdiction, U. S. A., Inc.

Grand East at the Valley of Philadelphia, Pa., under the C:. C:. of the Z:., Near the B:. B:., answering to 39° 57 Northern Latitude, 75° 11 West Meridian of Greenwich.

HARRY E. DAVIS, 33°
Special Deputy for Foreign Relations,
202-206 Engineers Building,
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Social news

October 31, 1946

21-19-52

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thanks very much for the very kindly article which appears in the Chicago Defender of November 2nd, in your column. It is pleasing to me to know that you have such a good opinion of my effort and I want you to know how I feel about it.

With all good wishes, I am,

Fraternally,

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm

Social
mem

HARRY E. DAVIS
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
202-206 ENGINEERS BUILDING
CLEVELAND 14

MAIN 1320

December 26, 1946

21-15-12

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It is with deep regret that I must advise you of the death of Mrs. Louise Davis, wife of Harry E. Davis. Mrs. Davis passed away Monday evening, December 23, 1946.

Very truly yours,

J. R. Marr

J. R. Marr, Secretary

Mrs

CENTRAL JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
2200 EAST 55TH STREET
CLEVELAND 3, OHIO

RUSSELL H. DAVIS
PRINCIPAL

MARGARET E. PERNER
ASSISTANT PRINCIPAL

May 2, 1946

21-19-79

Social News

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am sending you under separate cover the pamphlets which I promised you on April 28.

Very truly yours,

Russell H. Davis
M.S.P.

Russell H. Davis
Principal

10 May 1946

21-19-86

My dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you very much for the pamphlets sent me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Principal Russell H. Davis
Central Junior High School
2200 East 55th Street
Cleveland 3

Du Bois Williams

2500 Fayetteville Road
Durham N.C.
March 14, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois—

I was planning to write you before I heard of Mrs. DuBois illness to remind you that you promised to send me a picture of your grand-daughter, DuBois— Then I became concerned about her and have written her and Yolande and I sent her some roses to the Provident Hospital in Baltimore when I was in New York— I had to do it through my sister Wenonah— and I just wondered if they ever arrived.

21-19-137

I also asked Yolande to see that she got her physio-therapy treatments early in the game. They had no department of that sort in the hospital here and I am still the worse for it. I am hoping that she is getting along famously by now— Please let me know.

knowing her as I do, I'd hate to see her have the same handicap that I have.

I've been trying to write an article as a sort of continuation of the work of my book - something about this new generation that has grown up since 1930, and I wanted to use a few pictures to illustrate it. Would you mind if I used hers - DuBois, I mean? I shall thank you for letting me have it. Sincerely.

Caroline B. Day.

18 March 1946

21.19-132

Dear Carrie:

Thank you so much for your letter of March fourteenth. Mrs. Du Bois is in the Montefiore Hospital here in New York and we sent her there just as soon as she could be moved from Baltimore. She is receiving the best treatment available probably in the United States and has really made remarkable progress: she can walk and is beginning to use her left hand. Of course she is still pretty helpless. I am hoping to keep her there for a month or so longer.

I am asking Scurlock to send you a photograph of Du Bois. We had them taken on her twelfth birthday, October 1945. She is well, tall and doing good work in school.

Mrs. Du Bois joins me in best regards to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Caroline B. Day
2500 Fayetteville Road
Durham, North Carolina

DURHAM
JUN 1
2 3[30] PM
1946
N. C.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. W E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave
New York City

6/11/41 2500 Fayetteville Rd
Durham N.C.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

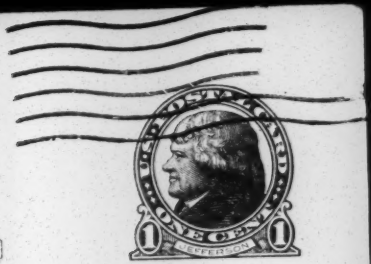
I have never received the photograph which you said that you had asked Shenlock to send me over two months ago when I heard from you. It was to be a photograph of DuBois.

I hope that Mrs. DuBois is still improving.

Sincerely,
Caroline B. Day.

21-19-1725

DURHAM
JUN 27
3:30 PM
1946
2
N. C.



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave
New York City

[Caroline B. Day]

2500 Fayetteville Road
Durham N.C.

June 27, 1946

21-10-01

Dear Dr. DuBois—

The picture of DuBois came from Skurlock a few days ago. Thank you very much. She has grown so much in a few years. I hope that Mrs DuBois is still gaining.

Sincerely yours. Carrie

26 July 1946

21-19-99

My dear Carrie:

I am glad you got the picture of DuBois at last. I thought I had ordered it before. Mrs. Du Bois left the New York hospital a couple of weeks ago and is now at home in Baltimore. She is gaining slowly and can walk and use her left hand a little. I think if all goes well she will get still better. I was down there last weekend and she spoke of you. She will be glad to hear from you and perhaps she can get DuBois to write you a letter one of these days. DuBois goes to school at Northfield this fall; it will be an experience for her.

I hope you are getting on well. My best regards to you and the family.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Carrie Bond Day:
2500 Fayetteville Road
Durham, North Carolina

(DEBERRY)

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21-29-72

May 8, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
DuBois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mrs. DeBerry and I wish to join the host of your friends and admirers in extending to you and Mrs. DuBois our heartiest congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of the observance of your golden wedding.

Because of your long, brilliant and distinguished record as scholar, thinker and writer; and because of the unique public service which you have rendered as the champion of intercultural justice and good will, your race and your country owe you an unending debt of gratitude and honor.

With cordial appreciation and esteem, I am

Yours sincerely,

William N. DeBerry

WND:lh

21-19-159

28 August 1946

Dear Mrs. De Berry:

My granddaughter Du Bois Williams is going to attend Northfield Academy in September. Once a month she will want to come down to Springfield to have her hair washed. I was wondering if you or somebody you could select to take charge of her on such visits for a day. I think she can make a round-trip in one day. We would of course pay any expense. She is an agreeable child of thirteen. Kindly let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. W.N. De Berry
643 Union Street
Springfield, Mass.

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

Grand Chapter

OFFICE OF THE
GRAND PRESIDENT

MAE WRIGHT DOWNS
BOX 121
SEWELL, N. J.

September 23, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

The petition which will be sent to the United Nations Conference merits commendation.

In my opinion, the following agencies or organizations would be interested in receiving a copy:

Fellowship House
15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

United Nations Council of Philadelphia
106 South Sixteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Although it was impossible for me to be present at the initial meeting called by you on August twenty-first, I appreciate your invitation and hope that I can attend a subsequent meeting. Our organization, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, however was represented by Mrs. Bertell Collins Wright, who has kept me informed of the proceedings.

Best personal regards to you and your family.

Very sincerely yours,

Mae Wright Downs

Mae Wright Downs, President
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

MWD;gr

[DELTA SIGMA THETA]

21-21-05

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

Grand Chapter

September 24, 1946

Office of the Grand President
Mae Wright Downs
Box 121
Sewell, N. J.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for Advancement Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

The set of proposals in re the rights of African Negroes and their descendants in the West Indies and the United States, drawn up by the Pan African Congress on August 31 in New York to be submitted to the Assembly of the United Nations, has the unqualified approval of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority. The name of this organization may be listed when the proposals are submitted.

I shall be glad to represent the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority at the meeting scheduled for 2 P.M. October 5 in the auditorium of the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library.

Very sincerely yours,

Mae Wright Downs

Mae Wright Downs, President
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

MWD:r

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

Grand Chapter

OFFICE OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
BERTELL COLLINS WRIGHT
CHAIRMAN
122 WILLOWDALE ROAD
MONTCLAIR, NEW JERSEY

October 1, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Chairman
Pan African Congress
Color and Democracy
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th St.,
New York 18, New York

42-8-F-52

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have submitted copies of the petition to the Assembly of the United Nations, regarding the establishment of the rights of African peoples to freedom, self-support, intelligence and political autonomy, to the members of the Public Affairs Committee. I can now report for the Committee that it is in full agreement with the document as it is already drawn up. We feel that it contains all of the things which we would like to see such a petition include.

Members of my Committee have submitted the following named organizations who will be interested in receiving copies of the petition:

National Association of Negro Women
Mrs. Chrystine Smith, President
S Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Fellowship House
Philadelphia Fellowship Commission
260 - 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

United Nations Council of Philadelphia
106 So. Sixteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Our Grand President, Mrs. Mae Wright Downs, and I shall be on hand on Saturday afternoon for the second meeting of the Pan African Congress.

Very truly yours,

Bertell Collins Wright

(Mrs.) Bertell Collins Wright
Chairman, Public Affairs Committee

BCW:MAB

OFFICERS

GRAND PRESIDENT
MAE WRIGHT DOWNS
BOX 121
SEWELL, N. J.

VICE PRESIDENT
DOROTHY I. HEIGHT
600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

GRAND SECRETARY
REBER S. CANN
5223 WARD STREET
CINCINNATI 27, OHIO

GRAND TREASURER
BEATRICE E. PENMAN
742 GREELEY STREET
KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

GRAND HISTORIAN
MINERVA H. JOHNSON
926-17TH AVENUE NORTH
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

GRAND JOURNALIST
DOROTHY LYMAS
5730 ARCH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 39, PENNSYLVANIA

UNDERGRADUATE COORDINATOR
GLORIA V. HEWLETT
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

LEGAL ADVISOR
SADIE T. M. ALEXANDER
40 SOUTH NINETEENTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 3, PENNSYLVANIA

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EASTERN REGION
MARIAN P. CAPPS
BOX 123
HAMPTON INSTITUTE, VIRGINIA

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1112 CLAY STREET
TOPEKA, KANSAS

SOUTHWEST REGION
CHRYSTINE SHACKLES
1132 LINCOLN STREET
AUSTIN, TEXAS

MIDWEST REGION
GWENDOLYN H. HIGGINBOTHAM
132 WILLIAMS STREET
BLUEFIELD, WEST VIRGINIA

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ADDIE JONES
1117 TULLEY STREET
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

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IRENE McCLELLAN
1510 ADAMS STREET
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

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CHAIRMAN
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NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

SCHOLARSHIP
NAOMI R. CHEROT
CHAIRMAN
1150 WASHINGTON BOULEVARD
KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

COMMITTEES

BUDGET
MYRA D. HEMMINGS
CHAIRMAN
520 SOUTH OLIVE STREET
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

PUBLIC AFFAIRS
BERTELL COLLINS WRIGHT
CHAIRMAN
122 WILLOWDALE ROAD
MONTCLAIR, NEW JERSEY

VIGILANCE
MARIAN T. WRIGHT
CHAIRMAN
1858 CALIFORNIA STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JEWELRY
ALMA HARLLEE
CHAIRMAN
5819 ARCH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 39, PENNSYLVANIA

STANDARDS
LOUBERTA M. WILSON
CHAIRMAN
141 HUNTINGTON PLACE
CINCINNATI, OHIO

ELISE FLETCHER NICHOLS
SECRETARY
2265 SHERMAN AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

PAN-HELLENIC REPRESENTATIVE
ETHEL RAMOS HARRIS
101 LEECHBURG ROAD
NEW KENSINGTON, PA.

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

Grand Chapter

Office of the
Grand President
Mae Wright Downs
Box 121
Sewell, N. J.

October 17, 1946

42-8F-65

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

In reply to your letter of October 9, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority will be glad to have a representative present when the petition (previously discussed) will be presented to the secretariat of the United Nations.

As soon as the date has been set, I can name the representative.

Very truly yours,

Mae Wright Downs

MWD:fl

Mae Wright Downs, President

3 October 1946

Dear Miss Diamond:

I have consented to speak at the Southern Negro Youth Legislature at Columbia, S.C. October 20th. I am sorry not to be able to join in your farewell dinner to the participants, but my duties preclude this. I appreciate the opportunity to do something for these young people. I have known the Southern Negro Youth Congress for a long time and have been on their advisory board. I especially admire the courage of those who are willing to discuss and work on the Negro problem right in the South which is the real firing line of race relations in this nation.

21-19-50

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Freda Diamond
40 East 49th Street
New York City

TELEPHONE KENWOOD 9200

LAW OFFICE
EARL B. DICKERSON
3501 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO

21-17-24

September 26, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

My dear Doctor DuBois:

Thank you for your letter under date of September 25. In my opinion, your proposed petition to the Assembly of UN is unquestionably timely and wise. I should indeed be gratified to undertake the assignment mentioned by you if the dead-line is not too soon.

Would you be kind enough to advise me of the approximate date you would want my article? As you realize, it will require some considerable research to achieve the accuracy and perspective necessary for a paper of this importance. I shall be glad to undertake it, however, if there is reasonable time.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Earl B. Dickerson

EBD/dr

61-21-19

2 October 1946

My dear Mr. Dickerson:

Thank you for your letter of September 26. What we want in your article is twenty pages outlining the way in which the legal rights of Negroes have been denied during the period of 1787 and the First World War. Mr. Konvitz will show what their legal rights were; then you will show how these rights have been violated during that time. Could you let me have very soon a brief outline of what you propose to write? Then I could warn other writers off your territory and the whole thing would fit into a completed story. Do you think I could have a completed manuscript in my hands by October 26th? I know this is asking a great deal but the need is imperative. Let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Earl B. Dickerson
3501 South Parkway,
Chicago, Illinois

TELEPHONE KENWOOD 9200

LAW OFFICE
EARL B. DICKERSON
3501 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO

21-17-26

October 7, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dept. of Special Research, N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your letter of the 2nd instant. Please be advised that I shall undertake the writing of the paper and shall have an outline to you within the week and shall make every effort to have the paper itself ready for you by the 26th.

Very truly yours,

Earl B. Dickerson

TELEPHONE KENWOOD 9200

LAW OFFICE
EARL B. DICKERSON
3501 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO

21-17-34

October 21, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

My dear Doctor DuBois:

Enclosed is an outline of Part II of the Petition to the United Nations Associates which you assigned to me in your letter of September 25, 1946. May I have your comments on this?

Although I am planning to meet the deadline of October 26, I would like to suggest a few days extension of the deadline in case a delay becomes necessary. Please inform me if this arrangement would be satisfactory.

Very sincerely yours,

Earl B. Dickerson

EBD/dr
Encl.

21-17-35

23 October 1946

Sir:

Your letter to Dr. Du Bois dated October 21 and enclosing outline of Part II of the petition to the United Nations reached this office during the absence of Dr. Du Bois.

Dr. Du Bois will not be back in the city before October 28th.

Respectfully yours,

Lorenz B. Graham

Mr. Earl B. Dickerson
3501 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

21-17-7

5 November 1946

My dear Mr. Dickerson:

Will you kindly send me a brief summary of the highlights in your career, that I could use in a small biographical note? I should be greatly obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Earl B. Dickerson
3501 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

TELEPHONE KENWOOD 9200

LAW OFFICE
EARL B. DICKERSON
3501 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO

21-17-4

November 12, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director, Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Complying with your request of November 5th, I am sending you herewith a statement of some of my activities together with a brief biographical sketch which you may use as you see fit.

Very sincerely yours,

Earl B. Dickerson

EBD:ON
Encls. 2

[Enc. from Dickerson]

21-17

C
O

~~EARL B.~~ DICKERSON, A. B. ; J. D.; President, National Bar Association; former Assistant Attorney General, State of Illinois; former Corporation Counsel, City of Chicago; former member of the City Council, City of Chicago; former member, President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices; Vice-President and General Counsel, Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF EARL B. DICKERSON

EARL B. DICKERSON was born June 22, 1891 in Canton, Mississippi. Gratuated: (a) Evanston Academy, Evanston, Illinois, 1909; (b) University of Illinois with Bachelor of Arts Degree, 1914; (c) University of Chicago Law School with J. D. Degree, 1920.

He taught English at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, one year, 1914; Principal of Colored High School, Vincennes, Indiana, one year, 1915.

Dickerson was a Lieutenant in the U. S. Army during World War I serving from 1917 to 1919.

He has membership in clubs and other societies and associations as follows:

City Club of Chicago - Member of the Board of Governors.
Chicago Chapter - National Lawyers' Guild - Member of Executive Board and of National Executive Board.
Member of Board, Metropolitan Housing Council.
Member of Board, National Public Housing Conference of Chicago, Inc.
Member, Chicago Recreation Commission.
Member, Illinois Cook County Bar Association.
Member of Executive Board and President of Chicago Urban League
Member and Organizer, George L. Giles Post Number 87, The American Legion.
Founders Club of the National American Legion.
Member of University of Illinois Alumni Association.
Member of University of Chicago Law School Association.
Member and Former Polemarch of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity.
Member of Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene.
Member of Chicago Law Institute.
Member of Chicago Board of Civil Liberties Committee.
Member of Board of Directors, National Association for the Advancement of Colored Poeple.
Member of Executive Board, National Urban League.
Member, Chicago Bar Association.
President, National Bar Association.

Mr. Dickerson has been employed as follows:

From 1922 to 1927, Assistant Corporation Counsel, City of Chicago.
Assistant to the Attorney General, State of Illinois, from 1933 to 1939.
Member of the City Counsel, Alderman, 2nd Ward, City of Chicago, from 1939 to 1943.
Member, President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, 1941 to 1943.
Vice President and General Counsel, Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company, continuously since its organization in 1921.

COPY

Mr. Dickerson was admitted to the Illinois Bar in 1920 and has practiced in the City of Chicago and State of Illinois continuously since his admission.

He is married and resides with his family at 3842 South Parkway, Chicago, Illinois.

21-17

COPY

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26 September 1946

Gentlemen:

If you want your bills paid, will you please take enough time to get my new address which I have had for a year. I am no longer at 69 Fifth Avenue but at 20 West 40th Street. Please send your statements to that address hereafter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-19

Dictaphone Corporation
375 Howard Avenue
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6 December 1946

Gentlemen:

First: have you on sale a portable dictaphone, that is, the dictating part, that one could take while travelling, sending back the cylinders for reproduction? Secondly, have you any attachment which deaden the voice and allow dictating in a room without others hearing what is said. Let me hear from you about these things.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

81-19

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Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
20 W. 40
N. Y. C.

[D.111]

Augustus Granville Dill cordially invites you

(and any mutual friends)

to join him in informal celebration of his

65th Birthday

Saturday, 30 November, 1946

in the Lounge of the

SALVATION ARMY SERVICEMEN'S CLUB
224 West 134th St.
New York, New York

9:00 PM - 12:00 PM

21-19

3 December 1946

21-19-187

My dear Mr. Dill:

I was in Baltimore visiting Mrs. Du Bois at the time of your birthday celebration. May I at this late date offer my most sincere congratulations and hope for the future.

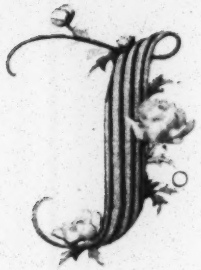
Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Augustus Granville Dill
Salvation Army Servicemen's Club
224 West 124th Street
New York, New York

ongratulations

1704 W. Jefferson Blvd
Los Angeles 7- Calif.



To the multitude of wishes
That you have had today,
Add sincere congratulations
For all that's come
your way.

Mrs. Chas H. Dodge.

RICHARD E. DODGE
STORRS, CONNECTICUT

21-29-87

May 5 1946

My Dear Mr and Mrs DuBois;

Your original and interesting notice of your approaching anniversary came in a few days ago and was much appreciated. You beat me to it, as the expression is, for Mrs D. and I will celebrate our Golden Wedding in the summer.

I am sure that you both have much to be happy over with your family and your accomplishments during your long and active life in helping races understand each other. Most of us have followed your accomplishments with a good deal of pleasure and with the wish that we could have made as significant contributions to our country.

May you long continue in your good work and may the coming celebration bring you many new appreciations of how you are regarded by those who have been out of touch with you directly these too many years.

Our congratulations and best wishes.

Most sincerely

Richard E. Dodge

Richard E. Dodge

Celestine Johnston Dorch 5 Bennington St. Randolph, Mass.

22-17-21

My dear Dr. Du Bois,

Thank you for the present. It certainly is not being accepted in payment for the sketch, because I sincerely felt it an honor to 'do you oils'. Had you known me for one or two more after-dinner talks, you'd have believed me. I'm still

provincial enough to mean what I say.

Your portrait has been packed since the day after you left and yesterday was the planned mailing day. However the storm has sealed me in. Shall try to get it off tomorrow.

Now, may I wish you the happiest and most beautiful Christmas you've ever known and remind you that you've helped make mine such.

Sincerely yours,

Celestine

P.S. The foolishness will be a roll of linen canvas.

Sincere Congratulations
As you now celebrate
the happiness and hopes fulfilled
That mark this golden date.
May all it stands for
in your life
Grow on in memories dear,
Enriched by still more happiness
And added joys each year!

Fannie Howard Douglas

4 November 1946

Gentlemen:

I have a contract for hospital service with the Associated Hospital Service of New York, 370 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. May I ask if you are in association with that service and if the hospitalization of Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois could be covered by that plan?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Douglass Hospital
Division Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Cedric Dover

3 St. Peter's Square,
London. W.6

October 21, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University,
Atlanta,
Georgia. U.S.A.

My dear Dr. Du Bois,

21-26-120

It is a long time since I had your letter of August 1943 and replied thanking you for the copy of "Phylon" - I have never understood why Ira bent me over the table so much ! I meant to write later to say that the books you promised to send me never turned up, but my "life" in the Army grew more hectic and I became so despondent and withdrawn that I hated to remind myself of the schemes for work which were being frustrated. How far away one gets in the Army you will realise from the fact that I only heard recently that you had been in England - and to think that I did not meet you will always be a deep regret.

However I am out of the Army now and back at work, as you will see from the enclosure. I confess to a certain pride in "Singing Brown", which I think will do something for the Negro cause in Britain and elsewhere, Of course you are one of its major characters and, anticipating your approval, I have used "A Litany of Atlanta" in the chapter on lynching. A photograph of yourself which you gave me in Atlanta is included.

You will notice the shameless begging of the enclosure, which gets more point from the fact that we cannot buy American books of a cultural nature and that even the British Museum is poor in Negro material. Therefore I would be most grateful for your books, especially the autobiography, the memorial volume and the latest book of essays. I only have Black Reconstruction, The Souls of Black Folk and the little volume on The Negro, and I am most anxious to build up a complete shelf of "Du Bois material" so that I can do a careful study of you and your work - which I know will find a very wide interest in the coloured world. A biography of yourself could tell the whole story of Negro scholarship and feeling of unity with other coloured peoples.

Can I help in trying to get your later books published here? And would you agree, if I have all the material, to my compressing you into one selected volume with a biographical sketch and linking commentary for publication in England and

India - all profits to you of course. I would like very much to do it.

I will write something for "Phylon" very soon. I wish I could subscribe to it, but we may not even send a dollar out of the country, though the market is flooded with cheap stuff of the 'brush up on your U.S.A.' type.

I hope I shall be able to come to America again next year perhaps as a visiting lecturer - a possibility which is being discussed with Charles Johnson. I know I will find you fit and well and as rightly proud as ever of your superb coffee.

With very best wishes.

Yours very sincerely,

Cedric Dover

P.S. The subject I am doing for "Phylon" is "The Problem in Coloured Writing".

21-26-121

[enclosure]

C E D R I C D O V E R

Work Concerning American Negroes

Books

1. Half-Caste. Secker & Warburg; London, 1937
2. Know This of Race. Secker & Warburg; London, 1937.
3. Hell in the Sunshine. Secker & Warburg; London, 1943.
4. Talking to India. A symposium edited by George Orwell. Allen & Unwin, London, 1943. (Three chapters by C.D., including a study of Paul Robeson.)

Books to be Published in 1947

1. Brown Phoenix. An autobiography.
2. Sun Gonna Shine. A small book for the Worker's Musical Association on the folksongs of the Negro - spirituals, seculars, ballads, worksongs, blues - approached from the viewpoint of social and creative interest. There is an enormous but not very informed following in England for Negro folk music which it might stimulate. (To press in November.)
3. Singing Brown: Poetry and Life in Negro America. This is a big, illustrated book which is now being prepared for press. Negro poetry is quite unobtainable in Britain (and in countries reached by British publishers), and our most determined enthusiasts can only get Johnson's, Cullen's and Sterling Brown's anthologies by special arrangements with public libraries. Moreover, a straight anthology would not meet the present need as there is not sufficient background for appreciating it. I have tried to present the background, an approach, and the poetry in the same book, to reveal Negro life through Negro poetry. The style is personal, one function of the book being to show my appreciation of Negro culture, and to express my gratitude for the kindness and friendship which so many Negroes have shown me. Another function, which I trust it will fulfil, is to pave the way for a critical poet's anthology published here, as well as collected editions of the work of Negro poets, beginning with Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, Sterling Brown and Margaret Walker. I would be most happy to help in finding publishers and in any other way I can.

The boo k commences with a fragment of autobiography. inc orporating tributes to the many friends who made my visit to America in 1937-38 so fruitful. Two chapters of perspectives follow and one on Negro poems on poetry and poets. The first group of chapters deals with what may be called the poetry of patriotism - the river, America, country, city, Africa etc. The second group concerns personal poetry - the joys and sorr ows of love, domesticities the golden brown, t ravelling men, nostalgia, death etc. The third group discusses the early poets and folk poetry - spirituals, seculars, ballads, worksongs, blues. The last group concentr tes on social poetry and folk verse - religion, race-mixture, poverty, injustice, lynching, two wars, protests, definite social criticism, co-operation. faith in the future - and is concluded with a chapter on the nex t steps in Negro poetry. There are also intercepting chapters on the New Negro movement, Women poets, Beale S treet, ebony towers (Braithwaite and others who had the iv ory tower approach), a discussion centred in Uncle Tom's Cabin, and portraits of Dunbar, Hughes, McKay, James Weldon Johnson, S terling Brown, and Paul Robeson. Other portraits are "worked in". Finally, the book includes a "Who's Who", bibliography and index. Altog ther there are 45 chapters and I think they cover most phases of Negro life, problems and poetry. The illustrations aim at being more than individual portraits. An effort is made through them to give a visual picture of Negro life and achievements in other fields. Thus, James Weldon Johnson is shown at home reading poems to his students, while Langston Hughes is represented by a photograph of the head done by Ramos Blanco.

4. A large omnibus volume including a revised rearrangement of what I wish to preserve from my earlier books and periodical writings on 'race and colour'.

Other Work

This began in 1935 when the Rosenwald Fund sent me, through the kind offices of Charles S. Johnson, a small 'Negro library', which has been put to many uses, including the pain of l ending them to interested persons. In 1937-38 this library grew, chiefly through the generos ity of Negro friends in America, and was augmented by a large collection of photographs presented by the Harmon Foundation

which was increased by determined begging on my part. These books and photographs hav e done and are still doing good work, as they hav e been shown to, and discussed with, a large number of people. As recently as this year they were part of my equipment when I was lecturing and running a magazine at an Army College. Between January and June, when I left the Army, we had many lectures and discussions on race and colour problems, recitations of Negro poetry, and much inspiration from the photographs. The art syndicates were the most influenced. The puppetry group on several successive courses stages "Frankie and Johnny" and "Loving Henry" and other items using puppets built up on the photographs, while the exhibitions of the art studio regularly contained work which could be traced to them. One soldier who had come to do drama changed his course to sculpture on seeing the work of Negro sculptors, and produced a most sympathetic and interesting head of a Negro girl. The college magazine and other activities also reflected this interest.

It is difficult to define the value of such work, but I feel that it has been useful. From time to time I have tried to enlarge it by lectures, articles and radio talks. My radio work, incidentally, included a play on the life of Paul Robeson, which was translated into Hindustani and broadcast to India. It had a big response there, the background music (from Robeson's records) being very sensitively received.

I am now planning a further set of radio talks on aspects of Negro culture and life, especially poetry, and have agreed to do various lectures, one day and weekend courses, in connexion with the adult education movement. These lectures will focus on the sociological aspects of 'race and colour' problems, but will include 'The Negro in American Civilisation' and more specific discussions of poetry and cultural achievements.

I believe therefore that, in a very modest way, I have been a sort of 'unofficial ambassador' for Negro culture in the circles that I reach, thus complementing the work of those who have specialised in other fields, notably political problems, music and ballet. But my sources need replenishing, and I should be most grateful for further material; books, periodicals, articles, photographs of new artistic work, portraits of personalities, records and so on. I hope it will also be possible for me to visit America again in the near future.

3 St. Peter's Square
London, W. 6
October 25

21-26-122

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Since I wrote the British Museum has produced "Then and Now" and "Dusk of Dawn" - which kept me chained to my chair though they do not allow smoking. I shall always regret not having it available when I wrote "Hell in the Sunshine", but consoled myself with the determination to make it fully in future. I loved the book - and became I loved it I came away full of mutterings against you for not giving us more personal information. But perhaps that will come in a really intimate book - I hope so.

Reading the book suggested that a selected edition of your work could be done on a chronological - ideological basis, biographical preludes being followed by extracts from the books and periodical publications of each developmental period. The extracts should, I think, begin with "juvenilia" and end with your latest published work. And the whole book should be a stout, illustrated permanent memorial to the most internationally minded man the coloured world has ever known. The title that keeps recurring to me is "Eighty Years a Black Man" - but it is impertinent. Some

to suggest titles ~~to~~ a master. I visualise the book as a one-volume classic which coloured men everywhere, and those whites who sense what is happening, will treasure as their book — and I do hope you will do it or get it done.

With every good Wish,

Yours very sincerely,

Cedric Dover.

21-26-123

Special Mail

November 1.

21-26-66

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I hope you have received my two begging letters. The reading of "Dusk of Dawn" was the fulfilment of such a strong desire that it has stimulated the completion of the article I promised you (enclosed). You might find it a little more than you bargained for, but I am hoping you will think it important enough for early publication. Also it may not have the fire which Ira misses in me, but there are 'indiscretions' which it would have been more difficult for a Negro to commit — though I think they are necessary — and I fancy that here and there you may have to cover "Phylon" with editorial footnotes. But no mutilations of the text please. — You will see how deeply the paper is inspired by you, and on page 17 what an ungrateful puppy I am.

I shall be most impatient till I hear from you.

With Warmest Regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Cedric Dover.

Please tell Ira that my bottom will only cease smarting when he sends me his books!

22 November 1946

Dear Mr. Dover:

Your kind letters of October 21 and October 25 reached me only about ten days ago since they were sent to Atlanta. You of course had not heard that I was retired from my position in Atlanta in 1944; and in the Fall of that same year I returned to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as Director of Special Research.

21-26-114

Since that time I have been here in New York and my address is 20 West 40th Street as you will se by the heading of this letter.

In leaving Atlanta I also left the editorship of Phylon, and the magazine has changed somewhat in character since I have come away to my great regret.

I shall be very glad to send you such books of mine as I can gather. Some of them are out of print. I think that I can find a copy of "Dusk of Dawn" and my last book "Color and Democracy", which you have probably not seen; and also a book that will be published in 1947, "The World and Africa".

I rejoice in the work that you have been doing in our behalf; and of course you have my consent for any of my writing which you at any time wish to quote. I should like to have my work republished in England but it is going to be difficult. My attitude toward the British has been such that I doubt if you will find a publisher willing to undertake the republication of my efforts. If you can I shall be very glad. A selected edition of my work could be done if you can find a publisher willing to undertake it.

I hope we shall see you in America again and of course you will let me know if there is any chance of your coming. I am glad you have escaped out of the hell of war and hope you will be able to do creative work now even in this world of questionable peace. My best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Cedric Dover
3 St. Peter's Square
London W.6, England

3 St. Peter's Square
London, W. 6.
Nov. 25

Special memo 1946

21-15-42

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

The great pleasure occasioned by your letter urges me to reply at once. It makes me very happy to know that you are fit and well and back in what could almost be called your old haunts. I feel that this means a greater concentration on the whole coloured world, and you must regard me as entirely at your disposal wherever I can assist in any way.

I am now looking forward impatiently to the arrival of your books — and if you can possibly include "Then and Now" I shall be most grateful. I saw "Colour and Democracy" indeed but copies are not available here. I did, however, manage at long last to read "Dusk of Dawn" and the deep satisfaction it gave me made me write the paper, "Our Creative Problem", which I sent to you as Editor of Phylon — perhaps you have not seen it. I hope, though, that they will publish it; also that Roy Wilkins will use the article I sent him. The article for Phylon was, between the lines, my personal tribute to yourself, and I hope you will see it.

I must disagree with you about the prospects of publishing a selection in England (with republication in India, where a big publishing industry is growing up). I will therefore set about finding a publisher at once and will report progress later.

My Best Wishes,

Yours sincerely
Cedric Dover.

Nov. 30.

Sarual Mem
[1946]

My dear Dr. DuBois:

The enclosure represents my first move in exploring the prospects of getting a selection of your work published here. I had thought of taking a short cut by approaching half a dozen publishers at the same time, but it might have turned out to be a tactical error. I will therefore wait till I hear from Hutchinsons. It will be very satisfactory if they are favourable, as "International Authors Ltd.", a subsidiary of theirs, would put you in excellent company.

I will keep you in regular touch with developments. Meanwhile the very tentative plan I have proposed might start the outline of a more intimate scheme in your mind.

With every good Wish.

Very sincerely,

Hedrick Dover.

[Dover]

Racial Mem

Cedric Dover
3 St. Peter's Square,
London. W.6

November 30, 1946

W.T. Kimber, Esq.,
Messrs Hutchinson and Co. Ltd.,
47 Princes Gate,
London, S.W.7.

21-15-15

My dear Kimber:

I have not been able to find any copies of the Army magaz ine ("Three"), which I said I would try to send you when we met recently, but in atonement I can make you a proposition for "International Authors" which might interest you.

It concerns the publication of a selection from the writings of Dr. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, the doyen of the American Negro intellectuals, who will be eighty years of age in February 1948. Dr. Du Bois has published the following books in the United States:

1. The Suppression of the Slave Trade (1896 - the classic work on the subject).
2. The Philadelphia Negro (1899 - the first sociological study of the Negro).
3. The Souls of Black Folk (essays which have gone into a couple of dozen editions since they were first published in 1903).
4. John Brown (a biography, 1909).
5. The Negro (Home University Library, 1915).
6. The Quest of the Silver Fleece (a novel, 1911).
7. Darkwater (1921).
8. The Gift of Black Folk (1924).
9. The Dark Princess (a novel, 1928).
10. Black Reconstruction in America (1935).
11. Black Folk, Then and Now (1939).
12. Dusk of Dawn (an autobiographical statement, 1940).

13. Colour and Democracy (1945).

14. The World and Africa (to be published in 1947).

In addition there are, of course, pamphlets and essays in periodicals. Dr. Du Bois was also the founder and editor of (1) The Atlanta University Studies, (2) the famous Negro magazine, The Crisis, and (3) Phylon, a quarterly. He is now in charge of a special research department of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People concerned with colour and colonial problems in relation to democracy and peace.

21-15-46

You will gather from this that Dr. Du Bois' background is wide and deep, but I might perhaps add that he was educated at Fisk, Harvard and Berlin, and that he has been 'everywhere' - Europe, Africa, Russia, China, Japan, South America - and met 'everybody'. He was one of the principals of the first Inter-racial Congress and the pioneer of the pan-African Congresses. In fact, the main characteristic of his approach and work is that he has always looked outwards from his special problems as a Negro to the problems and culture of all coloured peoples.

I have therefore suggested to Dr. Du Bois that he should do a book, to be called perhaps Eighty Years a Black Man, which will be a living synthesis of his life and work in about 100,000 words. The method would be that of autobiographical chapters followed by selections of permanent value from the work of the period. The emphasis will be cultural. Thus the story of his early life up to Harvard would be followed by extracts from The Suppression of the Slave Trade, which was published by Harvard University as the first of its historical monographs. And so on.

I believe that such a book would have a considerable sale here and overseas, while for Indians and other coloured peoples it would have a very special interest. I would approach Jawaharlal Nehru, whose work and ideas approach those of Dr. Du Bois in some directions, for a Foreword which would be a token of India's appreciation of Negro culture, achievements, and needs. [Dr. Du B: My idea is that this should be a statement of Indo-Negro solidarity.]

Happily Dr. Du Bois is willing to do such a book, but I cannot expect a man of his reputation to prepare a manuscript on my assurance that I will find a publisher for it. I would therefore be glad to know how you view the proposition. I can come to see you about it to discuss further details whenever you like.

With Best Wishes

Yours sincerely

CD

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TELEGRAMS
LITERARIUS
SOUTHKENS
LONDON

10th December, 1946.

Cedric Dover Esq.,
3 St. Peter's Square,
London, W.6.

21-14-26

My dear Dover,

Thank you for your letter, which I find very interesting, about Dr. Du Bois. It might help me to get a step further if I could see one of his later books. Do you happen to have a copy of one of them which you could lend me?

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,
HUTCHINSON & CO (PUBLISHERS) LTD.

W. T. Kimber

W.T. Kimber.

To Dr. Du Bois

for information & file

CD

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[Cedric Dover]

COPY

Dec. 16

My dear Kimber: Thank you for your letter of the tenth. Dr. Du Bois is sending me his later books but they have not yet arrived. Meanwhile I have been trying to borrow a copy of his autobiography, Dusk of Dawn - the obvious book for you to see - but the only copy I know of has been lent to someone else. As soon as it is recovered it will be sent to you.

Best Wishes for X-mas.

Yours sincerely

CD

21-14-35

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will see that International Authors seem interested. Unfortunately Padmore's copy of Dusk of Dawn has been lent to Dr. Clarke, who is being elusive about it - but I hope it will be recovered.

I am doing a profile of you for "Pan-Africa".

Very Best Wishes for X-mas and the New Year.

Yours sincerely

Cedric Dover

Req. to quote from writings

HERMAN DREER
Professor of English, Stowe Teachers College

November 25, 1946

941 INTERNATIONAL HOUSE
1414 E. 59th St.
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Care of The Crisis
New York City

12-13-63

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am preparing an anthology of Negro Literature for the use of high school pupils and wish to include in it your essay, "Faith of the Fathers," in "The Souls of the Black Folk." Since I could not find the address of A. C. McClurg in the telephone book of Chicago, I am writing you for permission to incorporate your essay in this anthology and would like to know the terms upon which I may do so.

Since I do not know where you are at this time, I am trying to reach you through the CRISIS.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Respectfully yours,

Herman Dreer

Herman Dreer

Home Address:
4335 Cote Brilliante
St. Louis 13, Mo.

30 November 1946

My dear sir:

The McClurg Company has gone out of the publishing business and now only sell books. "Souls of Black Folk" is out of print I assume that my permission is all that will be necessary for you to reprint "Faith of the Fathers". I should ask the same amount of payment that you make for other essays that you use.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

1/29/37

Mr. Herman Dreer
941 International House
1414 East 59th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

HERMAN DREER
Professor of English, Stowe Teachers College

941 INTERNATIONAL HOUSE
1414 E. 59th St.
Chicago 37, Illinois

December 15, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 W. 40th Street
New York City

21-23-16

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I thank you for permitting me to use your essay, "Faith of the Fathers", in my forthcoming anthology. I will send you a check for tweny-five dollars ($25.00) for this privilege.

Respectfully yours,

Herman Dreer

Herman Dreer

Home Address:
4335 Cote Brilliante
St. Louis 13, Mo.

8 February 1946

Dear Nina:

I know that it is hard for you to stay in the hospital. It is not a pleasant atmosphere, but Dr. Wright and all the physicians agree that your only chance for getting better is the kind of treatment you are getting at Montefiore. Dr. Harpuder thought that if you were living in New York near the hospital you might get some treatment but this, owing to the scarcity of nurses, would not be frequent or regular.

Wherever you live after leaving the hospital you will have to have a housekeeper and some attention from a nurse. My apartment is not large enough for that and it is impossible for me to get a larger apartment nor could I afford the expense. Even if I could get another apartmen of sufficient size you must remember that I am seventy-eight years old; that in the nature of things I shall be able to earn a living for only a short time. Then both you and I are going to need a home and we could not afford two.

It is for this reason that I built and bought the house in Baltimore. I do not like Baltimore any more than you do but our home there is beautiful and convenient and after all it doesn't make much difference where a person lives if he is comfortable and has sunlight, trees, grass and air. For an invalid like you, or an old man like myself past the days of work, it would be suicide to choose the crowd, dirt and noise of New York to the quiet of our home. And for Yolande and Du Bois the advantages are equally clear.

Eventually the burden of carrying on the family will fall on Yolande. I will have a small pension until I die. You will have only your share in the house and what Yolande can spare. There is, therefore, only one thing to be done: for you to return to Baltimore when you leave the hospital. In Baltimore as long as I can work and earn money I shall furnish and pay for a housekeeper so that you will not be alone and will not have meals to get or the house to run. Just as soon as it is possible I shall install in the house either a small elevator to run from the first to second floor or a ramp with a chair to take you up to your bed room. When I have to stop work, I shall come to Baltimore to live and help in the running of the house as well as I can.

Z-8-23

Next May we will have been married fifty years. I have not always been able to make you happy but I have made you for the most part comfortable and I am especially sorry at this late date to have you stress among our friends my failure or inability to do exactly what you want. I think I have done my best. For the sake, therefore, of our family and especially of Du Bois, I hope you will read this letter over several times and come to the reasonable conclusion. I am sending a copy of this letter to Yolande.

Yours with love,

2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore-14, Md
Aug 6-46

21-8-16

Dear Will:

Your letter received today
I am doing fairly well.
Have been downstairs a few
times. It rains almost every
day. I am eating pretty well
but have a hard time to sleep
The children are well
With love. Nina

21-8-20

28 August 1946

Dear Nina:

I returned home safely and am getting to work. The Somervilles have had a very pleasant stay in my apartment and express themselves as quite pleased. They are leaving for Philadelphia and the west today. Tomorrow morning Miss Diggs sails for Uruguay by airplane, starting at eight a.m. and expects to be in Montevideo Thursday night. Tell Yolande I am ordering the towels and wash cloths of Wanamakers and asking again about sheets. But I am afraid the sheet problem is going to be pretty difficult. I hope you are getting on.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland.

21-8-24

18 October 1946

Dear Nina:

I am starting for South Carolina Friday. I had thought at first I might run down and stop Wednesday night and Thursday morning but there are so many things to do that I thought finally that I would not try it.

I went down to Wanamaker's and bought you a radio. It has a nice clear dial so that you could easily get the stations which you want; and I want you to have it in your room where you could listen to programs when you will. I think this will rest your eyes and fill the long hours when you have nothing else to do. I also selected two or three books for you and sent several books to Du Bois who wanted to know about the atomic bomb and other things.

Last weekend, I spent up in Portchester where we had a staff conference. Some twenty-five of the people connected with the organization went up for Friday dinner and stayed until Sunday dinner. We had a very interesting time and some very frank criticisms were expressed. I remain in good health and I hope you are steadily improving. Let me know if there is anything that you need. I still have in mind the comforts which you told me to buy but I have not yet had a chance to shop for them. I have got a maid who comes a half day each week so that my room is in a very excellent order.

I am going to Columbia, South Carolina for my first speech before the Southern Negro Youth Congress; then I shall stop a day or so in Atlanta and see some friends there; and then go to Montgomery, Alabama. After that I shall come home sometime about the 27th or the 28th and then I will come down to see you. Try to keep cheerful; my love to Yolande.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

On Your
Golden
Wedding
ANNIVERSARY

What an honor and a pleasure
To greet you and to say–
CONGRATULATIONS to you both
On your GOLDEN WEDDING DAY,
May many happy memories
Pass by in review
And gladden the hearts
Of both of you.

Rachel Davis-DeBois

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DUNBAR COMMUNITY LEAGUE, INC.
643 UNION STREET
SPRINGFIELD 9, MASSACHUSETTS

March 1, 1946

21-26-50

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

When I called on you at your office in New York last month, as you will recall, we spoke of the possibility of your speaking here in Springfield under the auspices of the Dunbar Community League at sometime in the near future. You expressed your willingness to do so after your return from the west later in the spring. I am now writing to ascertain whether either May 10, 17, or 24 would be a convenient date for you. If so will you kindly specify and let me know what honorarium of fee you will expect.

Yours sincerely,

William N. DeBerry

WND:lh

May 17 $100
24

6 March 1946

21-26-51

My dear Mr. DeBerry:

Answering your letter of March first may I say that I can speak for you May seventeenth and my fee would be one hundred dollars.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. William N. DeBerry
Dunbar Community League
643 Union Street
Springfield 9, Massachusetts

EDWARD KRONVALL, PRESIDENT
HENRY A. FIELD, VICE PRESIDENT

WILLIAM N. DEBERRY, EXECUTIVE
EARL H. PAINE, TREASURER

DUNBAR COMMUNITY LEAGUE, INC.
643 UNION STREET
SPRINGFIELD 9, MASSACHUSETTS

Lectures

March 9, 1946

21-26-416

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am quite pleased to have your letter of March 6 advising of your availability to speak for the Dunbar Community League on May 17 and that the fee will be $100.00.

Will you be good enough to let me know your subject at your early convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

William N. DeBerry

WND:lh

EDWARD KRONVALL, PRESIDENT
HENRY A. FIELD, VICE PRESIDENT

WILLIAM N. DEBERRY, EXECUTIVE
EARL H. PAINE, TREASURER

DUNBAR COMMUNITY LEAGUE, INC.
643 UNION STREET
SPRINGFIELD 9, MASSACHUSETTS

March 20, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

21-26-52

It so happens that the High School Auditorium in which we desire to have you speak on May 17th has been engaged (previously) for that evening.

Would it be possible for you to shift to either the 10th or the 24th? If not, we under the conditions shall or will engage some other one of our churches.

Kindly advise me at your very early convenience.

Yours sincerely,

William N. DeBerry

1/

22 March 1946

21-26-53

My dear Mr. DeBerry:

It will be all right for me to transfer the engagement from May seventeenth to May twenty-fourth.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. William N. DeBerry
Dunbar Community League
643 Union Street
Springfield 9, Massachusetts

EDWARD KRONVALL, PRESIDENT
HENRY A. FIELD, VICE PRESIDENT

WILLIAM N. DEBERRY, EXECUTIVE
EARL H. PAINE, TREASURER

DUNBAR COMMUNITY LEAGUE, INC.
643 UNION STREET
SPRINGFIELD 9, MASSACHUSETTS

March 23, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

21-26-54

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Let me thank you for your prompt compliance with my request. May 24th at 8 p.m. will be the time.

Will you kindly forward to me as soon as it is convenient a glass or photo of yourself for advertising purposes. Let me know your subject as well.

Very sincerely yours,

William N. DeBerry

WND:lh

EDWARD KRONVALL, PRESIDENT
HENRY A. FIELD, VICE PRESIDENT

WILLIAM N. DEBERRY, EXECUTIVE
EARL H. PAINE, TREASURER

DUNBAR COMMUNITY LEAGUE, INC.
643 UNION STREET
SPRINGFIELD 9, MASSACHUSETTS

April 10, 1946

21-26-55

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As I am quite anxious to get out advertisement matter for your lecture before I start for a southern trip on April 23, will you be good enough to let me have the subject which you are to discuss at Springfield on May 24.

Will you let me know also whether to reserve overnight accommodations for you at one of our local hotels.

Very sincerely yours,

W. N. DeBerry

WND:lh

20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N. Y.
April 14,1946

21-26-56

Dr. W. N. DeBerry
Executive
Dunbar Community League, Inc.
643 Union St.
Springfield 9, Mass.

Dear Dr. DeBerry:

I would suggest one of two subjects:

(a) The Color of World Politics

(b) The West African Cocoa Crop

The first is a general survey. The second is an interesting factual study of economic conditions on the West Coast of Africa.

Please reserve accommodations at one of the local hotels.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

10 May 1946

My dear Mr. DeBerry:

I shall arrive in Springfield May twenty-third at 12:30 noon. Will you secure me a reservation with parlor car seat leaving Springfield on Saturday, May twenty-fifth, at ten thirty or eleven thirty-five a. m.?

What subject did you choose for my lecture?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. William N. DeBerry
Dunbar Community League
643 Union Street
Springfield 9, Massachusetts

EDWARD KRONVALL, PRESIDENT
HENRY A. FIELD, VICE PRESIDENT

WILLIAM N. DEBERRY, EXECUTIVE
EARL H. PAINE, TREASURER

DUNBAR COMMUNITY LEAGUE, INC.
643 UNION STREET
SPRINGFIELD 9, MASSACHUSETTS

May 13, 1946

21-19-115

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. BuBois:

We have chosen to select "The Color of World Politics" as your theme.

I have secured, in compliance with your request, the reservation of seat 18, car 37 leaving Springfield for New York on Saturday, May 25 at 10:30 a.m. We have secured also accommodations for you during your stay at Hotel Kimball.

Looking forward to seeing you on May 23, I am

Yours sincerely,

W. N. DeBerry

WND:lh

31 May 1946

21-19-116

My dear Dr. DeBerry:

May I thank you and Mrs. DeBerry very much for your hospitality while in Springfield. I enjoyed the visit.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. W. N. DeBerry
Dunbar Community League
643 Union Street
Springfield 9, Massachusetts

2-29-24

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WESTERN UNION

(50)

1946 MAY 11 PM 4 00

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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GA633 DL PD= COLUMBUS OHIO 11 226P I DUPLICATE MAY 11 PM 3 52

TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

DR AND MCS DUBOIS AND FAMILY, CARE DUBOIS COTTAGE=

2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE BALTO= -14-

PLEASE ACCEPT MY FELICITATIONS FOR YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY FIRST AS A FRIEND AND THEN AS A MEMBER OF AN ADMIRING PUBLIC WHICH IS EVER APPRECIATIONE OF THE FRUITFUL GENIUS WHICH FIFTY YEARS OF MARRIAGE HAVE NUTURED FOR HUMANITY=

CATHERIN DUNCAN

H.A. Gois' copy

daughter
4226
Ky
mailed

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Dear me:

Fort Valley, Georgia.
Box 736
[Dunbar]
July 3, 1946.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

And how is the lesser 17/99'ths of the pair of marital semi-centenarians? You must be feeling fine and super-fine if I am to judge by the penetrating column of yours which appeared in the June 29th issue of the Chicago Defender - "Summer Schools, Devils Device". You may recall that I took forceful issue with you about one of your witty, critical articles about us "Southern Schoolings" - do you recall how you pounced on the futility of sweeping, white washing trees, etc., which helped out and even drooled from the little rural Negro Schoolings? But, "for once" you show so much insight about one phase of school-ing - summer schooling. I don't know where you were when Belzebub and the administrators

struck their bargain but you seem to have heard the correct fearful. Only one who has been through a summer school in the South could feel so keenly.

As I read and as I looked at your pictured profile (which you may or may not know accompanies the column) I could almost hear your sarcastic laugh as you told about the origin of summer schools. Since then I have been fairly itching to write just a little of my reactions to you.

Quite seriously though you will never know how much I valued the beautiful reminder that you and Mrs. Du Bois were celebrating your fiftieth wedding anniversary. I shall prize the realization that I was counted a friend. I hope to be able some day to send to you both some token befitting the celebration. I could not when I received the beautiful card because I was in school and my finances were at a low ebb.

With the honor & esteem I always had for your genius and the heartfelt best wishes for your success and happiness (which I did not always have - as when you wrote about rural education), I am still.

Sincerely
Victoria Duncan

and I did enjoy the column in the Dept.

21-9-12

21-29-11

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1220

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CA329 NL PD 1 EXTRA=OKLAHOMACITY OKLA 11

1946 MAY 11 PM 3 10

MR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

:DLR AFTERNOON 2302 MONTEBELLO TR BALTO=

I WISH TO EXTEND MY SINCERE GOOD WISHES TO YOU AND YOUR ADMIRABLE WIFE UPON THE COMPLETION OF YOUR HALF CENTURY OF MARITAL BLISS YOU HAVE MEANT MUCH IN TOUGH AND VISION TO BLACK MEN AND SUBMERGED GROUPS EVERYWHERE AND I AM SURE YOUR GOOD WIFE HAS HELPED GREATLY IN GIVING YOU INSPIRATION AND GUIDANCE ALONG LIFES HIGHWAY=

ROSCUE DUNJEE PRES NATL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Request for info
1946

21-24-60

December 15,1946

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director, Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th. Street, New York,18,N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I am a graduate student in sociology at the University of Idaho, and especially interested in the field of race relations. For my thesis I am making a survey of the various churches in the state of Idaho, concerning the attitudes of pastors toward segregation, discrimination, prejudice, etc; as regards the minority races. There really is not a great problem in this state, but there is a marked intolerance in the small mining and lumbering communities, most of it directed toward the Japanese.

My purpose in writing you is to request any bit of information you might have on segregation and discrimination of Negroes and other colored peoples in the churches of the country. I would like to get a picture of the general policy of the churches in various sections of the country and make a comparison to the situation in Idaho, and the other Northwestern states.

I am enclosing the letter and questionnaire which I am sending out, which may be of interest to you. The returns are quite interesting so far, a number of the good men of God voicing marked prejudices, quite inconsistent with their preachings of brotherhood and Christianity, while others are,(at least so they say) completely unprejudiced.

I know that your work must keep you very busy, and if you are unable to reply to my letter, I understand. If you are able to give it any attention, I will be extremely grateful and appreciative of any help you may give me.

Very truly yours,

Robert J. Dwyer

Robert J. Dwyer
Box 373
University Station
Moscow, Idaho

Dear Sir:

I am writing to request your assistance in a survey to be made, which will embrace churches of all denominations throughout the State of Idaho. I am a student in the Graduate School, at the University of Idaho, majoring in Sociology. My particular interest is in race problems, and the purpose of this survey is to gather material for a Master's thesis. The churches have always been forerunners in intelligently dealing with such problems, and it is my desire to learn and to study the attitudes of the churches and the clergy at this time.

It is my purpose to determine if there is any segregation, discrimination, or prejudice in the churches of this State. (The minority racial groups will probably include Japanese and Indians in most cases.) If there is, does the pastor himself harbor any such prejudices, or are they confined to the members of the congregation? Are the sermons of the pastors effective in dispelling prejudice and intolerance, or does custom and social pressure force segregation and distinction in the church?

Will you kindly answer the questions on the enclosed form, and include in addition, any remarks, opinions, or statements you believe pertinent to the question. I would like to assure you that all answers will be completely confidential, and will be used in no other way than statistical manipulation. In the event of publication of the thesis, your identity will not be revealed.

Your cooperation and help in making this survey will be greatly appreciated, and I believe the results, when compiled, will prove most interesting as a view of the attitudes of the clergy and their congregations, and may be helpful in seeking methods to combat any that are negative.

Thank you for your consideration of this letter.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Dwyer
Box 373, University Station
University of Idaho
Moscow, Idaho

Enclosure

1. What races (Oriental, Negro, Filipino, Mexican, Indian, White) are represented in your congregation? Approximately how many of each?

2. What is your attitude on intermingling of races in the same church at the same service?

3. Do you or any of your staff have any personal racial prejudices? If so, please explain.

8/-84

4. Approximately how many sermons presented to your congregation in the past year have included an urging for racial tolerance? Have these sermons been effective?

5. Is there any segregation of races in the seating arrangement of your church?

6. Would you advocate and enforce in your church, non-segregation and non-discrimination among two or more racial groups if social pressure dictated otherwise?

7. If you consider any of the above-mentioned racial groups objectionable in any way, either individually or as a group, list them in order as to the degree of your distaste of each one.

8. If there is any particular racial discrimination in your community, do you think action by the churches, such as urging and facilitating use of the one church by mixed racial groups would result in increased tolerance and acceptance of the situation, or would the dominant group exert social pressure to the extent that the church would have to desist from further action?

9. What efforts have been made to enlist, and encourage the attendance of, members of races other than White, in your church?

10. Remarks, opinions.

21-24-51

31 December 1946

My dear sir:

I have your letter of December 15. I should think you might get some very interesting returns from your study, although I am of opinion that the results would be of psychological rather than of religious value. I presume you know of various works that have been done in this line: there is the history of the Negro Church by Carter Woodson of Washington; the Negro's Church by Benjamin Mays and Nicholson. Mr. Mays is now President of Morehouse College in Atlanta; and my own study of the Negro Church in the Atlanta University Studies. Perhaps these references may help.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Robert J. Dwyer
Box 373
University Station
Moscow, Idaho

21-20-68

4 November 1946

Dear Mr. Dyson:

I thank you for your letter of October 27th and enclosure. I found your statement about trustees of very great interest and I wish it could be widely published. Thank you for letting me see it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter Dyson
3017-13th Street, N. W.
Washington, 9, D. C.

The East and West Association

Devoted to new and better understanding
between peoples through mutual knowledge

40 East 49 Street, New York 17, N. Y.
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January 25, 1946

21-20-28

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Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed you will find a program of the Institute for Librarians in which you have so kindly consented to participate. As you know, we are counting on you to speak for about fifteen minutes.

We have arranged for a small luncheon with Dr. Houston Peterson in the West Dining Room of the New School (fifth floor) for the members of our Committee and our speakers. This luncheon will begin at 12:30 p.m. Will you let us know on the enclosed card whether you will attend?

We are wondering also if you will plan to mention two or three books on your subject that every library should have. If so, would you be kind enough to list the titles on the same postcard. Please return this by the first of the week because we wish to get out a mimeographed list.

Cordially yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp
enclosures

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21-02-12

February 13, 1946

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JOHN VAN ESS

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Our Librarians' Committee and all of us at East and West want to thank you most warmly for your moving presentation at our Librarians' Institute. It made a great impression on all those who were fortunate enough to hear you.

Cordially yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

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AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

April 15, 1946

21-10-28

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Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
c/o Mrs. Ethel Nance
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People
Regional Office
12 Geary Street
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Dr. Diggs has suggested my writing to you with a very special request. You may remember participating in our East-West Institute for Librarians in New York early in February. We are now having a similar institute in Boston on Saturday, May 25th at Simmons College. This institute is being sponsored by librarians from the entire New England area. The theme of the session is "The Rising Peoples" and the morning meeting is to be devoted to a discussion of "Whither Empires?" We would regard it as a real privilege if you could present the subject of Color and Democracy and the whole future of imperialism as you see it. The morning session runs from 10 a.m. to 12 noon. There will be two other speakers, Dr. Eddy Asirvatham to present India and possibly Colonel R.V.C. Bodley to present the Arab world. We may also have Professor Walter C. Barnes from Wheelock College in Boston to talk about the Far East.

The New England East-West Librarians' Committee, which is arranging this meeting can afford to pay only twenty-five dollars ($25.00) to each participant. We realize that this is a very humble offering but are approaching you with the thought that perhaps some other business may be taking you to Boston around that time. We do hope that you will be able to participate.

I wonder if you would be kind enough to wire me collect?

Sincerely yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Apr. 19, 1946 19

To Miss Lily Edelman

Care of or Apt. No. Educational Director, The East and West Ass'n

Street and No. 40 E. 49 St.

Place New York, N.Y.

COLLECT

Will speak in Boston May 25th

W. E. B. DuBois

Sender's name and address
(For reference only)

Sender's telephone number

21-10-32

7 May 1946

My dear Miss Edelman:

I am very sorry at this late date to have to cancel my conditional promise to speak in Boston. I find I am going to be too pressed with work on my book which is coming out this fall to leave my desk. I hope you will forgive me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Lily Edelman
The East and West Association
40 East 49th Street
New York 17

The East and West Association

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21-27-92

Lectures

May 15, 1946

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MICHAEL STRAIGHT
ELBERT D. THOMAS
JOHN VAN ESS

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are very sorry that you cannot speak at our Boston meeting. I do hope, however, that we shall be able to call on you at another time.

Sincerely yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

LE:mw

A nonprofit membership organization for education not relief

Negro Digest

28 October 1946

My dear Mr. Burns:

I am referring your letter of October 17th to the Secretary of the NAACP as this matter comes within his purview.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

31-16

Mr. Ben Burns
Ebony
5125 South Calument Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

(ELKS)

21-21-30

J. FINLEY WILSON, Grand Exalted Ruler
1813 Vernon Street, Northwest
Washington 13, D. C.

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305 Convent Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DR. MARCUS WHEATLAND, Grand Esteemed Loyal Knight
757 Kaighn Avenue, Camden, N. J.

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503 You St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

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1645 9th Ave., Huntington, W. Va.

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1466 Hooper Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.

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146 Pear St., Reading, Pa.

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613 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

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2407 East 89th Street, Cleveland, Ohio

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Executive Secretary Health Commission
500 Dauphin St., Mobile, Ala.

JOHN U. STROTHER
Grand Master Social Session
1212 Ninth St., Augusta, Ga.

C. C. VALLE, Grand Organizer
81 Morning Side Ave., New York City

CHARLES E. HALL, Statistician
617 U St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

J. A. JACKSON
Director of Economics
26 Broadway, New York City

JOHN MINKINS, Grand Reporter
Box 660,
Providence, Rhode Island

ROBERT H. JOHNSON
Grand Commissioner Transportation
16th and Fitzwater Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

FRANK ELLIS, Director of Athletics
171 Renwick Place, Syracuse, N. Y.

IMPROVED BENEVOLENT and PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD

OFFICE OF
GRAND EXALTED RULER
J. FINLEY WILSON
POST OFFICE BOX 1824
Telephone DUpont 1171
Washington, 13, D. C.

September 20, 1946

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

My Dear Doc:

Your very fine letter was just received and I thank you for the same.

I shall be glad to be with you on October 5 at 2 P.M. to attend your Congress and represent our Order.

Again thanking you for your good letter, I remain

Yours sincerely & fraternally,

J. Finley Wilson
Grand Exalted Ruler

JFW/gjr

[ELKS]

42-8F-13

J. FINLEY WILSON, Grand Exalted Ruler
1813 Vernon Street, Northwest
Washington 13, D. C.

JOSEPH A. BROWN, Grand Esteemed Leading Knight
305 Convent Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DR. MARCUS WHEATLAND, Grand Esteemed Loyal Knight
757 Kaighn Avenue, Camden, N. J.

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255 W. 126th St., New York City

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800 12th Street, North
Birmingham, Ala.

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617 U St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

J. A. JACKSON
Director of Economics
26 Broadway, New York City

JOHN MINKINS, Grand Reporter
Box 660,
Providence, Rhode Island

ROBERT H. JOHNSON
Grand Commissioner Transportation
16th and Fitzwater Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

FRANK ELLIS, Director of Athletics
171 Renwick Place, Syracuse, N. Y.

October 14,1946

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois,
20 West 40th St.,
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Your very fine letter just received and I thank you. I shall be more than glad to cooperate with you in bringing our case before the United Nations by signing a petition which I am sure you are going to prepare for the benefit of the minority groups and especially the colored Americans.

I hope and trust sincerely that you will send me a copy of the petition.

I shall be glad to be on hand or send in a representative on the occasion. Please be good enough to advise me the day and date ,time and place of the history making occasion.

Again thanking you for your letter and trusting all goes well with you, I remain

Yours very truly,

J. Finley Wilson
Grand Exalted Ruler.

JFW.r

Fifty Golden Years Together

(ELZY)

In memory of
past association
Louise & Bob Elzy

As you look back upon the road
You've traveled side by side
In the fifty years that you have shared
Since you were groom and bride-
May you find a world of happiness
As together you recall
The joys that life has brought you
And its blessings, great and small

EDWIN ROGERS EMBREE
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

21-29-66

May 12, 1946

To Dubois and Nina: I send my heartiest felicitations on their golden wedding day. America owes much to this family. I cherish them among my friends. With best wishes for many more years of their personal love and national influence, I salute them both.

With sincere admiration,

Edwin R Embree

Request for financial assistance

12-13-17

O. J. Eminue,
Ikpa Central School,
Ukam,
Ikot Akan P.O.,
Opobo - Nigeria,
West Africa.

17. 12. 46.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
National Association For The
Advancement of Coloured People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N.Y.,
U. S. A.

Sir,

God's help is for every nation, for every clan and tribe. So I am confident this same "Providence" of God's will be showered on me and my nation through you. I had long desired to write to you, but your address was unknown. Per kind friend, I have been able to stumble upon your address which I am sure shall bring hope and blessing out of misfortune. A blessing indeed it shall be - I pin my faith to it.

I therefore herewith beg to introduce myself to you as a coloured friend; and I beg you introduce me to those American Universities connected with the advancement of Coloured People for an Award of Full Scholarship to study Education and Human Philosophy in American. I believe if there is anything that will set my people - nay the African race free, free to think, free to express their thinking, free to worship and free to exploit their own resourses, it will be the right type of education - American education. So I want to be educated in America but Finance dwarfs my ambition.

I am a young Lad of twenty

P.T.O.

two (22) years. I secured my Government Middle Four Certificate at the age of Sixteen (December 1938) I was then entered into a Teacher Training Department where I came out at the end of 1942 as a trained certificated teacher. So Sir, I have the burning desire to prosecute further studies in Education and ~~Amer~~ Philosophy in America. I am at present studying for London Matriculation having registered in Wolsey Hall, Oxford, for Over Sea Tuition.

I hail from Oron, Calabar Province, Southern Nigeria. None of my people has ever had a University education. My people suffer from mass illiteracy with a resultant effect of widespread superstition, backwardness, economic insecurity and all their concomitants. My people want some one to come over to Meccedonia to help them. So help me Sir to receive American education and to bring same back to my people; to be a light to lighten them and to contribute my quota to the advancement of the coloured world. Other particulars shall be supplied with pleasure.

Help me through for help is with the Lord. A friend in need is a friend indeed. Help me Sir for the sake of the down-trodden race - the coloured race. Hoping soon to hear from you.

With the season's greetings.

A Coloured Friend,

O.T. Eminue

[Ethiopia]

IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN LEGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 24, 1946.

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Director
Department of Special Research
NAACP
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

No:2433/INS/1.

42-8F-55

Dear Sir:

His Excellency Ras H.S.Imru has examined with thoughtful consideration the suggestion submitted to him in your letter under date of 24th July, 1946, concerning ways and means by which the colonial people of Africa may be represented in the United Nations' Assembly, and in response to your questionnaire, contained in your last paragraph, has asked me to write you that he very much regrets for his inability to take part in the enterprise.

He has, however, further asked me to express his sympathy for your effort in the interest and welfare of the African people and to wish you success.

Sincerely yours,

G. Tesemma

~~Getahoun~~ Tesemma
First Secretary

21-29-44

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA45 NL PD=NEWARK NJER 12

1946 MAY 13 AM 2 13

DOCTOR AND MRS W E DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE BALTO=

MAY WE ADD OUR FELICITATIONS TO THOSE OF YOUR MANY FRIENDS ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY=

GRACE AND WALTER FENDERSON.

DUBOIS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

John G. Fee High School
Maysville, Ky.
Jan. 21, 1946

Request for Photograph

21-13-48

Dear Sir,

Will you send at my expense a life size portrait of yourself! It is to be used in a program during Natl. Negro History Week.

The picture is to be exhibited along with the twelve other outstandings negroes of our group, as listed in the book, "13 Against Odds."

Not only are these pictures to be shown but in each instance a biography is to be given. Thank you very much for helping to make our program a success in this way.

Respectfully,
John H. Fields
John G. Fee High School
Maysville, Ky.

P.S. It so happens, that in this particular skit, I am to give the biography of your endeavors. In reading of your life and works, I was greatly impressed by your poem. "A Litany at Atlanta," and I will use it to conclude my sketch, with all the feeling and emotion expressed in the poem.

4 February 1946

21-13-49

My dear Mr. Fields:

You can get a large photograph of me by writing to:

Addison N. Scurlock
900 U Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John D. Fields
John G. Fu High School
Maysville, Kentucky

Type only his letter -- not reply

25 September 1946

Gentlemen:

I write to complain of your service, (of the service of the Fifth Avenue Coach Co.) especially the No.2 route, which I use once or twice nearly every working day. There are usually too few buses on this route, far fewer than on any other main route. They often refuse to stop for passengers, even when not filled, and their conductors, and more especially their drivers, (who do most of the talking to passengers) are insufferably rude. I stood this during the ear, but it seems to me that the time has come to protest.

22-9-61

Tuesday, September 24, at about 5 p.m., I tried to board a No.2 at Fifth Avenue and Fortieth Street. The first one swung out into the middle of the Avenue and refused to stop at my upraised arm, although it was plainly not filled. Its number marking as usual made it impossible to identify it. The next No.2, plainly marked "168th St." stopped and I got on and got a seat. Between 125th St. and 132nd Street, I heard the conductor say "155th St. only". But I thought I must have misheard. Before reaching 155th St., we were ordered off the bus. It was raining heavily; there is no car stop there; cabs were utterly out of sight and the street with three lines of traffic is dangerous to cross. I protested to the Conductor and demanded his number. He said 165; but he had no badge in sight and showed none, and I do not know whether or not he was telling the truth. Then the driver interrupted truculently and declared the car had been marked "155th St.", which was not true when I boarded. There was nothing for me to do but to get out and walk in the pouring rain more than two long blocks uphill to my apartment at 409 Edgecombe Avenue.

I think this is an outrage; and when such treatment is added to the neglect of this route, the studied discourtesy of the employees; the failure to wear distinguishable badges, and the continued prayer of this company for added privileges in addition to the right to charge an exorbitant fare, I demand that something be done. The people of Harlem may be poor and black, but I trust this is not the reason for this treatment.

Very truly yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

Fifth Avenue Coach Co.
605 West 132nd Street
New York City

Go the Motor Coach Way FAC

FIFTH AVENUE COACH COMPANY

605 WEST 132ND STREET
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

JOHN E. McCARTHY
PRESIDENT

TEL. EDGECOMBE 4-5900

September 30, 1946

Mr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Director,
Department of Special Research,
National Association For The
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

22-9-62

Your letter of September 25th has been received and we regret to learn that you have had occasion for adverse criticism concerning our No.2 Service for the reasons which you mention.

This Company is desirous of rendering a satisfactory service to its patrons and in the assignment of equipment to the various routes we endeavor to provide a sufficient number of vehicles to meet the demand for service on each of the respective routes.

While every effort is made by us to operate the total number of coaches provided for in our schedules, it is not always possible to do so by reason of our inability to obtain all of the parts which we require to maintain our equipment. This situation was serious during the war period when the bulk of the production of the automotive industry was going to the armed forces but it became aggravated by the prolonged strike which occurred in the automotive industry during which period there was no production.

When there is room in a coach, the drivers are expected to stop at designated bus stop zones for persons who have indicated by signal their desire to board. It is noted from your letter that at about 5 P.M. on Tuesday, September 24th, a No. 2 coach failed to stop upon your signal at 40th Street and Fifth Avenue. This matter is being investigated with a view to determining the identity of the driver at fault so that appropriate action may be taken upon this feature of your complaint.

When the service on a line becomes disrupted because of heavy traffic congestion or other circumstances beyond our control, it sometimes becomes necessary to turn a coach back before

it reaches its destination. This is done in order to restore the service to as near normal as possible and to reduce the length of time some patrons would have been required to wait, by reason of the disruption in service, if such a step had not been taken. Only a Supervisor has the authority to direct that a coach be turned back before it has reached its destination.

The turning back at 155th Street of the No. 2 coach on which you rode on the afternoon of September 24th is being investigated. You may be assured that if the crew of this coach turned the coach back without having been directed to do so by a supervisor, appropriate action will be taken by us which should insure against the employees involved following a similar course of procedure in the future.

22-9-63

We have today assigned a supervisor to the upper end of the No. 2 Route whose duty it will be to regulate the service and to correct any conditions which he may observe which might result in inconvenience to our patrons. Supervision of the lower portion of the route is already cared for by the Supervisors who are stationed at various points along the lower portion of the route.

Your cooperation in writing to bring these matters to our notice is appreciated and we thank you for your letter.

Yours very truly,

President

Ruth Anna Fiedler

Apt. 409,
654 Irving St., N.W.,
Washington 1, D.C.,
October 3, 1946.

21-12-16

Dear B.

The Library of Congress sells its cards to any one who wants to buy them whether institutions or individuals.

If ordered by numbers (the underlined one on the inclosed samples) the price is 5¢ for the first one and 2¢ and some cents for every other one of the same card ordered at the same time. If you do not know the numbers and order by title and author the price for the first one is 9¢.

The numbers of the cards of English books can be found in the Cumulative Book Index - World List of Books in English - published by H. W. Wilson Co. - There is no such guide to foreign books but you might find some cards in the N.Y. public library.

If you can't, if you would send me a

list, in case of any of our time I might look up the numbers for you.

I hope this is understandable and helps.

Ruth Anna

21-12-17

14 October 1946

My dear Ruth:

It was very kind of you to look up the matter of the library cards in the Congressional Library. Itshall take advantage of it, your information. I hope this will find you well.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Ruth Anna Fisher
654 Girard Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Social memo

21-26-73

14 November 1946

My dear Mr. Fisk:

I appreciate the copy of the circulars of Southwest Africa. It is very valuable.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Charles Fisk
144-69 Barclay Avenue
Flushing, New York

[Fisk University]

MEMBERS OF TRUSTEE COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT

Mr. W.H. Dannat Pell, Chairman,
522 Fifth Avenue,
New Yor, N.Y.

Mr. Fred L. Brownlee,
287 Fourth Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

Mr. James B. Cashin,
160 North Wells Street,
Chicago, Ill.

Mr. G. Wallace Woodworth,
Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass.

Dr. Ernest R. Alexander,
234 West 139th Street,
New York 30, N.Y.

31-12

[Fisk University]

Suggested for paragraph 5, pg 11.

It happened that when a vacancy in the Presidency at Fisk was imminent, the alumni office of the institution under the instruction of the general alumni association, polled the alumni on their choice for the presidency asking for specific recommendations and a statement as to whether they wanted a Negro or a white president. Practically the unanimous vote expressed a desire for the best available man regardless of race or color, but this statement was modified by a large number of alumni stating that they felt certain that the best available man was a Negro. Several Negro educators were named. Among them were Dr. Rayford Logan, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Dr. Carter Woodson, Dr. Charles Johnson, Dr. Charles H. Wesley and several others. The name of Dr. Charles Wesley appeared in the poll more than all the other names combined. This, together with the personal knowledge which the Executive Committee of the Alumni Association had of Dr. Wesley, was a basis for a recommendation to the Board that his name be given prime consideration: but strange underground currents began to set in against him, which this paper desires to examine.

X

21-20

Fusk

CIAN-2

ET ISK 9

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION, CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMPTROLLER AND ALUMNI REPRESENTATIVES ON THE TRUSTEE BOARD OF FISK UNIVERSITY.

The following people attended the meeting on September 30: Mrs. Gibbs and Messrs. Brownlee, Wood, Alexander and Thomas Jesse Jones.

The apathy of the Board of Trustees was discussed. At one point, it was suggested that a three-day meeting be held to acquaint the members of the Board with the opportunities and responsibilities of the position. Fisk was labeled "shabby" in physical equipment as compared with Howard, Atlanta and Dillard. It was stressed that it had occupied and continues to occupy a key place in intellectual leadership among Negro colleges. Everyone, except Mr. Wood, agreed that a new President should be named soon. Everyone, except Mr. Wood, agreed that we should name a Negro as President.

I stressed the fact that since we had suffered with McKenzie and since the best available man had not been chosen when Jones was named that it was high time that Fisk was given a "break"; that we do not want a second rate white man and that we must avoid the tragic mistake of picking the "wrong" Negro.

4/6-7-34

Mrs. Gibbs asked me what I meant by the "wrong" Negro? I gave them a detailed description of the sycophant, modern "Uncle Tom" type and contrasted this type of Negro with the one who possesses manhood and character. Again, everyone seemed satisfied, except Mr. Wood, who made the point that we must not concern ourselves simply with the man Negroes may want, but we must also select one who will be acceptable to white people. I brought out the point that the type of man that Negroes want should and would be acceptable to all right thinking white people. I warned that a bad selection of this type would be the most tragic mistake that had been made in Fisk's history -- that Fisk's past troubles would be insignificant compared to the trouble that would follow -- naming a man whom the great body of intelligent progressive Negroes do not trust as a leader and one whom they had reason to feel would be a pawn in the hands of white men. I pointed out that Fisk had turned out some of that type of men, too, but they were not the ones we pointed to with pride as "Fisk men." Neither do Negroes generally want that type of man put up as their leader in such a strategic place of leadership as the Presidency of Fisk University and parents don't want that kind of Negro held up by white people as the type mf to emulate.

Mr. Wood suggested that a white man be chosen for a limited period of two years during which time the right Negro could be found for the position. This suggestion was opposed loudly and strongly by

everyone present, each one giving different reasons. After Mr. Wood had absorbed the shaking up from this discussion, he started out on a long dissertation of praise for Ira Reid.

Mr. Brownlee is putting up a stiff fight for Charles Johnson. He took several occasions to say in different ways that he is opposed to the man for whom I am contending.

We finally settled on these suggestions: that the Executive Committee be requested to call a meeting of the Board of Trustees on Oct. 29th (since this is the only day in October that Mr. Brownlee will be able to spend in New York). It was further suggested that all business on the agenda other than the selection of President, be transacted at the morning session; that the Nominating Committee meet in a private dining room during the lunch hour and reduce the list of Negro candidates to two or three names, if possible, and let the Trustee Board discuss the subject and make the final decision. (It was proposed that no names of white candidates be submitted to the Board).

After the meeting was over I heard Mr. Wood say that there is no such thing as a crisis at Fisk University -- that the mere routine resignation of a President does not constitute a crisis, etc. Again, as I approached the elevator I heard him say to Mrs. Gibbs that he was "going to make the Nation shiver for accepting the article in the first place!"

As to the new opinion survey: Mr. Mandel visited me and stated that he had started out in Nashville about three weeks previously. He had interviewed Cresswell and McKissack and the white trustees. He went on to St. Louis, then to Chicago where he mentioned talking with Stamps, Cashin, Bennett and Clarence Payne. He visited Pittsburgh. After leaving New York, he was going up into New England. I got the impression that he interviewed far more white people than colored. The survey is presumably to be a basis for a financial drive. Incidentally, he is securing personal opinions for the benefit of Mr. Wood. Mr. Mandel said his findings would be analyzed and reported at the next meeting of the Board. Mr. Wood announced that the report would not be completed until November 15th. I gave lots of time to the interview and plugged hard for Wesley. Mr. Mandell expressed more than casual interest (and wrote down as much as he could in my remark to the effect that Fisk will have another McKenzie incident on its hands if the Trustees select a modern version of Uncle Tom for President. Also, when I told him that the article by Dr. DuBois in The Nation expressed my own personal opinion as accurately as if I had written it myself; he smiled and said: "That man sure can write."

The crux of the situation, as I see it, is that Wood wants Charles Johnson for President, but he is afraid of the reaction of the Negro public at this time. Meanwhile, (and he has other reasons for this) he would like to put a white man in, of his own choosing, for a period of two years, so that Johnson can be built up in the public eye as logical presidential timber.

46-7-35

Wesley is weakest in the places where Wood's influence is the strongest. The Southern group may well be the deciding factor in favor of Wesley.

The present temper of members of the Board seems to be that a Negro should be selected and now. I believe a vote will be taken and the issue decided on October 29th.

Yours for Fisk,

Alexander.

Ernest R. Alexander, M. D.

46-7-36

[Enc. from Alexander]
[FISK UNIV]

A member of the Board of Trustees & an alumnus says

March 28th, 1946.

Dear Reverend Brooks:

After much discussion and interchange of thought, the Executive Committee of the Alumni Association voted unanimously to put the full weight of their support behind Dr. Charles Wesley, a Negro and a Fiskite. This action definitely commits the six Alumni members of the Board to vote for Wesley. Incidentally, each one had already arrived at this decision independently. After more than 80 years of existence, surely we can find a Fiskite for this position!

(A)

21-12-21

I had a long conversation at my home yesterday with James E. Stamps, our Alumni President. He has just made a wide swing through the South and has talked with many prominent educators, including a numer of college presidents. He stated that each one of these men had told him that Dr. Charles Wesley was the best qualified man for the Presidency of Fisk. He reported that he had found the sentiment for Wesley strong among the students on the Fisk campus...

Ernest R. Alexander, M.D.

[Fisk University]

AREAS OF INVESTIGATION OF FISK UNIVERSITY SUGGESTED BY ALUMNI AT ANNUAL MEETING APRIL 25, 1945

I. The Philosophy and Program of Education.

Objectives

A. What are the agreed upon and stated objectives of the educational program?

Facilities

B. Are physical plant and teaching personnel adequate and capable of carrying out the program?

Evaluation

C. In what manner (qualitatively) and to what extent are the aims and objectives translated into a vital and real educative process?

II. The Administration and Top Leadership

A. Definition of University purpose and function.

B. Ability of the Administration to inapire and retain the confidence of teachers, students, alumni.

C. The extent to which the administration is capable of securing the loyal support of staff and student body.

III. Faculty--Administration--Cooperation.

A. Does the faculty-teaching and administrative staff follow the leadership invested in the college presidency?

B. Is there a healthy give and take between faculty and administration resulting in mutually agreed upon causes of action wholeheartedly pursued by all parties?

C. Does the faculty endorse, support and carry out the agreed upon program of the university?

IV. The Calibre of the Teaching Personnel and the Quality of Instruction.

A. What are the training, and experience of the teaching personnel?

B. To what extent and in what manner is instruction unified (related to over-all aims) supervised, and evaluated?

C. What are the teaching programs and teaching loads in the various departments?

D. Is there opportunity (and if so is it used) for close supervision of and frequent counselling with students by instructors?

E. What is the comparative strength of teaching personnel and the quality of instruction between the several departments, and divisions of the College?

V. Faculty-Student Relations.

A. Are there contacts between students and faculty which engender mutual respect and trust?

B. Does the faculty assume and exercise responsibility (informal) for student development outside the area of scholarship?

C. Do the students feel that there is an attitude of helpfulness, genuineness on the part of the faculty toward them?

D. Does the faculty feel that it can counsel with students indiscriminately without encountering hostility and disrespect from students?

VI. Student Life and Student Morale.

A. Personnel Guidance

1. Is there satisfactory operation of the personnel guidance program?

B. Recreation

1. Is there a program of, and are there facilities for a diversified recreational activities?

C. Co-curricula activities

1. Is there a well integrated program of student activities designed to meet the needs of student interest, student expression and development?

D. Student Leadership and Morale.

1. Is there a feeling among the students of being, and belonging to, an integral part of the whole college?

2. Do they take initiative in and have a sense of responsibility to constructively participate in the life of the college community?

3. Is there positive leadership in the ranks of the student body?

4. What does the College staff and faculty do to discover, lead out, encourage, and develop leadership qualities in the Student Body?

VII. Negro-White Relations on the Campus

A. Do the relations between Negro and white, or majority-minority representatives on the faculty reflect the

prejudices of the American scene or is there a pattern of democratic acceptance in keeping with the Fisk tradition and the democratic ideal?

B. Are there discrepancies in salaries, emoluments, living conditions, academic rank, and promotions which can be interpreted as being based on race?

VIII. Management of Investment

A. How are the funds of the University invested? ---
Stocks, Bonds, Mortgages, Real Property

B. What is the income from the various sources listed above?

C. How does the management and operation of the investments compare with best investment principles?

D. How frequently and on what basis is there a turnover of stocks?

21-20

[Encl. from Alexander]
[Fisk Univ]

Nashville, Tenn.,
May 5, 1946.

Mr. James E. Stamps,
417 E. 47th Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Stamps:

I have mailed to you and some of the men copies of the Nashville Banner with a marked article of a report of a meeting of Jones, some of the southern Trustees and white Nashville on the eve of the drive for $15,000 for the United Negro College Fund. Several important things occurred to me on reading this report. First, the unwarranted attack of Jones on our representatives on the Board and his outright lie about it. Second, it is very evident that Jones and this man Allen want to make it clear that Fisk has committeed itself to the southern reactionary point of view and is against CIO and the FEPC and everything that is for the uplift of the Negro which does not fit into the southern pattern. Third, Potter has really brought into the open the real attitude when he says that the Nashville members of the Board "have taken a great deal of kidding" for their presence on the Board, but feels that his presence will keep us in line. In line for what? I have been looking for the answer as to why, after all their threatened resignation from the Board on account of our interracial attitudes, the southern Trustees suddenly quieted down. I think this report is the answer. Some where down the line a deal has been made whereby they can tie up this whole question with the giving of a paltry $15,000 by white Nashville. Fourth, for the first time we have direct evidence of what Jones has been doing throughout the years when he has been in closed meetings with southern white people when he thought he would not be quoted. If belonging to the United Negro College Fund means to us what this report implies, then it is time that the whole question of the fund in its relation to our private schools be broug t out; and to me the sooner Fisk cuts loose from it the better.

I do not think this situation can go unchallenged for it is too far reaching in its effect on all the future progress not only of Fisk but of other schools. I must confess I did not expect to have them bring the battle into the open; I thought it would be a battle of nerves only. I further think inasmuch as they have attacked it is our chance to really go places. The very first thing I think should be an open apology to the representatives on the board. It is only by publicity that this matter can be cleared. What do you think?

Sincerely yours,

St. Elmo Brady

21-12

(Taken from The Nashville Banner) May, 1946 [Enclosure]

To 'Clear the Air' on Fisk, Nashville Leaders are Silent.

Negro College Fund Drive Appeal Made.

by Mary Jane Brooks.

Invited to "clear the air" of any criticism against Fisk University policies before the first appeal of the United Negro College Fund Campaign is made in Nashville, a group of local businessmen and civic leaders attending a lucheon drive meeting yesterday remained silent.

The invitation came after President Thomas E. Jones of Fisk and Nathan Adams, native of Pulaski and now chairman of the board of the First National Bank, Dallas, Texas, who is a leader in the fund campaign, had explained the origin and purposes of the United Negro College Fund, Inc.

Although Fisk is one of 33 Negro institutions which have benefited from the drive in two previous annual appeals, initial efforts to secure contributions in Nashville will be made this year.

At the conclusion of the schedule informal addresses, Edward Potter, Jr., vice-chairman of the Fisk University Board of Trust, commented that Nashville members of the board "have taken a great deal of kidding" for their presence on the board. He said that although the Nashville group frankly "has not approved of some things" at Fisk, the local board members have felt that it was better "to try to improve situations drifting into bad directions" than to desert and let the school "go to rout--to the left wing." ....

Adams strongly denounced the present federal administration, Communism, and Eastern meddling as confusing the racial problems of the South.

"The Negro won't work as long as Mr. Truman gives us Santa Claus in every community," Adams charged.

He said he wondered "how many of us know how far to the Left we have already gone" and predicted that solution to present day problems is

Front page, bottom 7 columns 7, 8

P. 2, Col. 1

P. 2, Col. 2

impossible "as long as we remain blind to the Left Wing." Pointing out that adoption of FEPC philosophies would mean "we have come a long way from freedom," Adams warned, "Don't let them take the Democratic Party completely away from us. What are we, a bunch of morons?"

Asking "Where the Negro could be sent where he would be as well off as in this country" and emphasizing that "we've got to teach their leaders to tell the truth," Adams remarked, "If the Easterners would tend to Harlem and Chicago, we could work out this problem in the South." ...

P.2, Col. 2.

21-12

[Enclosure from Alexander]
[FISK UNIV]

21-12-23

417 East 47th Street
Chicago, 15, Illinois
May 6, 1946

Dear Dr. Alexander:

(E) From the events that happed at the recent meeting of the Board of Trustees at Fisk, I am inclined to think that we are going to experience some great difficulties in having the Board of Trustees select the best man available for the President of Fisk University. It seems to me that it became quite obvious to the Trustees at the last meeting that the best available man was a Negro, and further, it is my opinion that the majority at the Board of Trustees voted to defer the selection because at that time they were not willing to vote for a colored man. One of the great disservices which President Jones has done Fisk University has been to crowd southerners on the Board of Trustees. Then, too, there are those on the Board who have found it profitable to be there. (D) There are affairs pertaining to Fisk University's finance which are unknown to some Trustees and there is, of course, no colored man on the Board who is a member of the Finance Committee. How much the school has been exploited in the past ten years or more will only be known in the distant future.

The fact that there are now more than 60 white colleges including Columbia, Oberlin and Vanderbilt looking for presidents, should be evidence that a first-rate white man is not available to Fisk, where resources and ability to pay are not comparable to many of the white colleges. The Nominating Committee knows this and yet after the six months, they are unable to make a recommendation...

James E. Stamps

[Encl. from Alexander]
[FISK UNIV]

234 West 139th Street,
New York 30, N.Y.
May 10th, 1946.

Dr. St. Elmo Brady,
Fisk University,
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Brady:

Just received a copy of The Nashville Banner; am jotting down rapidly my immediate reactions: I suggest that the Executive Committee of the Alumni Association frame a letter to Jones at once. The letter should ask Jones (among other questions) first, whether or not he was correctly quoted by the Banner; second, where did he get his information that photographers had come down from Chicago to take pictures of the new President; third, will he kindly clarify his meaning as expressed in the quotation: "there would be no pay-off for the new President."

This first letter, in my opinion, should be written for the sole purpose of making him commit himself and should express no opinion whatsoever. All comment should be made in a second letter, whether he either replies or fails to reply. Copies of correspondence should be sent to each member of the Trustee Board.

21-12

Hurriedly and sincerely yours,

Ernest R. Alexander, M.D.

[Encl. from Alexander]
[FISK UNIV]

417 East 47th Street
Chicago, 15, Illinois
May 20, 1946

Dr. Thomas Elsa Jones
President, Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Jones:

The Executive Committee of the General Alumni Association of Fisk University in session Saturday, May 18, took notice of an article which appeared in the Nashville Banner, May 2, 1946 concerning Fisk University. The Committee further noted that comments were reproduced in many Negro papers throughout the country.

Certain implications in the article and quotations from your speech have given rise to questions in the minds of many friends and alumni of this institution. In one instance you are quoted as having said, with reference to the meeting of the Board of Trustees and election of the president that "a minority group came to the Board meeting prepared to elect a certain candidate without giving the Board a sufficient time to go into the matter carefully", and that "the minority group had gone so far as to have photographers from Chicago already to take pictures after their man had been elected". You were further quoted as having said that the Board squashed this move and agreed to postpone the election of a president, and made it clear that "there would be no pay-off for the new president."

First, we should like to ask if you were correctly quoted? If so, obviously the minority group you mentioned, referred to the Alumni Trustees on the Nominating Committee who reported to the Alumni Association in their last meeting that they had reviewed and measured the qualifications of a number of potential candidates, and were prepared to make definite recommendations to the Board of Trustees. How prepared they were "to elect a certain candidate", as well as how appropriate was the subject for Nashville citizens being introduced to the United Negro College Fund Campaign, may be controversial.

Please be kind enough to furnish to the Executive Committee accurate information, or the source of information that photographers had come from Chicago to make pictures of the new president. We would further like information as to just what you meant by the statement "there would be no pay-off for the new president".

In the interest of the traditional ideals and the spirit of Fisk University, we will thank you for a prompt reply to this inquiry.

Very truly yours,

James E. Stamps
President, Alumni Association

Encl. from Alexander]
[FISK UNIV]

234 West 139th Street,
New York, 30, N.Y.
June 14, 1946.

Mr. James E. Stamps,
417 East 47th Street,
Chicago, 15, Ill.

Dear Stamps:

Thanks for copies of letters to Jones. Whether or not, he is willing to tell you what he did say, I think it extremely important that a letter reach him before June 30th, stating that such action (either making the alleged statement, or refusing to tell the officials of the Alumni Association what he did say) on the part of a President of Fisk University, automatically disqualifies him for any present or future association with the University.

I propose that the Executive Committee of the Alumni Association consider making a poll of the whole Fisk family. What we really want to know is whether the three groups (Faculty, Students and Alumni) will back our stand for Wesley. Why not ask them: "Do you favor Dr. Charles H. Wesley for President of Fisk University?" Send out ballots similar to the ones used for voting on Alumni representatives on the Board. I would have no identifying marks on the ballots - only "Faculty", "Student" or "Alumni" to permit proper classification of the sentiment in these three groups. Along with the ballots should go a mineographed statement of Wesley's qualifications. They could be asked whom they favored, if they do not favor Wesley. They could also be asked to make any additional comment they cared to make.

Others have made similar suggestions. I seem to recall that Carter Wesley has expressed himself along this line. One reason that the idea stands out in my mind is an opinion expressed to me by Mr. Hume who said in effect, that if all the things said about Wesley are true (and he did not doubt that they were true) and if as I stated, there was strong sentiment for Wesley among the Faculty and student body, he saw "no reason whatever why Dr. Wesley should not be elected President of Fisk University."

Discussing further my opinion regarding the attitude of some of our white Trustees, I believe that most of the Northern group and at least P.D. Houston of the Southern group, will be swayed by the desires of Wood (and Jones). The remaining members of the Southern group will probably back up any stand taken by Mr. Hume, who is a highly respected and successful lawyer as well as a millionaire.

Mr. Nicholar Kelley has shown himself to be a rabid exponent of the Wood point of view. Among other things he repeatedly maintained, at our last Board meeint, that any discussion of Wesley's candidacy was "out of order" and he constantly voiced the opinion that the present Nominating Committee be discharged and that another be appointed. It strikes me that the Quakers "aren't doing so well by us" right through here.

I have not spoken to Dr. Du Bois as yet about writing an article on Fisk. I would like to be able to go to him with all of our evidence supporting Wesley (including the results of the "poll of the whole Fisk family"), and let that touch off a general newspaper sentiment in Wesley's behalf.

"We want Wesley!"

"We want Wesley!"

Sincerely,

[Enclosure from Alexander]
[FISK UNIV]

21-12-24

June 18, 1946

Dear Stamps:

What has happened to the demand of the Alumni Association for an investigation of affairs at Fisk? It seems that when Jones resigned, by common consent the demand for the investigation subsided. But I am wondering whether we ought not still have that investigation.

(C.) For instance, on the day we had Alumni meeting either you or Charles Wesley, or both of you, indicated that Haydock gets some $22,000.00 for handling the portfolio on the bonds and stocks of the alumni fund. If this is true, it is so well hidden that most of us on the Board never even suspected it, and with proven facts to this effect, I for one would change my estimation of Haydock.

I have been told that Wood gets $9,000.00 as public relations officer or publicity man for Fisk. I'd like to know definitely that it is or is not true. Even in the material which Alex sent out recently, there is an indication that Wood's office rent is paid in New York by Fisk, and I'd like to know how much we pay for that so-called office rent...

Carter Wesley.

[FISK UNIV]

19 June 1946

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I have talked to Imes and ~~Beckman~~ Boutté and some other Fisk graduates and I think perhaps it would be timely for me to say a word publicly concerning the presidency of Fisk, but I should be glad to have your opinion first.

My own feeling is that there is only one candidate for the office who is fitted by training and experience to be president of Fisk University. He happens to be colored but that is irrevelant. He is Charles Wesley, President of Wilberforce.

The power to appoint him lies in the hands of three classes of people: Northern philanthropists, Southern liberals and the alumni of Fisk. The Northern philanthropists have gotten in the habit of kotowing and being entirely subservient in opinion to Southern liberals. The Southern liberals are not wholly liberal and are sometimes selfishly desirous of the school trade and at other times determined to see that Negroes keep in their places and consequently prefer either a white man as president who they can handle or a white folk's "nigger". The alumni apparently cannot concentrate on a demand for Wesley.

If you think that my public expression of the above ideas and their implications would do good, I would be glad to make them; and in that case please send me the names and addresses of the committee which is to select the president. I will submit the letter to you and others before I send it.

Let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Ernest R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York City

22-9-39

[FISK UNIV]

ERNEST R. ALEXANDER, M. D.
234 WEST 139TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

21-12-19

June 28, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am enclosing correspondence received today from Mrs. James Stamps. The letter gives more insight on the type and scope of manipulations by Mrs. Wood, who happens to be our major interest at this time.

Carter Wesley has been "needling" Stamps for some time — this explains the overtones of Stamps's letter. Stamps has done an excellent job and is simply tossing the ball back to Wesley.

ERNEST R. ALEXANDER, M. D.
234 WEST 139TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

21-12-20

There is no major disagreement between any of us. (Incidentally, Stamps gives the impression of a man out of breath and at the end of his rope), at the top of the second page the statement appears: "a copy of my letter from Alexander told you our story". I am enclosing a copy of the letter referred to in order to clarify that statement.

Sincerely
E. R. Alexander.

[Encl. from Alexander]

234 West 139th Street,
New York 30, N.Y.
June 19th, 1946.

Mr. James E. Stamps,
417 East 47th Street,
Chicago, 15, Ill.

Dear Stamps:

Mrs. Sadie St. Clar Daniels called me on the telephone this afternoon to tell me about the meeting of the Executive Committee held today. The white members of the Committee were present, including Mr. Nicholas Kelley, who was as vocal as usual. Neither Cashin, DeBerry nor Wesley were there. Sadie got in touch with Wesley before the meeting. He stated that he could not be present and urged her to attend.

21-12

Little, apparently, was accomplished at the meeting. One of the main issues raised was whether John Price Jones or Marks and Lundy will be elected for raising Endowment funds. They hope to decide this at another meeting in July.

Sadie stated that her notice came last week "on Wednesday or Thursday". When she called Wood to get directions on how to reach his new office, Wood was obviously peeved that she expected to attend the meeting, so he dispensed with his usual veneer of cordiality.

I consider it highly important that Cashin attend each meeting of the Executive Committee. I believe his railroad fare will be paid. If this is not correct, I favor having the Executive Committee of the Alumni Association work out a plan by which his expenses will be paid. I will gladly contribute to such a fund.

We are going through a very critical period in the life of Fisk and we must "stay on the ball!"

Sincerely,

21-2-22

[Encl. from Alexander]
[FISK UNIV]

POINTS DISCUSSED IN CONVERSATION WITH MR. HUME.

(D)

" Two years ago Wood forced a Resolution through the Executive Committee, making it unnecessary for Wesley (as Secretary) to put his signature on any documents involving sale of property, etc. Wesley told me in Nashville that he had objected to this so strenuously (privately) that Wood changed it about one year later.

Only three (3) men know the actual earnings from Endowment Stocks (Wood, Haydock and Jones). The Auditor states in his report that he has not seen nor personally examined the stocks and bonds. All three men have personal interests in maintaining control over Fisk. (Mr. Hume says that every organization and institution with which he is connected gives a complete list of their stocks and bonds to Board Members.)

I pointed out that Jones' resignation was handed in as soon as it became apparent that an investigation would be held. All three of them know that the handling of Fisk's funds could not stand up under an investigation, so Jones had to "take the rap." They plan to bring him back on the Board, after one year. Also, to put him on the Boards of Tuskegee and other Negro colleges...

Confidential Memo. for Dr. Chas. H. Wesley and Mr. Carter Wesley only.

another o Simmons adds

[FISK UNIV]

21-25-10

July 11, 1946

Dr. Ernest R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Alexander:

Enclosed are the documents which you kindly entrusted to me, and also a proposed statement which I have written. I have thought that I would try to get this article published in The Nation or New Republic.

Suppose you read this over and tell me what you think of it. How far could I quote the President of the Alumni Association and other Trustees? Would the publication of this article put the fat in the fire and stop Wesley's election?

Think this over and let me talk to you. There is some further information that I would like to have.

1. About how many living Fisk graduates are there?
2. How many Presidents has Fisk had since Cravath?
3. What has been the education, and what is the employment of Wesley's daughters?
4. What is the name and career of the white candidate from New Jersey?
5. How many trustees are there; how many are white and how many represent the alumni? Just how are the alumni trustees elected?

I shall be glad to come and talk to you almost any day if you will let me know the time.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois.

[Enc. from Alexander, Ernest]
[FISK UNIV]

WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY
FOUNDED IN 1856
CHARLES H. WESLEY, PRESIDENT
WILBERFORCE, OHIO

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 17, 1946

Dear Ernest,

I have received the confidential memoranda which you sent out including the DuBois article. There are changes which I should think desirable in it. First, I do not think that there should be any direct quotation of alumni statements. These could be paraphrased rather than quoted because the direct quotations would lead to the indication of not only alumni participation but cooperation in the preparation of the article and I am wondering if its value might not be lessened thereby.

On a whole, with the exception of the question which I raised above, I am in agreement with the statement and it is my opinion that it should be published. It is the type of contact which is needed to be used as rapidly as possible. You have doubtless seen the coverage in the Afro-American last week and the week before.

In connection with the questions which DuBois asks concerning my daughters, the following may be stated: Louise, the older, is a graduate of Oberlin Conservatory of Music with the Bachelor of Music degree, having also attended the Guild Hall School of Music in London for a year. She is now Instructor in Piano at Wilberforce University. Charlotte Wesley "Holloman" is a graduate of Howard University with the degree of Mus.B. and the Master of Arts degree from Columbia University. She was a teacher for one year in the William Penn High School, Philadelphia, and for one year at the Stitt Junior High School, New York City. The change was made in the latter location in order that she might be with her husband, Dr. John L. Holloman, (B.A., Virginia Union University; M.D., University of Michigan), who was an interne in the Harlem Hospital and recently a First Lieutenant in the Medical Corps. Charlotte was also a student in the Guild Hall School of Music in London, England, for one year. Both have appeared in recital, Louise being a piano major and Charlotte a voice major. Charlotte is now on leave and is the mother of a three months old baby. If there is any additional information which he would like to have, I will be glad to furnish it. The enclosed biography might be further suggestive to him.

With best wishes and the hope that you may have a pleasant vacation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Dear.

Dr. Ernest R. Alexander
Greenwood Lake, New York.

P.S. Do you desire me to return the DuBois article?
CHW

[Enc.]

Reprinted from
BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE WORLD

CHARLES H. WESLEY

University President, was born December 2, 1891, Louisville, Ky., the son of Charles Snowden and Matilda (Harris) Wesley. He was educated at Fisk University, B.A. 1911; Yale, 1913; Harvard, Ph.D. 1925. He was honored with D.D. by Wilberforce University, 1928; LL.D., Allen University, 1932; LL.D., Virginia State College, 1943. On December 25, 1915, he married Louise Johnson, and they have two daughters: Louise and Charlotte. President Wesley began his career as University Scholar at Yale, 1911-13; he was Austin Scholar at Harvard, 1920-21; Guggenheim Fellow, London, England, 1930-31. He became Instructor at Howard University, 1913-17, Assistant Professor of History, 1917-20; he was Associate Professor during 1920-21, and Professor and Head of the Department of History from 1921 to 1941; he served as Director of the Summer School in 1937; was Acting Dean of The Graduate School, Howard University, November 1937-October 1938; Acting Dean of The College of Liberal Arts, from January 1, 1938 to October 30, 1938; Dean of The Graduate School from October 30, 1938 to 1941. He has been President, Wilberforce University, since 1942. Dr. Wesley was Pastor and Presiding Elder, A.M.E. Church, from 1918 to 1938. He served as Army Y.M.C.A. Secretary in 1918-19, and was Director of Research Project, Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York, in 1927. He was General President of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity in 1931-40, President and Historian in 1941. He is a Member of the Board of Trustees, Baltimore Conference, A.M.E. Church; Trustee of Fisk University. He is a Member of the Executive Coouncil, Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; National Council of the Social Studies, National Education Association, Society for the Advancement of Education, American Association of School Administrators, American Historical Association, American Association of University Professors. He is a Member of the Area Council for Ohio and West Virginia of the Y.M.C.A.; the Committee on Historical Resources, National Council of the Y.M.C.A.; Board of Editors, The Hayes Foundation, Army and Navy Committee, National Council of the Y.M.C.A. Dr. Wesley has written numerous articles and technical papers published in leading American professional periodicals. His books are: Negro Labor in the U. S.: 1850-1925; A study in American Economic History (Vanguard Press), 1927; The History of Alpha Phi Alpha: A Development in Negro College Life (Howard U. Press), 1930; The History of Alpha Phi Alpha (Second Edition), revised and enlarged (The Foundation Publishers, Washington, D. C.), 1935; Richard Allen: Apostle of Freedom (Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C.), 1935; The Collapse of the Confederacy (same), 1938; The History of Alpha Phi Alpha (Third Edition, revised and enlarged), 1939; The Negro in the Americas (ed.), 1940; A Manual of Research and Thesis-Writing for Graduate Students, 1941. Address: Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio.

21-19

[FISK UNIV]

ERNEST R. ALEXANDER, M. D.
234 WEST 139TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

AUDUBON 3-5384

21-20-44

July 20, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am encouraged by these responses to step-up the tempo of things. I will pass on other letters as fast as they are received.

If you desire any further factual information, tell me know and I will secure it from the appropriate source.

I have not, as yet, concentrated on the article. I would like an opportunity to do this on a revised copy. Sincerely,

W. Alexander

[Ernest R. Alexander]
[1946]

I sent this out
with the article.

E. R. A.

21-26

[Enc.]

417 East 47th Street
Chicago 15, Illinois
July 18, 1946

Dr. E. R. Alexander
Greenwood Lake, N. Y.

21-20-46

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I have your memorandum of July 12, together with the rough draft of an article which Dr. DuBois is preparing on Fisk. It is good that Dr. DuBois has consented to prepare the article because I am certain that a public statement by him will have great weight and influence with the public, the Alumni, and the Board of Trustees. Here are several suggestions concerning the article:

In the second line of the second paragraph of page one, Dr. DuBois says "logically, a colored man should head a school for colored students".

I don't believe that's a good premise, and it may be challenged by liberals. We do not want it said that logically, white men ought to teach white students, nor logically colored men should teach colored students. I think it well if that statement be in line with more progressive democratic thinking.

Paragraph five of the first page is accurate, but not full and detailed enough. I have prepared, and there is attached, a paragraph which I suggest be substituted for this one.

Paragraph six contains a typographical error in that Charles Wesley received his Ph.D. degree in 1925 and not 1895.

I am not too certain about paragraph four of page two. This is, of course, a quotation from Carter Wesley's letter to me, and it already has been aired in the Afro-American. In the Afro-American it did not necessarily have to be factual but I think anything from Dr. DuBois should have a touch of finality, and we are not prepared to assert positively the amount of Haydock's brokerage fees or Wood's compensation. Carl Murphy has instructed a correspondent to interview Wood and Haydock on these matters; the Afro will carry the story and I am of the opinion that we might let it rest there, however I do think that Dr. DuBois' article should state that no alumni trustee or Negro trustee is on the finance committee and that the financial affairs of the University are known to few trustees, and that the alumni have for sometime had misgivings as to the management of property and investments, and that one of the points of issue in the proposed university survey was the matter of looking into the investments and the rapid turn-over of stocks and bonds.

X

For the information of Dr. DuBois, I am enclosing herewith a

copy of the areas of investigation as prepared by the alumni.

Thanks for following this matter up. It will be a great contribution to the cause when Dr. DuBois' article is released. We will see to it that papers throughout the country pick it up. I hope you will have a good vacation, and we will try not disturb you too often.

21-20-47

Yours very truly,

James E. Stamps

jes:rj
Enclosure 1

[Enc.]

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★

P.O. BOX 3086
2418 LEELAND
HOUSTON 3, TEXAS

21-20-45

July 15, 1946

Dr. E. R. Alexander
Greenwood Lake, New York

Dear Ernest:

Your letter of transmittal, with a copy of the tentative article by Dr. Du Bois and his note of June 19, came on in due course. This is to give you my full consent and endorsement of the article. I hope there will be no great delay and that the article may come forth with no changes to lessen the strength of what he says. As you know, I have always been of the opinion that the smartest thing for us to do is to keep the matter in the open. The article by Dr. Du Bois will mean more than anything I can think of now. Most of those trustees are mortally afraid of this man's pen and tongue. Don't have any delay, let's get this article in print.

Give my regards to your wife.

Sincerely yours,

Carter

Carter Wesley

/d

THE MARKET
• 2,800,000 PEOPLE
• PLENTY MONEY
• WILLING TO BUY
• AWAITING INVITATION

[To Ernest R. Alexander from S.T.M. Alexander.]
[FISK UNIV]

1206 Lamont St. N.W.
Washington 10, D.C.
July 23, 1946

21-19-185

Dear Dr. Alexander:

Your letter was duly received. Delay in replying is occasioned by the fact that I was making preparation for a promotion examination which I took yesterday.

I am very happy to learn that Dr. DuBois may put himself on record in regard to the situation at Fisk. As the "Afro" has carried some of the data in regard to the financial situation but nothing on the general principles involved in the selection of a president, I think that an article that embraces this latter idea will be most useful.

For instance, I think that an article that shows first, the difficulties that colleges face today in the selection and appointment of a president, and second, the peculiar and particular situation at Fisk, may arrest the attention of the public.

When Cornell selected Edmund E. Day as president in 1937 I remember having read several articles on "college presidency." I think that Education Index will prove useful in directing our attention to numerous articles listed under the caption: "College Presidents - Selection and Appointment." In view-

ing our problem in such broad outlines persons who may not be interested in Fisk University but in higher education may become interested.

After setting the stage discussion of the following points appears pertinent:

What educated Negroes expect in the president of a Negro college today.

An admission of the financial weakness of the race in regard to full support of their colleges

The forces at work which affect the selection of a president at Fisk University

Definite proposals as to how Fisk University can get the man best fitted for the presidency.

Some of the points marked on the copy that you sent me may be taken into account in a revision. I shall leave it to you to decide whether you deem it wise to relay any of these suggestions to Dr. Du Bois.

I trust that you and Sally are enjoying a relaxing and refreshing vacation if you do not have too much company. Ha! Ha!

Sincerely yours,

Sadie

21-19-186

[FISK UNIV]

ERNEST R. ALEXANDER, M. D.
234 WEST 139TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

21-12-18

June 25, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

You might also find opportunity to read the enclosed letter before I see you on Thursday morning.

Sincerely,

E. R. Alexander.

Appointment at clergy and must be back to his office by twelve

[Encl. from Alexander]

417 East 47th Street
Chicago 15, Illinois
June 24, 1946

Mr. Carter Wesley
Houston Informer
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Wesley:

On this one thing we are agreed "there is something rotten in Denmark", and it certainly ought to be sought out and exposed. First, in regard to the request of the Alumni Association for the investigation of affairs at Fisk, you will recall that this matter was given approval by the Board over Jones' protest. After its approval, we had a very difficult time in getting any action from the Board or the President. We worked out the areas to be surveyed. They called for a new scrutiny into many phases of the affairs of the institution, including finances. We pressed for action with the President and the acting Chairman, Mr. Wood. Mr. Wood appointed a committee to meet with the committee from the alumni Association for a final determination of a program of procedure. Appointments with the members of the Board on this committee were made on two occasions. I journeyed to Nashville twice to meet them; none of them showed up.

21-12

The matter of the investigation had been circumvented by the Board of Trustees through its acting chairman, Mr. Wood. There is little question in my mind that the insistence of the Executive Committee on this investigation, and the areas to be covered was the real thing which led to Dr. Jones' resignation. I am firmly convinced that the investigation had been postponed and delayed by the Board because the study would probably involve more people than Jones. I think the report that Hollingsworth Wood gets a stipend as Public Relations Officer, must be the truth. The amount I do not know, and I think the books will reveal that Haydock gets some $20,000 for handling our stock and bonds. I think other things are done which do not help the finances of Fisk. Now the question as to how to get at these things seems to be the problem: "who will bell the cat".

I have taken the lead for several years in pointing out to the Executive Committee, the Alumni Association and the Trustees, weaknesses in the administration and things that ought to be done, but it seems to me that the Alumni Trustees have a grave responsibility in this connection. I am not concerned however, because I have become a persona non grata to the administration, to the Board of Trustees and probably to some alumni, but there is a limit to every man's ability, and it seems to me that the trustees and particularly the Alumni Trustees are not following up their responsibilities.

Up to now the affairs of the University have been run by two or three Trustees. They gave reports to the Trustees only on matters which they wanted the Trustees to know about. But every Trustee has a sacred trust to his job and he is responsible for the affairs and finances of the institution, and he certainly should not accept and condone decisions

made without his knowledge and information.

How a few Trustees have been carrying on is indicated by a recent meeting of the Executive Committee in New York. A copy of my letter from Alexander told you one story. The other one is that when Cashin was placed on the Executive Committee in Nashville, several of us said to him then that he was placed on the Committee instead of Alexander for the reason that he was away from New York where the meetings were generally held, and it was probably thought that he would not attend. He then stated that he would attend and would give a good account of his presence, but the fact is when Wood decided to have a meeting in New York on the 19th, he mailed a notice to Cashin so that it would reach him on the 17th. Cashin received the notice on the afternoon of the 17th and called me up immediately. I could not see anything but collusion there to keep him away from the meeting for unless a man has absolutely nothing to do, it cannot be expected that he can pick up and go to New York in such short notice.

This is a condition that must be worked out within the Board, and it is there where I think most of the problems must be settled. Our Alumni Trustees are not persons who depend on the Fisk payroll. We do not expect them to be controlled; they are independent, and should work to make the Board responsive to the needs and traditions of the institution. I think that the Alumni Trustees know that the Alumni have implicit confidence in them and your inquiries and suggestions are all for the good of the school. You, therefore, should pull no punches.

Each alumni trustee was insulted and scorned by Jones' article in the Nashville Banner, and yet the only protest that I have seen has been made by me or to me. I think you should let Jones and the Board of Trustees know how you feel about the matter.

The Alumni Association has done a good job in selecting it's Alumni Trustees. It has also done a good job from time to time in making vigorous protests in sending resolutions to the Board, but now I think it is time for the Alumni Trustees and other interested Trustees to work on the Board itself. It is all right to send out information continuously to the Alumni on conditions at Fisk, but they can only protest; they have given you legislative powers. I think it is up to you to act.

I happen to be a member of four directorates in Chicago and when the time comes that I cannot direct or know what is going on, I will not be a director.

Your courage, fearlessness, and independence are nationally known. There never was a time when such characteristics were so urgently needed by your Alma mater.

Yours very truly,

James E. Stamps
President, Alumni Assn.

[Encl. from Alexander]

417 East 47th Street
Chicago 15, Illinois
June 26, 1946

Dr. Ernest Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Alexander:

A copy of the attached letter will give you Cashin's view on the meeting of the Executive Committee of Fisk University on June 19, as well as my own views in matters relative to the alumni trustees and the Board.

I have no plans for writing to President Jones before he leaves Fisk, on the subject matter of the Nashville Banner story. I feel that any further development should come from the maligned Alumni Trustees. It seems to me too, that you should contact Dr. Du Bois immediately for a statement concerning Fisk and the new Presidency. His personal views are in accord with ours. I have heard him quoted directly. Articles by him similar to those published in the Pittsburg Courier by Horace Cayton will help immensely.

I have already suggested to Cashin that he write to Pell and find out when he expects to have a meeting of the Nominating Committee. I don't think the members of the Nominating Committee should let this matter sleep. It is important that something be done before fall. I hope you, as a member of the Nominating Committee, will keep the matter alive.

Yours very truly,

James E. Stamps

[Fisk University]

July 12, 1946.

Confidential memorandum to the President of the General Alumni Association; Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Alumni Association; Comptroller and Alumni Representatives on the Board of Trustees of Fisk University.

- - - - - - -

Last April a small informal luncheon group agreed that I should discuss the situation at Fisk with Dr. Du Bois and that I should ask him to write an article . On May 6, President Stamps wrote me a follow-up letter on the subject. A second letter written June 26 reminded me of the matter. This second letter reached me the day after I talked with Dr. Du Bois at his office.

I am enclosing the first draft of the article which Dr. Du Bois proposes to publish because I want you to know the content and to suggest omissions or additions.

Since I am leaving the city tomorrow on my vacation, time will not permit me to write to you individually. My address for the next two months will be Greenwood Lake, New York. I shall keep in touch with you as well as with developments at and about Fisk.

I hope each one of you will write me promptly giving your views fully.

Yours for Fisk,

Ernest R. Alexander, M. D.

FISK UNIV

21-26-01

31 July 1946

Dear Doctor Alexander:

I have got a chance to put a short article in the Nation. I was a little afraid I might not get this opening. Enclosed is a copy of the letter.

Please rush to me all available data. I leave for camp Friday night but can be reached there - Cambridge Gun and Rod Club
RFD Litchfield, Maine;
or if you think it wise you can wait until I return on the seventeenth of August.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Ernest R. Alexander
Greenwood Lake, New York

[FISK UNIV]

21-27-53

2 August 1946

My dear Mr. Alexander:

Here is the Fisk Article. Rush it to me at Cambridge Gun and Rod Club, Rural Free Delivery, Litchfield, Maine. Use copies as you will.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Ernest R. Alexander
Greenwood Lake, New York

21-25-11

2 August 1946

My dear Mr. Alexander:

I am making a will and must provide for an unlikely contingency: I am making Yolande my executor; but if she should pre-decease me, Mrs. Du Bois could not act and Du Bois would still probably be a minor.

May I name you as executor?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Ernest R. Alexander
Greenwood Lake, New York.

ERNEST R. ALEXANDER, M. D.
234 WEST 139TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

AUDUBON 3-5384

21-25-12

August 5, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I think the article is grand. I would not wish to have one word of it changed.

I am requesting stamps to send out postal cards to all alumni in advance of publication of the article urging them to order copies. Will you let him know the publication date as soon as you receive notice?

(2)

ERNEST R. ALEXANDER, M. D.
234 WEST 139TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

AUDUBON 3-5384

21-25-14b

Mrs. James E. Stamps
417 East 47th Street
Chicago 15, Illinois.

You may name me as executor of your estate under the circumstances you mention in your letter. I would most certainly do my utmost to see that your family was protected.

Enjoy a well earned rest.

Very sincerely yours,
E. R. Alexander

[FISK UNIV]

29 August 1946

Dear Alexander:

Just received this.
Notify the gang!

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Ernest R. Alexander
Greenwood Lake, New York

21-25-13

[Fisk]

Fisk

417 East 47th Street
Chicago 15, Illinois
September 3, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb
New York 32, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of August 29, informing me that your article on Fisk will "appear in the Nation of September 9, issued September 5". I am sending postal announcements of this to a number of Fiskites, Trustees and friends. However, since the Nation is dated on Saturday, and the coming Saturday is the 7th, I am inclined to think that the 9th mentioned in your letter is a typographical error, and I have stated the Nation of September 7.

I should also like to take this occasion to commend you on the very fine article you have in the Crisis on Negro Colleges. I have mentioned it to a number of persons, and you certainly are on solid ground when you suggest that alumni can be made responsive to the financial needs of these colleges, and that they should have some voice in their management.

I hope that the next administration at Fisk will be amenable to working out a program of this sort.

Yours very truly,

James E. Stamps

jes:rj

46-7-227

American Miss
Fisk

23 September 1946

Dear Mr. Brownlee:

Thinking over our conversation about Fisk, there are two matter I would like to stress:

1. Do not assume without careful investigation that the amount of Fisk money going to the office of the Vice-President of the Board is small; there is strong testimony that it has reached $12,000 a year. Look into this thoroughly.

2. For a Negro scholar of prominence to resign because he did not want to work under a Negro president, would be a difficult matter to live down. Any man who can work under Tom Jones can work under Charles Wesley, UNLESS, the matter of color is decisive. And it is precisely that which influential alumni are already charging.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

LS-7-37

Mr. Fred L. Brownlee
Secretary American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

[FISK UNIV]

1 October 1946

22-9-65

Dear Dr. Alexander:

On September 20th I had a long talk with Brownley of the American Missionary Association about Fisk. He told me very confidentially that Johnson had threatened to resign from Fisk University if Wesley was elected president. Afterwards I sent him a memorandum a copy of which I enclose.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

Dr. Ernest R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York City

[Fisk University)

DO NOT TYPE

October 8th, 1946

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION, CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMPTROLLER AND ALUMNI REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TRUSTEE BOARD OF FISK UNIVERSITY.

21-7-29

- - - - - - -

There is a well authenticated report that Charles Johnson has stated emphatically that he will resign if a Negro is named President of Fisk. This will be hard for an educator to live down whether he succeeds (as he hopes to by this tactic) in securing the Presidency or not. He is willing to work under a white man (first, second or third rate). This final piece of information completes the picture as accurately as the last small block in a jig-saw puzzle.

For sometime now we have been hearing propaganda to the effect that Fisk has made no progress nor any contribution for the past fifteen years in any Department other than that of the Social Sciences, that whatever comes this Department must remain intact, etc. I have found this argument coming up frequently. I have usually answered that it would be better for Fisk to have Wesley plus Charles Johnson than to have Charles Johnson alone; that Johnson should be left in his present position; that I was satisfied the two men could work together and that I was morally certain Wesley would be willing to retain Johnson. It is only now that I have proof that Johnson is trying to crush all opposition by this threat. (Wesley is, of course, the only other candidate who is being seriously considered for the post). So this is the nub of our problem.

Wood will, of course, take advantage of any split, tie or other opening and press for the selection of a white man for a limited period of two years. He has his man picked out. He would prefer this to any solution but he will be willing to take a chance on Charles Johnson. He will resort to any device to defeat Wesley. Did anyone mention the word ethics?

Yours for Fisk,

Alexander

Ernest R. Alexander, M. D.

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches
287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

FRED L. BROWNLEE
GENERAL SECRETARY
RUTH A. MORTON
DIRECTOR OF SCHOOLS
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR OF RACE RELATIONS

October 15, 1946

21-26-115

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for the two reminders in your note of September 28. First, I have made direct inquiry and find that the figure is nominal.

As to your second point, the man you refer to worked congenially and successfully under Mr. Eugene Kinckle Jones. He has served repeatedly on committees whose chairmen were men of color. He went to Fisk University not because Tom Jones is white, but because of an unrestricted opportunity to develop one of the finest departments of the social sciences in the United States.

This is perhaps the most critical time in the history of Fisk University. Our responsibility is to find the president who is most equal to the occasion. In this I am confident that you and I are agreed.

Yours most cordially,

Fred L. Brownlee

Fred L. Brownlee

flb hd

[FISK UNIV]

5 November 1946

Dear Dr. Alexander:

My feeling is that since Mr. Johnson has been elected President of Fisk University that the attitude of those who preferred someone else should be that of complete neutrality and silence. We should wait and see. I do not think that we should undertake any campaign of ouster. It is practically impossible today with the university set-up as it is to get rid of a president unless the charges against him are clear and of tremendous importance. No such charge in my opinion can be brought against Mr. Johnson. Moreover there is a possibility that he will make a good president for Fisk; I doubt it, but it may come true. He has the ear of the foundations and he will probably get the money that Fisk so sorely needs. He will probably rebuild the university physically and may be able to get a faculty about him of the sort of teachers that Fisk needs. At any rate, the only thing that we can do now, it seems to me, is to keep still and give him a chance.

22-9-92

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Ernest Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York, N. Y.

[Fisk Alumni Assn.]

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE ALUMNI SECRETARY

November 23, 1945

Dear Fellow Fiskite:

We are printing below the complete text of a letter that was formulated at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the General Alumni Association on November 10, 1945, and addressed to the Board of Trustees of Fisk University.

GENERAL ALUMNI ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY
NOVEMBER 12, 1945

To the Members of the Board of Trustees of Fisk University—
Gentlemen:

In view of the grave responsibility which faces the Board of Trustees in the selection of a new president for Fisk University, the Executive Committee of the General Alumni Association in session on November 10, 1945, in Nashville, Tennessee, unanimously agreed after lengthy deliberation to submit the following statement of policy to which we are asking the Board to give full consideration:

Since it is the responsibility and the purpose of the Trustees to elect a new president now, the alumni desire to state categorically that they have a very deep interest in the type of man who is to be selected. Inasmuch as Fisk has attained a high position in the educational world and in the affairs of the nation; and, inasmuch as the graduates of the college are in the forefront of the fight for full participation of all people in American life, we feel that very careful consideration should be made in this selection. Therefore, we ask the selection of a man who is a proved educational administrator; who is a recognized scholar; and whose position in the world of affairs has been well established.

It is of importance to know definitely the man's principles—what he stands for in his outlook on life and education. It is of primary importance that he be democratic in his relationship with the people with whom he works, especially in furnishing inspiring leadership that gets cooperation from faculty and students; that he should be as free as possible of personal bias and personal convictions which would in any wise hamper Fisk in its efforts to function for the people whom it is primarily to serve.

We think that Fisk should keep its broad interracial outlook which has dominated its thinking and action throughout the years. In making this assertion, however, we do not mean to imply that the leadership should be confined to one particular group and the exclusion of the other group because of any false ideas as to its capacity.

The question of the future guidance of the University should not be narrowed to the point of the color of a man's skin. It should rather be to select the best man for the job, regardless of his color, who can carry forward the work so well begun by the founders and continued by others. Selection on any other basis would be unworthy of the heritage of the University; contrary to the spirit of the institution which has trained men and women throughout its history for leadership; and contrary to the ideals which this country is endeavoring to establish during this period.

In thinking thus we remember, too keenly and regretfully, the unfounded assumption of some of our friends that the consideration and appointment of a Negro to the presidency of Fisk would be a mistake in that it would change the status of the college. We have but to call to their attention the several institutions which have made the change without any interruption in their progress. Moreover, there is a long and distinguished history of successful administrations of both state and private colleges by Negro administrators.

Respectfully,

J. E. STAMPS, *President*
MRS. D. H. TURPIN, *Secretary*

JES DHT a

Now that you have read this document submitted to the Board of Trustees by the Executive Committee of the General Alumni Association, we urgently request you to write us your reaction at the earliest possible date. This is an important period in the life of Fisk and it is necessary that you express your reaction as fully and as completely as possible.

Yours for Fisk,

RANDALL L. TYUS,
Alumni Secretary

THE FISK CHOIR WILL CONTINUE ITS BROADCAST EACH SUNDAY MORNING THROUGH DECEMBER 16TH.
TIME: 10:30 TO 11:00 A.M. EASTERN STANDARD TIME (9:30 CENTRAL, 8:30 MOUNTAIN, 7:30 WESTERN).

21-26-98

3 October 1946

My dear Mr. Flamm:

The Schillakers from Glendale, California have written me in glowing terms concerning your book "An Economic Program for a Living Democracy". I wish you would kindly semd me a copy with bill. I believe strongly in the economic foundati on of real reform.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Irving H. Flamm
134 N. Salle Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

12-13-18

165 Ashby Street, N.W.,
Atlanta, Ga., Sep. 18, 1946.

Dear Dr. DuBois:-

I was in New York last week, conferring with Mr. Wilbur R. Forrest, Associate Editor of the New York Herald- Tribune and a Mr. A L. Fierst, who is handling my first Novel- "A Fence Fell In Georgia."

While in New York, I decided to do some tweny poems on Harlem at the suggestion of my representative there and I have completed the work-- "AND GOD SAID-LET US MAKE HARLEM."

I want none other than Dr. DuBois to write for me an Introduction for this work.

Some of it is blank verse and the others on character sketches, of course conform to rhythmic stanzas of rhyme, etc.

I enjoy reading the "WINDS OF TIME." You are not only an educator and Literary genius, but an economist without a peer.

You don't know how happy I would be to have just one line on this volume from you, one who has meant more in my short life than any other writer.

Atlanta is about the same. You told the eternal truth about Summer Schools.

The fact is, you are just too big for these little teaching places here. The students now feel it an honor to say they sat in your classes and Clement did not seem to realize that it was a priceless boast to say that you were on the faculty here.

I could go on and on, but must stop here.

Your Friend,

Thomas Jefferson Flanagan.

21-13-11

26 September 1946

My dear Mr. Flanagan:

If you will at your leisure let me see the manuscript of your book of poems, I shall be very glad to try to write an introduction. Thank you for your good word. I may be in Atlanta in October.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Thomas Jefferson Flanagan
165 Ashby Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

PERSONNEL DIVISION

19 December 1946

21-26-23

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association For The
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are interested in having you lecture to our students and faculty on February 17, 1947 on the subject: "The United Nations and the Negro", at the price listed in recent announcements ($100.00). Confirmation of this date at your earliest convenience will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. T. Taylor

J. T. Taylor, Assistant
to the President.

Can come 17 but 18 better

21-26-16.

31 December 1946

My dear Mr. Taylor:

In accordance with your letter of December, 19th, I will lecture to your students and faculty on February 17, 1947 on the subject "The United Nations and the Negro", the fee being $100. However if it is possible, I would like to have the lecture February 18th instead of the 17th because I am speaking in Charleston on the 16th. If you cannot make the change, I will keep the original date. If you can, kindly let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. J.T. Taylor
Florida A & M College
Tallahassee, Florida

HOMER FOLKS
105 EAST 22ND STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

2-29-65

Dear Du Bois —

I extend to you and your good wife most hearty congratulations from my good wife and myself. Having celebrated our 50th anniversary a few years ago, we appreciate the significance of May 12th, 1946, to you.

We are sorry we cannot be present in person to express our high regard and very cordial appreciation and friendship. May you have many more years together.

Most sincerely yours,

Homer Folks

May 2, 1946.

Req. for financial assistance

[Forbes]

Panama Rep de Panama,
Post Office, Gen Del.,
November, 2, 1946

12-13-14

Mr.W.E.B.Dubois,
N.A.A. C.P. Pioneer,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N.Y.,

Dear Mr. Dubois:

I trust that you will not term this letter redicullous, stupid insane, or nervy but I trust you will agree with me for I just did look at your handsome experianced, fatherly, and helpfu face in ~~th~~ the November Issue of the Eboney playing a game of chess with Mr. W.S.Braithwaite and Mr. W. White looking on , and said to myself, "ONE OF THESE GENTLEMEN WILL HELP ME FOR THEY CAN, and HAVE MEANS AND OPOSITION.

I really dont know what came over me,all of a sudden but it seems to me as if faith deliberately advised me to write you and ask your help and corporation. I have also written your other distinguished friends, Messrs White and Braithwaite, so I am hoping that you will help me. My reason in writing you is because I do believe and know that you will help any poor person especially if he has ambition and willing to get along in life.

Today makes four months that I am out of a job in Panama City and with the Canal Zone and its problems, the C.I.O., discussion , and the reduction of forces all round, I have decided to do some thing on my own , so being unable to secure a job in Panama and the Canal Zone I started to write and compiled my own Magazine called THE PANAMA TAN MAGAZINE with the following departments and sections.

THEATRICAL NEWS: (Concerning our local stars in Panama.
ORCHESTRA NEWS:- (" our local Stars, in Panama
BEAUTY TIPS:- (" our glamour girls etc.,
STYLES,MODERN:- (" our drapes and other style
SPORTS:- (Boxing, Baseball, Cycling, Tennis etc
OPEN FORUM:- (Public Opinion , and critisism, etc,
LOCAL AND FOREIGN NEWS:- Concerning our Republic and other countries.
SHORT STORIES:- (Love, Adventure, Crime, Historical.

These departments and sections are written in Spanish and English, just like the Eboney,Color,and Africa, only better, because there will be a slight handicap of Spanish. I could not raise the money to continue the Magazine, but God is not sleeping for I just look one day in the said Eboney and saw Mr. H.Spencer and I wrote him in Pittsburgh and I explained the matter to him and he decided to backed me with what he could afford, so he sent me the amount of $450.00 and today the 24 page Magazine is at the La Academia Printing Co., and ready to go to press this week for the 11 of November, 1946

According to my estimation I found out that the money was insufficient and that the 2, 000 copies which I was expecting was totally impossible on account of the paper shortage and the high cost of printing. I am enclosing a statement to show you the standing of the Magazine Business, and I am hoping you will try and help me, for a I am not working besides I have a wife and four children)3 boys, and 1 girl) also this is my first business venture and I am quite sure that it will sell like hot cakes and more than the Eboney for Panama is seeking their own Magazine and now is the time to do it.

I have explained all and the attatched statement will inform you further of my handicap.

I remain,
Yours very truly,
Vincent E. Forbes
VINCENT.E.FORBES.

Messrs White and Braithwaite also received letters and statements requesting help.

12-13-15

Panama Rep de Panama,
Post Office, Den Del.,
November, 2, 1946

Mr. W.E.B.Dubois,

ATTENTION.

Dear Sir:-

Please note the standing of our business and our intentions as well.

CASH STATEMENT OF PANAMA TAN MAGAZINE .

CR. RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		CR.
Sept., To Capital.		$ 450.00	Spet 10. By Pringint Deposit)		$100.00
			" 20." Purchasing Typewriter)		123.00
			" 22." Drawings,		10.00
			" 28." Petty Cash.		25.00
			" 28." Salary.		15.00
			" "." Pictures.		46.05
1,000 copies value	$210.00		Oct., 14." Cliche (Block)		43.45
Deposited	100.00		" 15." Registry of Magazine.)		2.50
Balance.	$110.00		"21-30." Advertise,et,		20.00
			"21-30." Salary.		15.00
Bank Balance reads	$50.00		BANK BALANCE:-		50.00
Shortage.	60.00				
Correct balance.	$110.00				
		$ 450.00	SHORT $60.00		$450.00

At present I would like very much to get this Magazine raised to 2,000 copies if you would help me. I am looking forward for your corporation also the staff which include myself, wife and a friend. As Managing Editor and Publisher and Founder as well as Owner, I am willing to turn over all rights to any of you,(meaning Mr White or Braithwaite or yourself.) if you will help me to keep this Magazine going. Its the only Magazine of its kind for colored people in Panama.

You are entitled to consult our books, write the printry, and make inquiries, concerning the Magazine and any other steps you do think is convenient. Imagine 1,000 copies which I am still unable to pay for, for 300,00 colored people in Panama City, and 18, 000 in Colon City. If I could only start with 2, 000 copies untill the second edition if possible . The Price per thousands is $210.00 at the La Academia Printing Co.,

To tell you the truth Sir I am unable to raise the money.No friend will consider lending me that much here in Panama except if I sell out my idea. Well I am willing to sell but not to any friends here who think it unwise for me do do business with American Negroes. Well since I had to write so far to you gentlemen, and I got my start there I am willing to do any kind of business with the Ammerican Negroes any time . All I could get from the Printry now is 600 copies for I have paid down $100.00 and I have a balance of $110. 00 to pay back and our Bank Balance reads only $50.00. So you see I am faced with a B problem. If you are willing to help me I am willing either to sell or ask your help in this embarra-ssing matter, All rights to my Magazine.

I could send you Editorials, stories pictures sports, etc., and every thing and you could have the rights of our Magazine and do it right there in New York if you like anything suit me. At present if you could loan me $86.00 I am sure that your friends could loan me that amount also each to make $260.00 which will unfortunately pay for 2,000 copies, So you see that would set matters right. Now please Mr. Dubois remember that I am in a rut and all I am asking for is a loan of $86.00 or help me with the Magazine. Please give me a hand.

I remain,
Yours very truly,

Vincent E Forbes

21-13-16

8 November 1946

My dear sir:

I have your letter of November 2 but regret to say that I am not in a position to help you. I sympathize with your aspirations but to start a periodical under any circumstances takes a great deal more capital than either you or I have available.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Vincent E. Forbes
Panama Rep de Panama
Post Office, Gen. Del.
Panama

HEAD OFFICE
21 DALAL STREET
BOMBAY, INDIA

MONTREAL OFFICE
P. O. BOX 361
MONTREAL, CANADA

FREE PRESS OF INDIA
154 NASSAU STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

AMERICAN EDITOR:
V. S. TATA

TELEPHONE: WORTH 2-3139
CABLES: FREJOURNAL, NEWYORK
FREJOURNAL, MONTREAL

1 October 1946

21-20-70

Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois
National Association for
the Advancement of Colored People
Willkie Memorial Building

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The Free Press of India is a newly expanded press wireless service which supplies Hindi and English language newspapers with overseas news.

The people of India are acutely interested in the affairs and conditions of Negroes in America and one of my first assignments with FPI (my second assignment, in fact) is to interview you on the Negro in America, the U.N. and colonial peoples and related subjects.

The interview will be telegraphed to Bombay via Montreal. I leave for Montreal on Saturday. Would it be possible to arrange this interview for Saturday morning, or, for tomorrow (Wednesday) afternoon or Thursday?

For confirmation of the dates I can be reached at Main 4-6200 before 2 p.m. Wednesday.

Sincerely,

milt a Smith

milt a smith

Note: If your reply is to be mailed, please address it to me at 637 Macon St., Brooklyn 33 N.Y. I do FPI work from here.

mas

MD

8 February 1946

20-13-02

My dear Sir:

This treatment of the Negro, in my opinion, is pure nonsense, especially the parts marked. The writer ought to read my book, Black Folk: Then and Now. He also might consider capitalizing the word Negro.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. French
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32

[Friends of the American Way]

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MacNAIR-WALLACE CO. LTD.

APPRAISALS - PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

SUITE 431 A.G. BARTLETT BLDG. 215 WEST SEVENTH STREET

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. 14

MICHIGAN 8776

March 1, 1946

Lectures

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

21-26-37

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Reverend Harold Kingsley has informed me that you will be available for a lecture under the auspices of a local committee known as the Friends of the American Way at Thorne Hall, Occidental College on Monday evening, April 8, 1946. This committee is made up of citizens residing in Eagle Rock, which is a suburban section of Los Angeles, who have assumed some responsibility in promoting friendly, cooperative relationships among persons of all races. Last year, on a similar occasion, we presented Dillon Myer of the War Relocation Authority.

We are not affluent, but should appreciate knowing just what financial arrangement you would consider satisfactory and, as well, whether we may definitely count upon your presence on the date mentioned. The precise phrasing of your subject may be given us a little later, although we shall need it for publicity purposes.

Our committee will hold a meeting on the evening of March 5 and, therefore, suggest that you wire me collect after receiving this letter.

Very truly yours,

Jerome W. MacNair

Jerome W. MacNair

JWM/ss

[Friends of the American Way]

6 March 1946

21-26-38

My dear Mr. MacNair:

This is to say that I shall be very glad to speak for your organization Monday evening, April eighth. My charge will be one hundred and fifty dollars but there will be no other expenses.

I regret to say that your letter did not reach me in time for reply before your March fifth meeting.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Jerome W. MacNair
Suite 431a G. Bartlett Building
215 West Seventh Street
Los Angeles, California

[Friends of the American Way]

*CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

(29)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

T ...t of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

SA299 NL PD=LOSANGELES CALIF 6

1946 MAR 6 PM 5 3?

DR W E B DUBOIS=

CARE NAACP 20 WEST 40 STREET NYK=

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7 March 1946

Mr. J. W. MacNair
Suite 431 A. G. Bartlett Building
215 West Seventh Street
Los Angeles, California

SUBJECT SUNDAY APRIL SEVENTH THE PAN AFRICAN MOVEMENT stop MONDAY APRIL EIGHTH THE WEST AFRICAN COCOA CROP.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Charge to Edgecombe 4-9837

OH-92-18

[Friendship Press]

3 December 1946

My dear madam:

May I thank you for the map of the United States which you kindly sent me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Louise E. Jefferson
c/o Friendship Press
156 Fifth Avenue

[Fullerton]

WENTWORTH Hotel

59 WEST 46th STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

21-29-54

My dear Dr and Mrs Du Bois:-

It is a pleasure to both Mrs Fullerton and me to felicitate you on your Golden Wedding Anniversary, and to express our earnest hope that you may be further privileged to observe that date for many years to come.

Our owne Golden Wedding day was April 2nd, three years ago. You may be confident, therefore, of our full understanding of the meaning of this present occasion to you, and of the sincerity of our wish

that God may grant you continued health and happiness for many years to come.

Sincerely yours,

Robert M. Hutchins

New York,
May 5, 1946.

21-29-32

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(34)

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1946 MAY 12 PM 2 39

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE=

MAY THE CELEBRATION OF YOUR GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY BRING JOY AND HAPPINESS TO YOU AND FAMILY MAY YOU ENJOY MANY MORE YEARS OF CONTENTMENT TOGETHER SINCERELY YOURS=

MR AND MRS JOHN M GANDY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Reg. Le
Defender

902 State St.
Peoria, Ill.
5 April 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DUBOISE
C/O Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

21-24-29

My dear Dr. Du Boise:

I am writing to ask if you will kindly give me a list of the magazines or books that carry a Review on you most excellent book, "BLACK RECONSTRUCTION".

I have just finished reading this as my assignment in course 453 "The South in American History." at Bradley Polytechnic Institute. It was indeed a great source of inspiration and information. I deisre to further my study along this line by reading the reviews.

I thank you for your cooperation in this regard.

Respectfully yours,
Romeo B. Garrett
Romeo B. Garrett

21-24-30

10 September 1946

My dear Mr. Garrett:

Answering at this late date your letter of April 5, I beg to say that Black Reconstruction was widely reviewed. You will find the best digest of reviews in H.W.Wilson reference books.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Romeo B. Garrett
902 State St.
Peoria, Illinois

902 State St.
Peoria, Ill.
13 September 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association For The Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, New York:

21-26-82

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of September 10, 1946 giving me the sources of reliable reviews on Black Reconstruction. I shall use these in the furtherance of my studies on the Reconstruction period.

In giving my report on this book in the History class at Bradley University I was happy to state that I had been a student of the author in the Workers' Education Class at Atlanta University in the summer of 1934. I shall always cherish these memories.

Our class including the teacher regard your book as being the most complete and historical on the Reconstruction period.

Many of the students have asked that I write you in an effort to secure your opinion on Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of Uncle Tom's Cabin. Knowing of your policy to adhere to facts, we feel that an opinion from you would be from a highly reliable source.

Being the only Negro in my class the privilege of writing you was delegated to me.

During our annual Historical Banquet at the Y.W.C.A (white) I was introduced "as having been a student of the great Dr. DuBois" in giving a report on your book.

Cherishing fruitful memories and anticipating an early reply,

I am,

Respectfully yours,

Romeo B. Garrett

Romeo B. Garrett

21-26-83

25 September 1946

My dear Mr. Garrett:

Answering your letter of September 13th, may I say that I regard the work of Harriet Beecher Stowe in Uncle Tom's Cabin as an unusually fair presentation of a great social problem.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Romeo B. Garrett
902 State Street
Peoria, Illinois

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DR AND MRS WILLIAM E B DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE=

1946 MAY 11 PM 12 53

:ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS MAY EACH PASSING YEAR DIMENISH CARES AND BRING NEW JOYS=

:CHARLES H GARVIN.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

30 July 1946

21-9-14.

My dear Madam:

In December, 1945, you asked me about work for the Pan African Congress to be held in 1947. There was nothing very definite that I could say then nor indeed now; but for your information I am enclosing a circular letter which has been sent to a number of people in Africa and in the United States.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Fern Gayden
3852 Calumet Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

3852 Calumet Ave.
Chicago, Illinois
October 18th, 1946

42-8F-66

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
National Association For the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York City. N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I was sorry to have missed you on October 14 when I was in New York City. However, I was pleased to learn that you were at Lake Success and I hope your interview with Mr. Trygve Lie was all that you desired.

I regret that I missed the meeting of October 5th. Although I was not present the Chicago Branch of the N. A. A. C.P. wishes to go on record as endorsing the petition. If there is further work which we can do to assist the Pan African Congress in gaining its objectives please advise me.

I should like very much to know whether or not Negro consultants will be used on policy making bodies for the African colonials and whatever other general decisions were reached as a result of the conference with Mr. Lie.

Thank you for your courtesy,

Very truly,

Fern Gayden.

Mrs. Fern Gayden.

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD
FOUNDED BY JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER 1902
(INCORPORATED 1903)
49 WEST 49th STREET, NEW YORK 20

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JACKSON DAVIS, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
FRED McCUISTION, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
FLORA M. RHIND, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

January 18, 1946

21-12-33

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mrs. Ethelynne Holmes Thomas of Shaw University has made application for a General Education Board fellowship to enable her to do advanced study in the field of English during 1946-1947, and has named you as a reference.

We should much appreciate your writing us your frank opinion of Mrs. Thomas' ability. Do you think that she is fully qualified and competent to carry on advanced study in her chosen field, and that her attitude and personal traits are such that she is likely to render valuable service in teaching or research? Inasmuch as General Education Board fellowships are designed only for persons of distinctly superior ability or attainments with a view to preparing them for positions of responsibility and leadership, your comments on Mrs. Thomas' character, promise of scholarly achievement and personal traits will be most helpful to the officers of the Board in their consideration of her request for fellowship assistance. Anything you say will, of course, be regarded as strictly confidential.

We should appreciate your courtesy in replying and are enclosing a stamped envelope for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director of Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

FMR:eib
Enclosure

21 January 1946

21-12-34

My dear Madam:

Answering your letter of January eighteenth, I beg to say that I knew Mrs. Thomas as a student and fellow teacher from 1933 to about 1940. I have not been in close touch with her in the last few years. She is a young woman of energy and ability and has always been willing to do more than her appointed task. She used to have some ability in writing but I do not know how it has developed in the last few years.

Personally I should be in favor of giving her opportunity. I do not think she would disappoint you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Flora M. Rhind
General Education Board
49 West 49th Street
New York 20

(1)

Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Co.

HOME OFFICE
3501 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 11, 1946

21-29-59

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Doctor DuBois:

Please accept this tardy though non-the-less sincere expression of appreciation of your Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary. The announcement came during my extended stay at the Mayo Clinic, and this is truly my first opportunity in which to reply.

I count it a rare privilege to have been one of your students forty years ago, and to have imbibed some of the truths you always imparted; and I have been your disciple in the later years of your social and economic career. I am sure you can look back upon your fifty years of activity and accomplishment with pride and satisfaction, not always to be found these days.

The token of remembrance which I am enclosing for my wife and myself is for Mrs. DuBois to purchase something for the cottage.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

T. K. Gibson, President

TKG:w

14 February 1946

Gentlemen:

Please send a pair of your "Silver Rocket" new aluminum skates to

Miss Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

She wears a size eight shoe. I enclose my check in the sum of $9.14.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Gimbels
33rd and Broadway
New York 1

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COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
20 W. 40TH ST.
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

26 August 1946

Gentlemen:

21-8

On July tenth, I bought this fan. It has not given good service; it is noisy and I think there is a bearing loose. Will you kindly repair it or substitute another and return it to me at your earliest convenience at 20 West 40th Street
Room 402
New York City.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

Gimbel's
34 at Broadway
New York City

12-13-36

[1940]

77 Washington Pl.
NY 11, NY.
January 17, 1945.

Request to speak

My dear Dr. DuBois—

You know William Burroughs and her talented family very well, I believe. Her work during the war as English commentator over the U.S.S.R.'s official Short wave station was unique. If her work could be publicly recognized, tho' posthumously, I think it would serve to stimulate and widen the too provincial horizons of our youth.

If you concur in this opinion would you write the Council

12-13-37

of Negro Women and reccommend her name for their list of outstanding women of 1945? And would you place or have her name placed in nomination for the Spingarn Award?

I am inclosing a copy of my letter to Mrs. Bethune.

I would appreciate hearing from you on this.

Sincerely,

Thyra Edwards Gitlin

[Enclosure, fragment]

77 Washington Place
New York 11
N. Y.

21-13-38

January 17, 1946

Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune
National Council of Negro Women
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Bethune:

Mrs. Williana Burroughs, an American Negro woman, for many years a teacher in New York City and one of the founders of the Teachers Union-CIO, which has such distinguished members as Dr. Gene Weltfish and Dr. Ruth Benedict, was for years English broadcaster on the Soviet Union's short-wave broadcasts to Murmansk and to English-speaking countries. She stayed at her post throughout the war, although her health was gone and doctors urged that she come home where proper food and rest could be obtained. (Though she required a milk diet during the war years, she was unable to get milk more than once or twice a year.)

The radio is a powerful instrument in education and moral building and Mrs. Burroughs felt this was the instrument she could use most effectively in the war against Hitler. She remained until the end of the war. In November she came home for the first time in ten years. A few weeks later she died of exhaustion.

The American author Larry LeSeur refers to Mrs. Burroughs in his book "Twelve Months That Changed the World." Several other American reporters have spoken of her in the pages of the New York Times and other papers.

She was the only American Negro woman, to my knowledge, working in such an important international spot, and the only Negro woman, I believe, to be the official news commentator for a major world power, one of the Big Three. Before leaving Moscow, she presented a library of nearly 1000 volumes to the Ethiopian Embassy there in memory of her late husband, Charles Burroughs.

Please accept this letter as nomination of Mrs. Williana Burroughs for your list of outstanding American

12-13-81

Request to sponsor

77 Washington Place
New York 11, New York.
January 24, 1946.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Thank you for yours of January 18th regarding William Burroughs. You expressed agreement that the work of William Burroughs be publicly recognized. Will you address a letter to the National Council of Negro Women asking that she be included in their list of distinguished women of 1946. And will you submit her name to the Spingarn committee in nomination for the 1946 Award.

I should appreciate hearing from you on this.

With sincere appreciation

Thyra Edwards Gitlin

********** 20 West 40th Street

Date ? Feb 18 ?

18 January 1946

21-13-39

My dear Mrs. Gitlin:

I agree that the work of Williana Burroughs ought to be publicly recognized.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Thyra Edwards Gitlin
77 Washington Place
New York 11, N. Y.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON NEW JERSEY

Department of History

January 14, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have just finished going over the printed prospectus of the Encyclopedia of the Negro and I am so delighted at seeing so thorough and useful a work under way that I venture to make a suggestion which I hope will be helpful. I notice under the proposed list of major subjects that there is no entry on "Historiography" or "History". Some Negro historians seem to be treated in separate articles but I gather that the plan does not call for one sweeping article which shall treat the rise of Negro history.

Perhaps it is because my own research interests have been primarily historiographical, but I do feel that Negro historiography is one of the most neglected of all fields. The Jernegan Essays in American Historiography, a more or less standard book, treats no Negro. Michael Kraus' A History of American History has only one paragraph. All this seems to me an appalling neglect when the story is so significant a one, both for the intellectual history of the Negro and for the intellectual history of the United States. I wonder if it would fit into your plans to include such an article.

With best wishes for the success of the project,

Sincerely yours,

Eric F. Goldman
Assistant Professor
of History

EFG:ED

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
New Jersey

Department of History

January 14, 1946

22-9-11

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have just finished going over the printed prospectus of the Encyclopedia of the Negro and I am so delighted at seeing so thorough and useful a work under way that I venture to make a suggestion which I hope will be helpful. I notice under the proposed list of major subjects that there is no entry on "Historiography" or "History". Some Negro historians seem to be treated in separate articles but I gather that the plan does not call for one sweeping article which shall treat the rise of Negro history.

Perhaps it is because my own research interests have been primarily historiographical, but I do feel that Negro historiography is one of the most neglected of all fields. The Jernegan Essays in American Historiography, a more or less standard book, treats no Negro. Michael Kraus' A History of American History has only one paragraph. All this seems to me an appalling neglect when the story is so significant a one, both for the intellectual history of the Negro and for the intellectual history of the United States. I wonder if it would fit into your plans to include such an article.

With best wishes for the success of the project,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Eric F. Goldman
Assistant Professor
of History

EFG:ED

********** 20 West 40th Street

18 January 1946

22-9-10

My dear Mr. Goldman:

Thank you for your letter of January fourteenth. The prefatory volume of the Encyclopedia of the Negro falls far short of being the scientific contribution which we had in mind. Today we have just sent a revised edition to the printers which may be a little more satisfactory.

The history and historiography of the Negro was omitted from the first edition because so little has been done on the matter. By general consent Negro history has either been attributed to other people or lost sight of entirely.

I thank you very much for your word of appreciation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Professor Eric F. Goldman
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

With Best Wishes
On Your
Golden Wedding
Anniversary
50

Life has been kind to you
All through the years
As together you've shared
Both your laughter and tears,
And so this is coming
To hope you'll share, too,
These wishes for happiness
Always, for you!

The Romer Family

21-29-15

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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DR AND MRS W E DUBOIS=

DLR DONT FONE 2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE=

LOVE AND CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR 50TH WEDDING ANNIVERSARY
I WOULD DROP IN IN PERSON IF I WERE CLOSER=

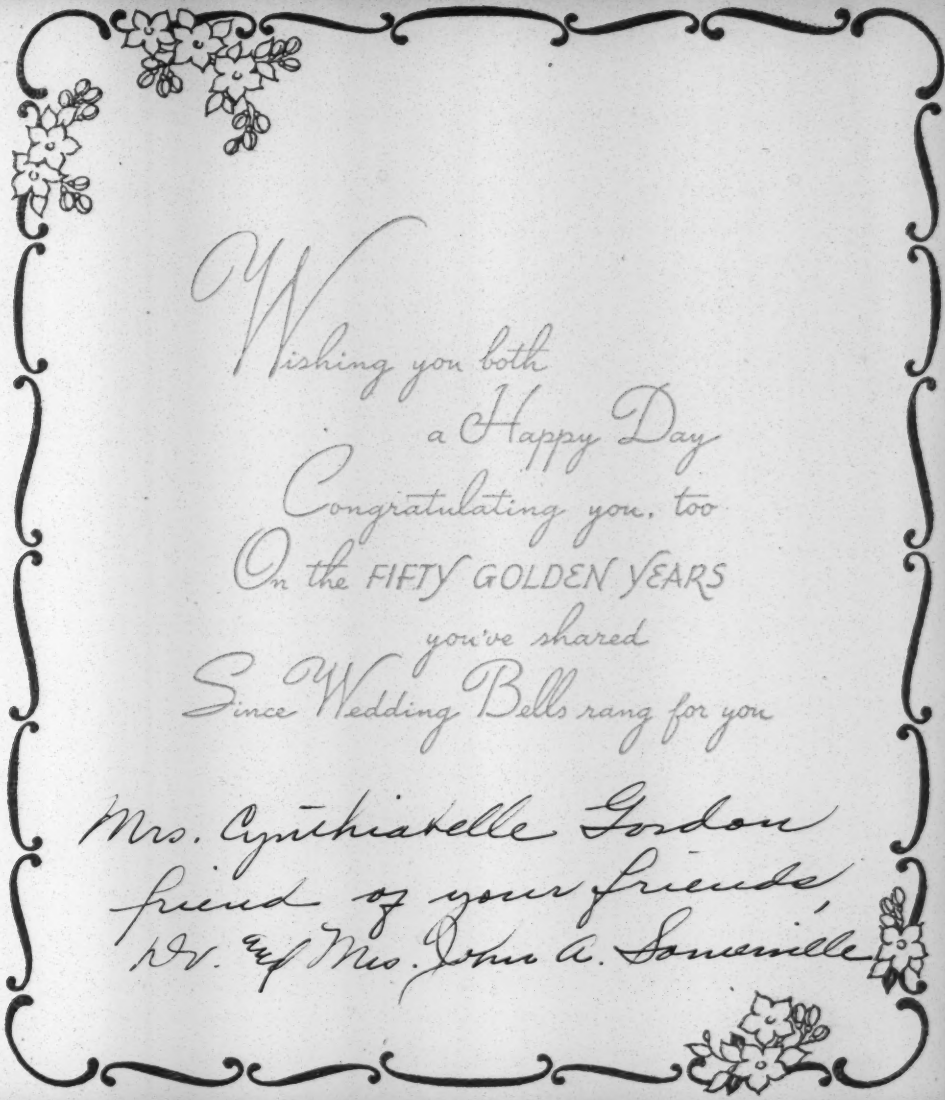
NADINE WRIGHT GOODMAN BOX 234 NORWELL MASS.

50 234=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

For
Your
Golden Wedding
Anniversary

Mrs. Cynthiabelle Godson
1021 E. Washington Blvd.
Los Angeles 21, Calif.



Wishing you both
a Happy Day
Congratulating you, too
On the FIFTY GOLDEN YEARS
you've shared
Since Wedding Bells rang for you

Mrs. Cynthiabelle Gordon
friend of your friends,
Dr. and Mrs. John A. Somerville

21-21-17

26 September 1946

My dear Dr. Gordon:

At the request of Miss Shirley Graham, I am enclosing a petition which we are proposing to put before the Assembly of the United Nations. You will notice that it touches only one phase of the color problem that is, the problem of the African colonies. Some time in the future and in a separate petition, we hope to take up the problem in the West Indies. We will be very glad to have you attend the conference October 5th.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. E.F. Gordon, M.P.
Hamilton, Bermuda

[1946]

JAMES GOW
14 CHRISTOPHER STREET
NEW YORK CITY

21-24-01

Dear Dr. Dubois,

Through Shirley Norris, of Stage for Action, I received your request for biographical material concerning myself, in connection with the Forum Monday evening. Here is my life, slight as it is and not very interesting:

After graduating from the University of Colorado in 1928, my first job was on the old New York World. The years from 1931 to 1942 I spent in Hollywood, implicated in the writing of a number of motion pictures none of which I can recall with any particular pride. More recently I have been the co-author (with Arnaud d'Usseau) of two plays which I can mention with pride: Tomorrow the World, which opened in New York in April 1943, and Deep Are the Roots, which opened September 1945 and is still playin g. Fo r two years and two months I was in the Army; Deep are the Roots was written while both d'Usseau and I were in uniform.

Sincerely yours,

James Gow
JAMES GO W

Shirley Graham

New York, N.Y. June 28, 1946.

To: Dr. W.E.B. DuBois

For services June 19 to June 26 $60.00

Received Payment in Full

Shirley B. Graham

42 Delawanna Avenue,
Delawanna, New Jersey

21-12

21-12-28

26 July 1946

My dear Mr. Graham:

Two matters have come up because of the excellent work which you did in the cellar: one, I have asked the secretary if during the two months' unpaid absence of Miss Diggs he would consent to my use of your services. What I want is to have my letters, papers and books arranged. Carl Van Vechten is interested in this because he wants some of my manuscripts for the Yale University Library. Two, the persons in charge of the NAACP matter stored in the cellar are greatly impressed by the work that you did and have asked Miss Diggs if you could be hired to do some similar work for them. She explained that you were a carpenter but that it was not your regular work and she did not know whether you would be available for this sort of work or not.

You might think the matter over and write me about it. If you are interested, I suggest that perhaps you could work for me during September and October and then for the NAACP for two or three months after that. Write me and tell me what remuneration you would expect and what hours of work you can give.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Lorenzo B. Graham
42 Delawanna Avenue
Delawanna, New Jersey

Sept. 20, 1946

Received of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois the sum of
Five and 69/100 Dollars ($5.69) for postage.

Lorenz B. Graham

42/8F/29

[LORENZ GRAHAM
c 1946]

My dear Mr. Van Vechten:

Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc.
has announced release of my "How God Fix Jonah"
~~for~~ November 1, ~~this~~ of You will be interested
to know that original prints of the illustrations
by Calapai have been requested by the
Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts.

The Childrens book "Tales of Momolu"
will be released as ~~soon after near the first date~~ soon after
as possible.

The publishers would like very much to
have a statement from you, which might be
quoted. The sales department has pointed out that
the book does not have popular appeal. Its
market value will be ~~determined~~ by ~~its~~
degree of acceptance ~~from by~~ as a piece of
literature. ~~Incidentally~~ My ~~own~~ career
as a writer will be ~~delayed or advanced~~
~~by the same fates~~
largely
delayed or advanced by the same fates.

Respectfully yours,

C. Van Vechten

22-4-16

[Lorenz Graham]
[1946]

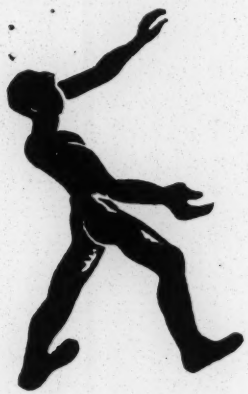
TWO UNUSUAL BOOKS FROM AFRICA BY A GIFTED, NEW AUTHOR

30-11f-18

HOW GOD FIX JONAH

By LORENZ GRAHAM
Wood engravings by
LETTERIO CALAPAI

THE best known and cherished tales of a people frequently find their way into the lore of another people and take on new forms without losing their basic dignity and meaning. Lorenz Graham has set down in this book the stories of the Christ Child, Jonah, Ruth, Job and the rest, in the words of a modern African boy unacquainted with Western civilization. He tells them in a dialect stripped down to the essentials of the life he knows, and in his wonderfully simple, rhythmic phrasing the Bible tales are re-endowed with the vitality and human qualities of their primitive origins.



Letterio Calapai's inspired wood engravings carry the same power and simplicity; they are, in his own words, "a direct outgrowth of the text."

Foreword by W. E. B. Du Bois

From our adult list
October $2.50

TALES OF MOMOLU

By LORENZ GRAHAM
Pictures by LETTERIO CALAPAI

THESE are stories of a Liberian boy who lives a gay and happy life in his own country, knowing nothing about the world beyond. Momolu learns the things a boy should know. He learns lessons the natural way. He faces danger and learns of courage. When his pet monkey waves good-bye, he discovers freedom. Momolu's father is Flumbo who is strong and brave and wise. Momolu is proud when he hears people say, "Flumbo can do." He wants to be like his father, so that some day people will say, "Flumbo can do and his son, Momolu, can do same way."

Lorenz Graham brought these stories from Africa for his own children. They are rich in color, and so simply told that younger children will hear them gladly, so beautifully written that older children will enjoy them as well.

Ages eight and up
Beautiful line illustrations
5½ x 8 October $2.50

REYNAL & HITCHCOCK
8 West 40th Street New York 18, N. Y.

~~TWO~~ UNUSUAL BOOKS FROM AFRICA

~~To~~

HOW GOD FIX JONAH
Folk Tales from the Bible

and TALES OF MOMOLU
A Boy Learns
Life Teaches
A Boy Learns
Life Teaches an African Boy
The Young Boy learns
Life from living
The boy learns
~~An~~ An African Boy Discovers

30-114-28

TALES OF MOMOLU
~~Strong Heart Makes a Strong Arm~~
The Life of an African Boy

HOW GOD FIX JONAH
Folk Tales from the Bible
and
TALES OF MOMOLU
The Life of an African Boy
TWO UNUSUAL BOOKS BY LORENZ GRAHAM
~~Beautifully~~

[Graham]

21-12-29

May 9, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I am returning the research material which I have had out of your library with my most grateful thanks:

	Given me by
The Quest of the Silver Fleece	Miss Diggs
Dark Princess	" "
Scrapebook on "Black Recontruction"	From you
John Brown	"
Galley on "Color and Democracy"	" "

The copy of "Souls of Black Folk" which I gave to Dr. Trocktenburg was a library book.
I have been using my own copy of "Black Reconstruction"

These books have been of invaluable service. I do thank you.

Sincerely,

Shirley

Failed to return Russwurm book

21-29-159

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1201

835A

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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BRL9 NL PD=NEWYORK NY MAY 11

1946 MAY 12 AM 8 40

DR AND MRS W E D DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLO TER=

ACCEPT OUR CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES ON THIS HAPPY ANNIVERSARY A TOKEN FROM MY SON AND ME IS ON THE WAY=:

SHIRLEY GRAHAM=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Shirley Graham

19-15-16

I have known Miss Graham for at least ten years as a friend and correspondent.

I have used her master's thesis at Oberlin on Negro music and know of her biographies of Carver and Robeson.

She is a keen, hard-working student, original thinker and good executive. She makes friends easily and keeps them.

I think Miss Graham would do honor to any institution which gave her the doctorate.

Director of Special Research, NAACP

69 Fifth Avenue, New York City 3

(GRAND ST. BOYS ASSOC.)

GOOD FELLOWSHIP · BENEVOLENCE · CHARITY

Club House
106-108 West Fifty-fifth Street
New York 19, N.Y.

Grand Street Boys' Association, inc.

"The Headquarters of those who really love New York"

MAX BERNSTEIN, *Secretary* EDWARD J. LACY, *Corresp. Secretary*

21-29-62

May 7, 1946

Mr. & Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Du Bois:

There aren't many couples in New York who have been able to stay married for fifty years. The Grand Street Boys think that those who have been able to stay married for half a century ought to have some recognition.

So on Sunday, May 19th, we are giving a Golden Wedding Party to couples in New York who have been married for fifty years.

I have been told that you qualify and I am therefore, extending this invitation to you to come to this dinner. There will be absolutely no cost to you.

If you can come, we will arrange to have someone call for you with an automobile about one o'clock on that Sunday afternoon and return you to your home about 4:30. The Golden Wedding dinner and party will be held at the Grand Street Boys' Clubhouse.

I am enclosing a post card on which I wish you would please let me know if you can come to this party in your honor.

Very sincerely yours,

JONAH J. GOLDSTEIN
President

JJG:WH
Enc.

7 770
730 880
660
880
1660 Civil War
Free Trade in Flesh
Slave revolt
Dutch revolt
French trade
Haiti
Napoleonic wars — abol. S.T.
Capitalism — Age
Factory system
Industrial + wage slavery
Colonial Empire
Ivory

Ivory

1664 Civil War
1664 Free trade in Flesh
1750 Loot of India + wage Capital
1600 — Maroons
1775 Dutch slave revolt
1789 French revolution
1780-1816 U. reaction + repression
1794 Toussaint
1807 Abol. S. Trade
1800-1900 Capitalism + factory system
1832 — Parliament 1st 5%
1833 abol. Slavery
1860 Russia + American Civil War
Ivory Free trade
1884 Imperial Colonisation

Ivory imported
1827 — 118 000 lbs
1850 — 800
1890 — 14,000
1900 — 108,00

Imported by B
1845 — 79 ave length 294
1870-74 — 627
1880-84 — 514

1845 — 325
1850 — 406
1855 — 437
1860 — 542
1865 — 548
1870 — 667
1875 — 680
1880 — 536
1885 — 439

75 000 elephants a year died

Portuguese found slavery in W. Coast — by 1650 extinguished

Imported by gr 13
1768 — 1795 — 192,579 lbs a year
2 59

[Grant (Ella) School]

Respectfully referred

EBH

Ella Grant School
Prichard, Alabama
March 27, 1946

21-24-28

Request for information

The Associated Publishers, Inc.
1538 Ninth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear sir:

The Ella Grant School is taking part in the Y. M. C. A. Oratorical contest which is being sponsored by Dr. Gibbs. The theme of the orations is: W. E. B. DuBois, His Achievements and Works. We are asking you to send us any free material which you may have on his life. We are also asking you to send books, pamphlets, etc., which are not free to us C. O. D.

Please send any of the above as soon as possible.

Thanks.

Respectfully yours,

Mattie T. Blount

Mattie T. Blount, Principal

P.O.Box 308, Westminster, Maryland

January 29, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am afraid that we each were a little disappointed in the book of the other, and probably for the same reason: - neither of us felt that the other's opinion of the Stalinist regime was objective. I find that in so far as the Russian part of my book is concerned I pleased neither the antis nor the pros. The antis think I was too tender, and the pros cannot stand any objectivity at all. With them any criticism is blasphemy, or at any rate very unsafe.

22-9-14

If you can, (without being afraid of being guilty of sin, as our fathers thought they were if they read the works of "freethinkers") do try to read over again the letters from Russians in my book, my introduction to those letters and my afterword to them and the Appendix II. I hope you will feel that I was honestly trying to be objective and was not condemning, in so far as I condemned, without evidence.

And pardon me, dear Dr. Du Bois it did not seem to me that you were objective or even unafraid in writing about Russia. Until, or unless, you touched Russia - rather Stalinism really - you were fearless, but then you seemed often self-conscious, as if you really felt that what you were saying was not your true conviction, but that you were saying it because you <u>wanted</u> to believe it.

You loved Germany and the Germans, didn't you? Weren't you really happier than you had ever been anywhere else, than you have ever been anywhere else, during your student days in Germany? Can you believe that little German children should be treated as they are being treated? - that ten million Germans should be shunted out of East Germany (German from time

immemorial) and their land given to the Poles by Stalin to make up to the Poles for land seized on the east by Stalin - that these ten millions should be shunted into land where 70% of the dwellings were either completely or partially already destroyed by bombs, so that housing even the ones already in the land is out of the question, and of course there is absolutely no shelter whatsoever for the shunted extra millions. I don't want to enumerate for I know that the American and British and French occupied zones also are hell, but so are the Russian. And the Germans on the Volga - there since the time of Catherine the Great - taken in a body from their homes of practically two centuries - and carried like slaves to another land.

I don't want you to go down in your old age having left your true cause: the cause of the oppressed. One "top-dog" is no better than another "top-dog" for a "top-dog" means an "under-dog". I hate to see you championing any "top-dog." Forgive my saying all this, but as Romain Rolland's fall hurt, so your - what seems to me swallowing propaganda without examining it, (and being blind to terror and the infliction of agony when the "top-dog" guilty of causing this terror and this agony knows how to administer sugar coated propaganda)--hurts.

Here are some reviews of my book which I hope will interest you

Faithfully yours

Anna Melissa Graves

July 9, 1946.

22-9-15

Miss Anna Melissa Graves
P.O. Box 308,
Westminster, Maryland.

My dear Miss Graves:

I have been so busy because of the illness of Mrs. Du Bois that I have not had the chance to answer your letter of Jan. 29, Mrs. Du Bois has been in the hospital here in New York for eight months. Just recently we have been able to move her to her home in Baltimore where she is fairly comfortable and slowly improving.

With regard to both Russia and Germany, I am clear in my mind. I think that the German people are a great and fine folk misled by the Hitler movement. That movement has not spoiled their essential humanity but it has gravely influenced their methods of thought and ideals of action. I I have been in Russia twice, once in 1928 when I spent a month or six weeks and later in 1936 when I traversed the whole Russian realm from Moscow to Manchoukuo. To me Russia is the most hopeful country in the world. The people are not perfect and Stalin has not the stature of Lenin; but I sincerely and definitely believe that the Russians are on the right track and that their handling of both Germany and Poland is infinitely better than the plans of the United States and Great Britain.

22-9-16.

I think that comparison of the "totalitarianism" of Stalin with the imperialism of Great Britain and the United States is absolutely wrong. When socialism dominates the state it is under Communism for the benefit of the mass of people. When imperialism dominates the state it is for the benefit of the rich or the powerful. The difference between the two is the difference between heaven and hell. So far I firmly believe that dictatorship in Russia has been for the uplift of the underdog, and for ultimate democracy on a scale never seen in England or Germany and seldom in America.

With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Greene]

21-24-55

MOUNT AIRY
CROTON-ON-HUDSON
NEW YORK

May 1, 1946.

Dear Dr Bois,

It is a pleasure for me, as one of your classmates of Harvard, 1890, to learn that you and your wife are now celebrating your golden wedding. I congratulate you both most heartily. It is certainly an unusual, as well as a most happy, event.

Did you ever read a poem of W. K. Post, à propos of the marriage of our Class-mate, Dr Forest Rockwood, in which he alludes to "our good old-fashioned permanent wives."? That

Certainly applies to your case.

Cordially yours.

Ervin B Green

Many happy returns of the day!

KRAUS

28 January 1946

Gentlemen:

Would you be interested in publishing a cheap edition of Souls of Black Folk? This book first came out in 1903 and has been selling ever since. A. C. McClurg and Company are now going out of the publishing business and offering to sell the plates for a nominal sum. Would you be interested?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Grosset and Dunlap
1107 Broadway
New York City

1/28/46

GROSSET & DUNLAP · INC PUBLISHERS

1107 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 10, N.Y. (TWENTY-FOURTH STREET) CHELSEA 2-1600

February 15, 1946.

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

Att: Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
Department of Special Research.

Gentlemen,

Thank you so much for your letter of January 28th, bringing to our attention the book entitled SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, formerly published by A. C. McClurg & Company.

Were it not for the serious production situation at present, we would indeed be interested but we have had to postpone so many commitments already made because we cannot get the books manufactured that we are not in a position, at this time, to make any more contracts. We wish, however, to thank you for your interest.

Very truly yours,

A. D. Grosset

GROSSET & DUNLAP, INC.

ADG/fbl

141 32/1

21-29-41

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(21) [GROVES]

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
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Ship Radiogram

1946 MAY 12 PM 4

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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BA211 5=TDB DORCHESTER MASS 12 340P

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM 1946 MAY 12 PM 4 33

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

THE DUBOIS COTTAGE 2302 MONTABELLOTERRACE BALTO= #114

CONGRATULATIONS FROMTHE GROVES FAMILY=

EMMA.

Ha Dois
Daughter
W. D.
4:48 P.
mail

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

22 May 1946

21-12-35

My dear Emma:

I have been home from California some weeks but pretty busy finishing my book and visiting Mrs. Du Bois who is still in the hospital. She is improving and we hope to have her home June first. I am in pretty good health but slightly over worked just now.

I had hoped that I might get up to Boston this week but it is out of the question. I shall see you sometime during the summer.

My best regards to the family and especially yourself, Majorie and the little baby.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

21-12-36

2 August 1946

Dear Emma:

I am going to the camp in Maine this weekend and I shall be returning the seventeenth. I would be glad to stop over Sunday in Boston, if you are well and it is convenient. Write me in care of Cambridge Gun and Rod Club, Rural Free Delivery, Litchfield, Maine. Let me know how you and the family are getting on, and what you have heard from Mason.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

18 December 1946

My dear Emma;

How are you and the family and what do you hear from Mason? I have had my ups and downs; personally I have been quite well but Mrs. Du Bois has progressed and then had setbacks; and is again in the hospital in Baltimore. I am going down Friday but coming back right after Christmas. I am not just sure of my engagements after that; but was wondering if you would be free New Year's day. The work goes on pretty well and we have had a very beautiful fall as I suppose you have.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-12-24

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

[Marie Guerin] [1946]

22 East 96 St.
New York 28

March 6, 1946

Dear Dr. Dubois,

21-002

Will you please excuse me for not thanking you before for the enclosed letter & papers which Jorge Fontanills gave me for you in London a week ago. I had opened the envelope because people in high places had hinted about censorship - but there was nothing of the kind.

A separate envelope I am posting simultaneously to Rev. Roy Wilkins, Editor of the "Crisis". I wonder -

21-9-03

stated it is the same office but if ever you were absent from New York I thought it safer to have the articles sent separately.

I am 3 days late in sending all this because I caught a very bad cold & sinusitis during the journey & am in bed with a complicated treatment, otherwise I would have come to see you & bring you personal greetings from Serge who is a very dear friend of ours & whom I know for 7 years now.

I hope you will forgive me this delay. I hope too

I shall be able to call in
your office next week.

In the meantime I am
sending you the 1st numbers
of "La Lutte" which our
Comité Anticolonialiste in Paris
is editing. #2 was just
under print when I left &
shall be sent to me by mail.
Since our friends of French
West Africa have some safe
means of communication,
the printed news of the
Vth Congress might by this
time already be arrived
and diffused there.

Would you kind returning
me this issue of "La Lutte"

21-9-04

after having used the material
in whatever way you might
need it - it is the only issue
I have in my files (the ~~other~~
my luggage forwarded by boat
includes a dozen more -
only when will this arrive ??)
& with my departure from
Europe I even had no time
get to read some of the
articles myself. x)

Again will you please
forgive these few lines written
in bed, & I do hope to be
able to call next week.

Yours fraternally

Hans Heinz

21-9-05

x) I also would like in return the copies of cables attached to George's letter of 17th February.

21-12-27

JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

551 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 17 • N. Y.

December 14, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
Room 402
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

A recently-received application from Dr. Irene Diggs asks that I make reference to you in the matter of her application for a Guggenheim Fellowship. Of course, I am pleased to do so and this note is to say that I shall be delighted to get your opinion of her ability and promise--confidentially, as always. Your judgment of the submitted project and of Dr. Diggs' abilities in relation to it, also will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Henry Allen Moe

M:la

21-29-85

SOUTH ORANGE, N.J.
MAY 9
8-P.M.
1946

UNITED STATES POSTAGE
3 CENTS

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14
Maryland

From

C. B. Gulick

Cambridge 38

Mass

[Gulick]

21-29-84

Cambridge. Mass.
9 May 1946

Dear Mr. DuBois,

Please excuse the form of this note, as I am now nearly blind, but I wanted to join your many friends in offering my congratulations and best wishes to your wife and yourself, on reaching the fiftieth anniversary of your

marriage. It is not given to many men of our time to do that.

Your other achievements are of national importance and for them also I have the greatest admiration.

Very sincerely yours

Charles Burton Gulick '91

[HAITI]

21-21-15

26 September 1946

My dear Mr. Bellegarde:

I have not heard from you with regard to our petition to the Assembly of the United Nations on the subject of African colonies. I am enclosing that petition in its final form. I hope that we can have an official letter from you approving the principle of our making such a petition.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois,
President of the Pan African Congres

His Excellency
Mr. Dante Bellegarde
Minister of Haiti
Washington, D. C.

21-24-34

619 Seventh Street
Whistler, (Mobile) Alabama
August 20, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Sir:

Each day I am conscious of the grave problems that face rural youth throughout America. Two of the most important problems are education and recreation. Most of us seem to forget rural youth, but the builders and founders of America were common men and women who seeked a better world in which to live in. I have thought of the situation seriously. I think that one way to help solve the problem is by organizing a Rural Youth Association. The plans are by no means complete, for they need modifications.

The Association will have a main branch. Local chapters will be organized to support the main branch. Any person regardless of race or creed is eligible to become a member. The money that is got from donations and membership fees will be used to get more and better recreational and educatinnal facilities for rural youth.

Recently I graduated from Alabama A. & M. Institute with the highest honors in my class. I only think ones education is only valuable when he uses it to help foster the good life for all. Our society is so complex that each of us depends upon the other for existence. America can not progress with the urban districts advancing and the rural districts lagging. This is especially true with Negroes in the rural.

I am sending a second sheet to give you some idea of the Association. I would like to have your opinion on such organization. I would also appreciate any criticisms and suggestions you might offer.

Very truly yours,

(Miss) Cleo Hamilton

[Enclosure]

RURAL YOUTH ASSOCIATION

Purposes:

1. To bring about a closer relationship between the rural and urban sections of the country through annual conferences.
2. To get better educational facilities for rural youth.
3. To set up more and better recreational facilities in rural communities.

Miscellaneous Information:

1. The Association will have a national headquarter at some assigned place.
2. Local Chapters will be formed to support the organization.
3. Any person regardless of race or creed can become a member.
4. Each year an annual conference will be held. At this time problems that confront rural youth will be discussed by educators and representatives from the rural communities, with the hope of reaching some possible solutions.
5. Each local chapter will send two representatives to the annual conference.
6. The money that is got from docations and from members will be used to get better educational and recreational facilities for rural communities.

Officers:

The Rural Youth Association will be composed of a President, Vice-president, Executive Secretary, Financial Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer, Chairman of Membership Committee, Chairman of Social Research Committee , and Chairman of Publication Committee.

The President will be head executive of the Association. He shall be an abled person who is willing to devote his time to the Association. He must be willing ,to the best of his ability,to work diligently for growth and develppment.

21-24-35

10 September 1946

My dear Madam:

Answering your letter of August 20 may I say that I think it is very unwise for you to form an organization of rural youth. You must remember that Negro youth in the rural districts are too ignorant to form an intelligent organization. Organizations which desire to help them must be form by outsiders. I think you would do better to cooperate with some organization already formed to work for youth.

May I suggest that it is bad form to sign letters in type? They ought to be signed in ink by your own hand.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Cleo Hamilton
619 Seventh Street
Whistler, Mobile
Alabama

(HAND)

UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS
NEW YORK CITY

CHAMBERS OF
AUGUSTUS N. HAND
CIRCUIT JUDGE

21-29-22

May 8, 1946

My dear Classmate:

It is with best wishes and congratulations that I am writing you and your wife and family on the celebration of your Golden Wedding. You have had a most useful life and one of honor and distinction to your Alma Mater. It has been my pleasure to listen to your speeches at reunions of the Class of 1890, and at our dinner last year in Boston to sit next you at the Harvard Club of Boston. To say that your conversation was, as ever, interesting, wise and mature is deserved but faint praise. Your class is proud of you.

Sincerely yours,

Augustus N. Hand

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS
383 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

21-27-55

June 24, 1946

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
The National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
The Wendell Willkie Memorial Building
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We are enclosing herewith our check for $411.37 which is the amount due you at this time in accordance with our royalty statement of April 25th.

Very truly yours,

Harcourt, Brace and Company

Margaret G. Cuff

MGC:JA

Assistant Treasurer

[HARISON]

21-29-29

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(55)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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BRL192 DL PD=LANGSTON OKLA11 230P

DR AND MRS WEB DUBOIS=

2302 MONTECELLO TERRACE BALTO=

GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES ON YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY. MAY YOUR ANNIVERSARY BE FILLED WITH JOY MAY YOU BE SURROUNDED BY LOVING FRIENDS AND LIVE TO SEE MAY MORE CELEBRATIONS=

PRESIDENT AND MRS G L HARISON LANGSTON UNIVERSITY.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

DR. K. HARPUDER
MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL
BRONX 67, N. Y.

January 7, 1946

Mr. William DuBois
20 West 40 Street
New York City

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Mrs. Nina Dubois was sent to Dr. Harpuder for care in the Department of Physical Medicine by Dr. Leiter.

The treatment in this Department plays an essential role in the rehabilitation of Mrs. DuBois.

If you will kindly consult the bulletin of information of Montefiore Hospital you will find that there are private charges for medical care in the Physical Therapy Department. These include a consultation fee, and fees for supervision of treatment.

I hope that this information will prove satisfactory.

R. Kuerel
Secretary to Dr. Harpuder

(HARPUDER)

DR. K. HARPUDER
MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL
NEW YORK

February 1, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, New York

Mrs. Nina DuBois
Private Pavillion A
Montefiore Hospital

FOR PROFESSIONAL SERVICES RENDERED

Supervision 1/3-2/3 . . . . . .$20.00

21-8

Paid in Full!
Dr. K. Harpuder, M.D.

RECEIPT RETURNED UPON REQUEST

DR. K. HARPUDER
MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL
NEW YORK

March 1, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Mrs. Nina DuBois
Private Pavillion A
Montefiore Hospital

FOR PROFESSIONAL SERVICES RENDERED

Supervision 2/3-3/3/46 . . . . . .$20.00

21-8

Paid in full

Dr. K. Harpuder
RK

RECEIPT RETURNED UPON REQUEST

DR. K. HARPUDER
MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL
NEW YORK

April 1, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
20 West 40 Street
New York City

Mrs. Nina Du Bois
Private Pavillion A
Montefiore Hospital

21-8

FOR PROFESSIONAL SERVICES RENDERED

Supervision 3/3-4/3 . . . . . $20.00

Paid in full
DR. K. Harpuder
RK

RECEIPT RETURNED UPON REQUEST

Dr Harpuder

17 June 1946

My dear Dr. Harpuder:

We are arranging to have Mrs. Du Bois to leave the hospital Monday, June twenty-fourth, before noon. We are taking her by train directly to Baltimore. My daughter and granddaughter will have finished school by that time and will be able to attend to her. As soon as possible we will have an housekeeper. We have put a special toilet for her on the first floor which will necessitate her going up and down stairs only once a day.

Will you please prepare for me a statement which I can hand her physician, Dr. I. N. Higgins, of Baltimore so as to indicate what her needs will be for medication and treatment and what her present condition is? I am writing a similar letter to Dr. Leiter.

I want to thank you very much for your care and interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. K. Harpuder
Montefiore Hospital
Gun Hill Road and Bainbridge Avenue
New York City

Mrs. W. E. DuBois

DR. K. HARPUDER
MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL
BRONX 67, N. Y.

June 20, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40 Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed please find a letter to Dr. Higgins.

It has been a privilege for me to help in the recovery of Mrs. DuBois. I wish you and her lots of good luck for the future.

21-8

Very sincerely yours,

K. Harpuder

Dr. K. Harpuder, M.D.

DR. K. HARPUDER
MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL
NEW YORK

July 1, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York City

Mrs. Nina DuBois
Private Pavilion A
Montefiore Hospital

FOR PROFESSIONAL SERVICES RENDERED

Supervision 6/3-6/25/46 . . . . . .$15.00

21-d
8

Paid in full

Dr. K. Harpuder -
RK

7/3/46

RECEIPT RETURNED UPON REQUEST

21-8-22

6 September 1946

Dear Dr. Harpuder:

Mrs. Du Bois is at our home in Baltimore and she wants me to tell you that she is progressing slowly. She is walking a little by herself and gaining increasing confidence. We both want to thank you for your kindly care while she was in the hospital.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. K. Harpuder
Montefiore Hospital
Gun Hill Road
New York, New York

2 October 1946

21-26-96

My dear Cerella:

I hope this will find you well and still happily at work. I am writing to ask if you will get me information concerning an organization in your city called "Christians, Inc." They have offices at 509 Fourth Avenue, North, and their manager is Broughton Jones. They have asked me to speak for them on October 17th and I have consented but I should like to have a little more information about them. Can you find it and give it to me? I shall be greatly obliged. My best regards to you and the family and all of your grandchildren.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Cerella Shook Harris
Meharry Medical School
Nashville, Tenn.

[Harris, Cenella Shook]

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

21-26-108

Oct 9, 1946

Dear Dr Du Bois,

I have been until now trying to find out something about Christian, Inc. I have some facts now that I'm afraid will be disappointing to you. This is on good authority— the organization is not endorsed by any reputable person in Nashville. It is run by a man who has the reputation of being a promoter - of himself alone. He got his charter under the pretense of welfare work but has done nothing along that line. He evidently want to use your name to get his organization recognized by the public. As it is now, very few people here had even heard of the organization, and those few opposed the opinions I have stated above.

If you still plan to come, we would be happy if you would stay with us. We are at 1825 Knowles Street, Phone 6-5928. But I'm going to be presumptious enough to say I wish you wouldn't.

Sincerely Cenella.

21-26-109

13 December 1946

Dear Cerella:

You will see that I took heed of your letter of October 9, 1946, and did not come to Nashville. I am still wondering, however, about the motives back of your advice. I hope they were of the highest.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Cerella Shook Harris
Meharry Medical College
Nashville, Tenn.

27 June 1946

21-20-62

My dear Mrs. Harris:

I have just read in the New York Times of the death of your husband and my friend, Lorenzo. May I express to you and the family my very deep condolence and every good wish.

I have for a long time been intending to come to Asbury Park but have not gotten around to it. I remember my visits with much joy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Lorenzo W. Harris
Sylvan Avenue
Asbury Park, New Jersey

Social Mems

21-19-97

133 Sylvan Av.
Asbury Park N.J.
July 24, 1946

My dear Dr. Du Bois.

Your expression of sympathy was greatly appreciated by my family and me.

Even though in the grief of a loss so overwhelming, we are consoled because Lorenzo lived a full and courageous life in the service of his fellow man.

Sincerely
Kathryn Harris

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

Jne

November 26, 1946

Sound Mond

Mrs. Kathryn Harris
133 Sylvan Avenue
Asbury Park, New Jersey

21-26-113

Arrive Thanksgiving morning at eleven eight.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dent 11-26-46

R.H.L.

[Harvard Univ., Class of 1890]

29 March 1946

21-20-67

My dear Mr. Corning:

I am going to celebrate a golden wedding in May and I would like to send notes to some of my surviving classmates. Could you send me a list of those living without too much trouble?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Howard Corning
Secretary, Class of 1890
Harvard College
12 Pickman Street
Salem, Massachusetts

HARVARD COLLEGE

CLASS of 1890

HOWARD CORNING
Class Secretary
~~15 Hathorne~~ Street
12 DICKMAN ST
Salem, Mass.

April 8, 1946

My dear Dr Bris,

I am enclosing a list of the class with addresses. Kept it as long as you wish & then please return to me.

I congratulate you & your wife on the anniversary in May & hope many of all will follow.

Sincerely yours,
Howard Corning

Class of 1890, Harvard College

Julius Brutus Alexander
289 San Leandro Lane
Montecito
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Charles Benjamin Barnes
334 Tremont Bldg.
Boston 8, Mass.

William Nickerson Bates
220 St. Marke's Sq.
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Charles Lathrop Bean
Fort George
Florida

Charles Preaut Blaney
36 West 44th St.
New York, N. Y.

Charles Knowles Bolton
Shirley
Massachusetts

Edwin Tenney Brewster
Andover
Massachusetts

Albert Fredrick Brown
162 Maple St.
Malden 48, Mass.

Reynolds Driver Brown
83A Church Street
Charleston I, S. C.

John Howes Burton
267 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Leighton Calkins
929 Madison Avenue
Plainfield N. J.

Rev. Raymond Calkins
19 Berkeley Street
Cambridge Mass.

Paul Howard Cheney
20 Hartford Road
Manchester Conn.

Ralph Almon Clark
Stella Nebr.

John Sturgis Codman
222 Summer Street
Boston Mass.

Prof. William Morse Cole
9 Middle St.
Concord Mass.

Howard Corning
12 Pickman St.
Salem, Mass.

Joshua Crane
% Anna Harvie
54 Bellevue Ave.
Melrose Mass.

Bowdoin Bradlee Crowninshield
The Anchorage
Marblehead Mass.

Fredrick Page Cutting
270 Mac Arthur Blvd.
Oakland 10, Calif.

Dr. Charles Albert Davenport
25 Park Street
Newton, Mass.

Frank La Mont De Long
636 Highland Ave.
Piedmont 11, Calif.

Fredrick Wesley Dwart
1418 Newton Street, N. W.
Washington 10 D. C

Brenton Halliburton Dickson, Jr.
Highland Street
Weston Mass.

Richard Elwood Dodge
Storrs
Conn.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois
~~69 Fifth Avenue~~
New York 3, N. Y.

Frederick Smyth Duncan
311 Walnut St.
Engelwood N. J.

Charles Mayo Eaton
1609 First Ave., W.
Bradenton Fla.

Alfred Page Emmons
89 Carlton Street
Brookline Mass.

Willard Lewis Fales
R. I, Box 338
Sherwood Oregon

Winthrop Edwards Fiske
15 Elliot Street
Exeter N. H.

Homer Folkes ~~428 Hawthorne A~~
428 Hawthorne Ave.
Yonkers N. Y.

21-20

Robie Washington Form
Wolfville, N. S
~~N. S.~~

Robert Morton Fullerton
Hotel Wentworth
59 W. 46th Street
New York, N. Y.

Prof. Edwin F. Gay
1650 Orlando Road
San Marino Calif ~~Hall~~

Walter Wesley Godard
64 Maple Street
Milton Mass.

Arthur Lyman Greene
9025 Beverly Ct.
Detroit Michigan

Frank Myers Gordon
3015 N. Hackett Ave.
Milwaukee 11, Wis.

Prof. Evart Boutell Greene
Mount Airy
Croton on Hudson N. Y.

Arthur Bradford Grover
30 E. 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Charles Burton Gulick
59 Fayerweather Street
Cambridge Mass.

Hon. Augustus Noble Hand
11 East 68th Street
New York, New York

J. Carrol Hayes
121 N. High Street
West Chester, Pa.

Summit Louis Hecht
80 Federal Street., Room 1226
Boston Mass.

Myron Francis Hill
Edgewater Hillside
Westport Conn.

Arthur Winifred Hodgman
48 Osgood St;, Highland
Lowell Mass.

Daniel Burton Holt
County Coubt House
Fargo N. ~~Dak~~ Dak

Frank Irwin
2921 Regent St.
Berkeley 5, Calif.

Robert Job
980 St. Antoine St.
Montreal, P.Q., Can.

Richard Jones, Jr.
Harvard Club
27 W. 44th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dr. Charles Francis Judson
252 Kent Road
Wynnewood, Pa.

Oliver Boyce Judson
8330 St. Martins Lane
Philadelphia Pa.

Rev. Edward Parker Kelly
91 Central St.
Aubrundale 66 Mass.

Henry Wasson Royal
Plymouth
Mass.

George Rublee
242 E. 49th Street
New York 17, New York

Hugh Latson Runkle
11706 Broad St.
Columbus 5 Ohio

Shepard Kimberly
140 North St.
Buffalo N. Y.

Samuel Came Lawrence
37 Gorham St.
Cambridge 38 Mass.

Bradford Leavitt
Woodside
Redwood City Calif

Richard Field Lewis
812 Highland Ave.
Piedmont Calif.

John William Linzee
848 Beacon St.
Boston Mass.

D
Maurice Whittemore Mather
10 Dana St.
Cambridge 38 Mass.

Richard Bullard Montgomery
1105 Maritime Bldg.
Room 12
New Orleans La.

Norman Winthrop Mumford
3 Upton Pk.
Rochester N. Y.

Bradford Norman
5 W. Marlborough St.
Newport R. I.

Dr. Calvin Gates Page
128 Marlborough St.
Boston 16 Mass.

Prof. Curtis Hidden Page
Gilmanton N. H.

Harry De Bacon Page
96 Fairmount Ave.
Chatham N. J.

Dr. Francis Edwin Park
290 Cypress St.
Newton Center Mass.

Richard Fay Parker
24 Federal St.
Boston Mass.

George James Peirce
281 Embarcadero Rd.
Palo Alto Calif.

Waldron Kintzing Post
% Hayden & Post
68 William St.
New York 5 N. Y.

Dwight Parker Robinson
Pocasset
Mass.

Dr. Ara Nathaniel Sargent
116 Federal St.
Salem Mass.

George Bernard Schulte
45 E. Northfield Ave.
Livingston, N. J.

Marcus Cauffman Sloss
111 Sutter St., Room 1300
San Francisco Calif.

Frank Stanley Stebbins
1331 Pacific St.
Brooklyn N. Y.

Henry Martin Stegman
109 Roseneath Ave.
Battle Creek Mich.

George Stevens
P. O. Box 506
Lowell Mass.

21-20

Sullivan Warren Sturgis
66 Marlborough St.
Boston 16 Mass.

George Oscar Swasey
1107 Puget Sound Bank Bldg.
Tacoma Wash.

William Fredric Tilton
11 Mason St.
Cambridge Mass.

Anthony Morris Tyson
37 South St.
Baltimore 2 Md.

Russel Tyson
1247 Monadnock Bldg.
Chicago Ill.

Harold Garrison Villard
125 E. 72nd St.
New York N. Y.

Bertrand Walker
536 LaSalle Station
Chicago Ill.

Charles Howard Walker
1221 Lyndon St.
South Pasadena Calif.

George Philip Wardner
50 State St.
Boston Mass.

Dr. Hobart Endicott Warren
207 Plaza Circles
Palm Beach Fla.

Samuel Hughes Watts
100 Broadway
New York 5, New York

Raymond Weeks
Manakin
Va.

John Henry Welch
153 Elmwood Rd.
Swampscott Mass.

Wellington Wells
Wellscroft Rd.
Chesham N. H.

George William Wheelwright
Wheelwright Paper Co.
Paper Mill Pl.
Leominster Mass.

Dr. Charles James White
259 Marlborough St.
Boston 16 Mass.

Thomas Smith Woods
7 Buswell St.
Boston Mass.

Alexander Young
Hotel Briston
541 Boylston St.
Boston Mass.

[Harvard College, Class of 1890]

4 April 1946

My dear Mr. Corning:

Thank you for your letter enclosing a list of the Class of 1890, Harvard College. I have made a copy of it and am herewith returning the original.

Dr. Du Bois is on a lecture tour in California and will probably writesyou again when he returns to his desk.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Mr. Howard Corning
12 Pickman Street
Salem, Massachusetts

[Harvard Univ, [illegible]
1890]

18 December 1946

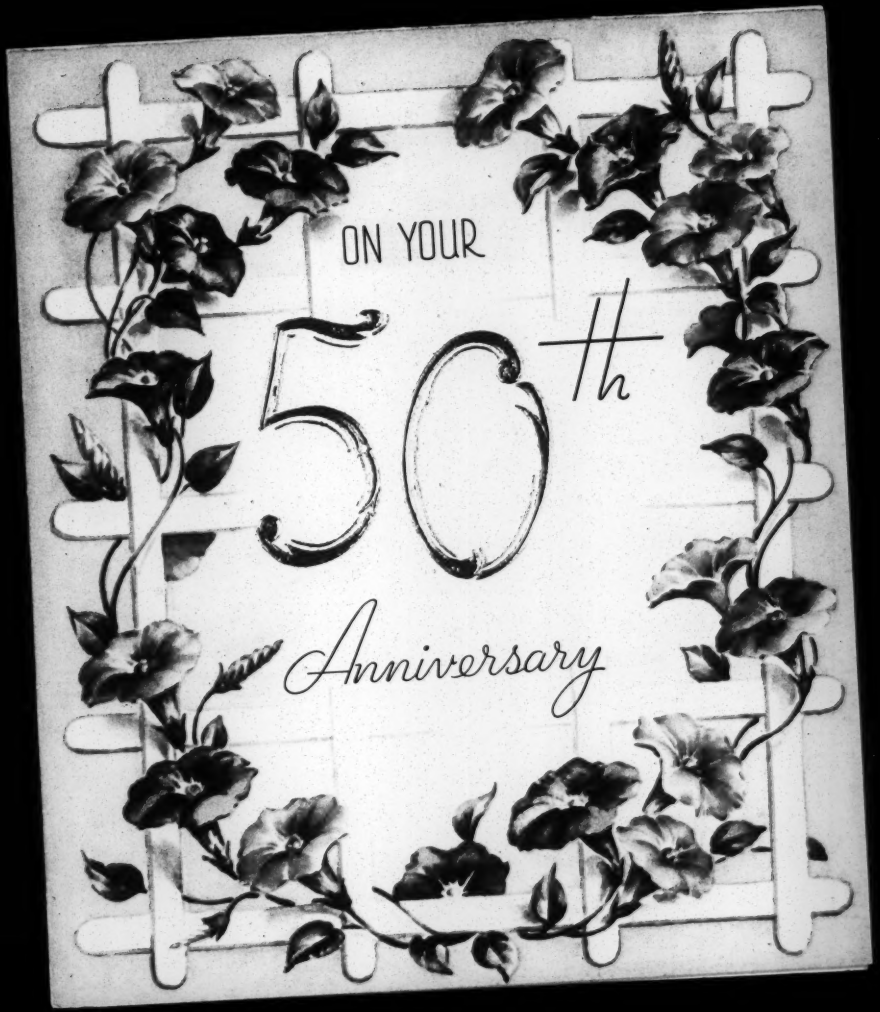
My dear Corning:

Will you please change my address on your mailing list to 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., instead of 69 Fifth Avenue? With holiday greetings.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Howard Corning
12 Pickman Street
Salem, Massachusetts


ON YOUR
50th
Anniversary

Sincere congratulations!

May this Anniversary mean

You will have a golden harvest

Of still brighter joys to glean,

And a future so delightful

That each milestone that appears

Will mean still happier memories

To be counted with the years!

Mr. & Mrs B. T. Harney

Morehouse College

Atlanta, Ga

21-29-13

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(30)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

BRL37 NL PD=DAYTON OHIO MAY 11 1946 MAY 12 AM 9 40

DR AND MRS W E DUBOIS, DUBOIS COTTAGE=

DLR 10 AM 2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE=

IT IS A RARE PRIVILEGE AND A REAL PLEASURE TO SEND SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR FIFTIETH WEDDING ANNIVERSARY MAY YOU CONTINUE TO BE BLESSED WITH THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE=

JESSIE HATHCOCK.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

July 9, 1946

21-19-94

Mrs. Jessie Hathcock:
407 West Fifth Street
Dayton, Ohio.

Dear Mrs. Hathcock:

Mrs. Du Bois and I deeply appreciate your kind remembrance of us on the occasion of our fiftieth wedding anniversary. With best regards to you and your family.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois.

5 February 1946

21-20-57

My dear Gregory:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I have just sent your Father in answer to one which he wrote me. I hope you and the family will see to it that he follows this advice.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Gregory Hawkins
1210 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

OFFICE
MADISON 0411

RESIDENCE
LAFAYETTE 2021

GREGORY HAWKINS
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

21-20-50

March 17, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Papa entred Provident Hospital saturday for a check-up. Mama, Mason, and I are very much indebted to you for prossuading him to go. We suggested it to him a long time go but he would not agree.

Xmas, when Mason told me that you said that Papa orgnt to go to the Hospital, I said, "Well, why didn't Dr. DuBois tell him so." I was afraid that we had missed a chance to get him to go. So I was surprised, and very much pleased when you wrote him. He was a long time coming around, and of course now he thinks that it was his idea.

He seems to tire easily. He notices it, or makes mention of it when walking up a hill.

We were very happy to hear of Mrs. DuBois' continued improvement. Please remember me to her.

Again I wish to thank you for the other members of the family for taking the time off to persuade Papa to go to the Hospital. You were able to do what we had been unable to do.

By the way Mason and I are going in Business. We are going to have a Soda Fountain in the Store downstairs and sell ice cream,

Candy, tobacco, sandwiches. Later on we will add other items. Mason has worked with B & O as a cook and was a cook in the Army, so he ought to know something about food.

Soda fountains are very expensive. This is a rebuilt one. It will cost $1500. The cost of all the equipment and necessary alterations will be $3,000. We have a good location. There is no other soda fountain within a range of less than four blocks. There is a theater - movie - in this block and one up in the next block. So there are plenty of people passing by at all hours of the day. ~~I have gotten~~ The building is paid for, so all I ask for the first few months is enough money to keep up the taxes, ground rent, light and fuel bills and the monthly payments due on the $3,000 loan - about $130. I am getting a G. I. loan. I graduated from the School of Business at Columbia in June '28. It has taken me a long time to get into business. I think our chances for success are very good.

With best wishes for your health, and happiness and that of your family

Sincerely yours,

Gregory Hawkins

18 May 1946

21-20-51

Dear Gregory:

Enclosed is the assessment notice from the board. I shall talk to you about this over the telephone before you receive this.

Please note the following matters:

1. the property is in a Negro neighborhood and therefore not easily saleable.

2. the better paid working people cannot afford to buy in this district because of the lack of transportation facilities. The nearest street car or bus is over a mile away. Even teachers at Morgan College, who might like to buy, are receiving unusually low salaries as compared with other state teachers.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Gregory Hawkins
1532 Druid Hill Avenue
Baltimore

OFFICE
MADISON 9681

RESIDENCE
LAFAYETTE 2021

GREGORY HAWKINS
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

May 21, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director of Department of
Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, New York

21-11-10

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am filing today the blank you filled out, giving the necessary information to the Bureau of Assessment together with your letter to me, plus a letter of my own, of which I am sending you a copy.

Election time is close at hand and seeing that you are affiliated with a National Organization, it may have some effect, certainly it can do no harm.

The bureau can cut some off the assessment. If they fail to cut any off, it still can be taken before the Appeal Tax Court, at anytime within 30 days after October 1st.

Now, with regard to the matter of the insurance. Under the present law, I would not recommend it, for a veteran has the right to change the beneficiary. SECTION-15 : Information and Premium Rates National Service Life Insurance, says,

> " Change of Beneficiary: The insured under a National Service Life insurance policy shall have the right at any time, and from time to time, and without the consent or knowledge of the beneficiary, to cancel the beneficiary designation or to change the beneficiary within the permitted class of beneficiaries listed in paragraph 14 hereof."

With regard to my cousin, whom I suggested as being, in my estimation, a suitable person to take care of Mrs. DuBois. Mama wishes it understood, and so do I, that you should not hire her simply because of our recommendation or

the fact that she is related to us. Hire her only if you all think that she can fill the bill.

With best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

Gregory Hawkins

GREGORY HAWKINS

21-11-11

GH:y

ENC: 1

[Enclosure]

C O P Y

May 20, 1946

21-11-12

The Bureau of Assessment
Room 216 - Municipal Building
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Sit:

I have been retained, as counsel by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, to seek a reduction in the assessment on property number 2302 Montebello Terrace - E. Side of Montebello Terrace, 110 c 151'10.

Dr. DuBois contends that the property, ~~is~~ was over assessed at the very beginning and now this additional assessment.

I know that all property throughout the City is being re-assessed. And, it is also to be borne in mind that the increased assessment together with the high rate of taxation will make the total tax very high. This is especially true, for as Dr. Dubois points out in his letter to me, which I am sending to you, that the lack of transportation facilities makes it very difficult to sell this property and to rent it, it is out of the question, because people are not able to pay what a fair rental would be.

Please advise me of whatever action is taken in this matter that I may keep my client informed.

Very truly yours,

GH:y

GREGORY HAWKINS

C O P Y

OFFICE
MADISON 9881

RESIDENCE
LAFAYETTE 2021

GREGORY HAWKINS
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

21-20-53

October 19, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 8, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I looked up the matter of your assessment yesterday and find that it has been cut $300. On the notice sent to you was the following:

	Value of lot 1946	Value of improvements 1946	Total value 1946
Present assessment	$550	$5750	$6300
Proposed assessment 1947	980	6300 ~~6600~~	7280 ~~7580~~

The figure 6600 has been reduced to 6300

The figures for the second lot remains the same

430	850	1280

I am enclosing the necessary forms in case you decide that you want the Appeal Tax Court to pass on the matter. Papers have to be filled out in duplicate for each lot. I doubt that much could be done in the case where the figures on the first lot were reduced to $300. The papers must be filed in court on or before the end of the month. I have penciled the questions that need to be answered.

With regard to the matter of the funeral arrangements I am at a loss to advise you. I discussed the matter with an undertaker - whom our family has used - find that the cremation can be arranged. And that isn't very expensive $35 the last time it was done. The undertaker promised to find

out for me and let me know but I have heard no more. Quite a few people make arrangements with the undertaker and pay them in advance. I think this is bad, for if the undertaker dies first a good out of business time may be no one who will perform the contract and the chances are that you might not get your money back. In some cities some insurance companies or burial societies have plans but there is no such organization here in Baltimore.

Provision for the funeral plans could be made in your will. But the Will might not be read until after the funeral or it might be disregarded.

After all it is a matter for the family. You should tell them your wishes, give them a written memorandum knowing your wishes they might be more apt to carry them out. Undertakers frequently suggest to the relatives, in case where arrangements have already been made, that a more expensive funeral can be arranged at an additional price. So it is necessary to have the cooperation of the family if you want your plans carried out to the letter.

I know Papa has often expressed his disgust with elaborate funerals. One time he mentioned the subject. And what he wanted done. I remember we were all surprised at Mama's speaking up - she sounded like she was mad. "If I am here I shall see to it that you are put away right." But in talking the matter over with Mama recently I believe she is now willing to do it just as Papa would like to have it done. He wants a short service, the shorter, the better.

I am sorry that I did not see you when you where here. Mama and Papa enjoyed your coming. I appreciate your seeing Papa.

I am carrying on the Soda Fountain business by myself, so I have my hands full. If I can just hold on it will work out all right; otherwise I stand to lose everything.

If I can be of any service to you I shall be only too glad to serve you.

Gregory Hawkins

21-20-52

28 October 1946

Dear Gregory:

I just returned from the South today and I have your letter of October 19th. I am rushing to you an appeal to the Appeals Court for the house and lot. Of course it may do no good and it may be too late but it will not hurt to try. My best regards to your mother and father. By the way, I don't find a copy of my deed to the house. I have that for the lot and have I ever had the other?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Gregory Hawkins
1210 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Baltimore, 17 Maryland
1536 Druid Hill Ave
February 3, 1946

21-20-55

Dear Dr DuBois:

For several months I have been struggling with my doctors for a thorough diagnosis and treatment. I have had or rather undergone several with other in prospect. In spite of attacks of colds I am, we believe, gradually regaining a sound footing.

I appreciated deeply your thoughtfulness and regret your having any hesitancy in speaking of anything of a personal interest.

We are more than delighted with your literary and executive progress, but dont fail to intersperse your work with frequent resection. Glad to know that Mrs DuBois is improving.

Mrs Hawkins joins me in best wishes and kindest regards to you and Mrs. DuBois.

Sincerely yours
Harry A Hawkins

Mason Hawkins

5 February 1946

21-25-52

My dear Hawkins:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of February third, but I am still not satisfied. If you have been struggling with your doctors for a thorough diagnosis and they have been unable to get it for you, what you need is different doctors. What I am trying to emphasize is that you are ill. It is not merely a matter of a cold, it is a matter of something more deep-seated than that and the only thing that you can do is to enter a hospital and stay there until specialists with the proper instruments have thoroughly and finally diagnosed your case. Neither pills nor medicine is going to take the place of this fundamental knowledge of what ails you.

I strongly advise, as a close friend, to get in Freedmen or Johns Hopkins Hospital just as quickly as you can.

Mrs. Du Bois, as you know, had paralysis. At the first opportunity I got her into the Montefiore Hospital. She is now walking almost without a limp and beginning to use her hand. Without the thoroughly modern up-to-date knowledge and treatment available in a hospital like this, she would have been a helpless invalid the rest of her life. She joins me with love to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Mason A. Hawkins
1532 Druid Hill Avenue
Baltimore 17

1532 Druid Hill Ave
February 6, 1946
Baltimore 17, Md.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

The president of our Frontiers Club and the chairman of the program committee would like you to adress our club, if and when you may chance to come to Baltimor any Wesley in March or April at our luncheon meeting at 12:30. We should be interested in anything which may command your attention at that time. Anything about the character of your department or about the World Conferences that you have participated in recently, would certainly not be 'carrying coals to New Castle'

awaiting your pleasure, I am

Sincerely yours,
Hasan A. Hawkins

23-02-12

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

26 March 1946

Mr. Mason R. Hawkins
1532 Druid Hill Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

MY DEEPEST SYMPATHY AND HOPE

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Edgecombe 4-9837

SC-61-12

10 May 1946

21-12-10

My dear Mrs. Heard:

I am so sorry to be late in acknowledging the sheets you sent me on behalf of Miss Hubbard last December. They came in very handy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. S. E. Heard
4735 Forrestville Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

21-29-57

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Louis Adamic
Bishop James Chamberlain Baker
Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes
Hon. John Beardsley
Prof. Edwin M. Borchard
Van Wyck Brooks
Dr. Henry Seidel Canby
William Henry Chamberlin
Rep. John M. Coffee
Morris L. Cooke
Prof. George S. Counts
John Dos Passos
Melvyn Douglas
Sherwood Eddy
Thomas H. Eliot
Dorothy Canfield Fisher
James Lawrence Fly
Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick
Kate Crane Gartz
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May 6, 1946

Dr. W. E. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Golden Wedding

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I note in the Negro press that you are to celebrate your Golden Wedding Anniversary on May 12th, and as one of your long time admirers who has profited much by your writings, your spirit and your example I crave the privilege of adding my felicitations to those of your more intimate friends.

You may recall the pastor of Grace Methodist Church, Denver, who took you up to the mountains at Idaho Falls for a summer labor college. That was way back some time around 1930, and I did not see you again until the other Sunday at the Fellowship Church.

Of course, for any couple to arrive at the half century mark of marital bliss is an achievement in these days quite by itself, but it must be so much more satisfying when one observes his Golden Wedding with memories of a life as fruitfully lived as yours has been. I congratulate you and the lady who must have been no small factor in making your life so richly helpful.

Cordially yours,

A. A. Heist

AAH/r

A. A. Heist, Director

21-29-52

July 9, 1946

Mr. A.A. Heist
American Civil Liberties Union
501 Douglas Building
257 South Spring Street
Los Angeles, 12, California

My dear Mr. Heist:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of May 6, and your kind words for Mrs. Du Bois and myself. I recall my visit to Denver and am glad to renew our acquaintanceship. With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS 810 CLINTON PLACE EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

10 May, 1946

21-29-80

Dear Dr. DuBois,

It is a real pleasure to have the privilege of sending to you and to Mrs. DuBois, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of your wedding, warmest greetings from Mrs. Herskovits and myself, and our best wishes that you will have many more years together.

Your personal integrity, your steadfastness of purpose, no less than your great accomplishment during the past fifty years have been an unfailing stimulus to those who, with idealism and ardor, have set their feet in the path you marked off for others to travel. The achievements of those you have inspired, a reflection of your own achievement, cannot but be a great satisfaction to you and Mrs. DuBois both.

That these, and other satisfactions, may increase with the years is our sincere hope for you.

Cordially yours,

Melville Herskovits

21-24-60

5 November 1946

My dear President and Mrs. Higgins:

May I thank you very much for your kind hospitality while I was in Columbia, it was an enjoyable visit. I was sorry not to be able to talk to your student body but as I grow older, I have to conserve my strength when on these trips; and as I had other engagements, I thought it best not to undertake additional work. My best regards to Mrs. Higgins' sister and your son, as well as, to yourselves.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President Higgins
Allen University
Columbia, South Carolina

18 June 1946

Dear Dr. Higgins:

Mrs. Du Bois is leaving the hospital and coming to Baltimore next Monday, the twenty-fourth, arriving about three o'clock in the afternoon. I would be glad if you could call upon her either Monday or Tuesday and see how she is getting on.

I am still waiting the bill.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. I. B. Higgins
2243 Madison Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

Reg. for Inf.

SMITH COLLEGE
NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

21-24-55

Gillett House
Northampton, Mass.
November 28, 1940

Dr. William E.B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Dr. DuBois:

One of our honors students in Sociology is engaged in a thesis study of American Leadership in partial fulfillment of her requirements for the honors degree. You as a recipient of the Spingarn medal in 1920 for your service to the Pan African Congress represent leadership in this field as in others. She therefore would like to gain your cooperation in filling out this enclosed questionnaire and returning it to me not later than December 15th for subsequent use as background for her thesis. Such information will be put to no other use.

We will appreciate greatly your cooperation in this matter.

Yours very truly,
(Mrs.) Adelaide C. Hill
Adelaide C. Hill, Instructor
Department of Sociology

Dear Mr. DuBois,
I seem to have vague recollections of your coming to our home in D.C. when I was quite a small child. Perhaps you'll come again. I hope so.
Sincerely,
Adelaide Cromwell Hill

[HILL, JANE]
[1]

Cheyney, Pa.
May 21, 46.

My dear Dr. & Mrs. DuBois.

The continuing illness of our youngest daughter is largely responsible for our permitting so important an event as May 12, 1946 to pass without a word of felicitation from us. You are both of

be congratulated on having achieved fifty years of married life, a genuine feat as judged by modern standards. It would be useless to wish you fifty more such years, but we wish for you and yours many more years of health and happiness and useful service.

Very sincerely—

Jane Addams Hull

P.S. Leslie is on the wing—Lewis no signature from Lewis. Emily was stricken with T.B. last November while serving as one of the Head Nurses at Freedmens. It all seems like a night mare too.

She was so young and happy and
brilliant! She is making a heroic
fight - and miracles do happen -

JCH.

62-82-12

129 Tower Street,
Kingston,
Jamaica, B.W.I.
22nd January 1946.

Dr. W. E.DuBois,
N.A.A.C.P.
Wilkie Building,
20 West 40th Street,
New York City,
New York, U.S.A.

21-13-13

Dear Sir:

A few months ago, fifty young women employed in a local match factory were dismissed from their jobs because they were members of a trades union affiliated to my Council. It was a clear case of victimisation and there was a loud outburst of public protest and indignation particularly because the factory operates as a monopoly under the legal protection of Government thereby enjoying a guaranteed profit. No steps were taken by the Government however to protect the girls, because this factory was owned by a member of the Legislative Council and the Governor's Executive Council who is himself one of the biggest financiers in this island.

The girls had acquitted themselves nobly by rejecting the ultimatum to resign from the Union of their own choosing and we undertook to organise a restaurant for them as a co-operative enterprise. Naturally, the funds available to make a start were small, although other workers expressed their sympathy by subscribing to a fund for this purpose. But our community is a poor one and so we had to be content to make a very modest start. Things were going slowly but steadily; but it has become only too obvious that, to meet the competition of the commercial restaurants, the Co-operative requires additional capital, if it is to survive. At the present time, fourteen of the girls who were victimised are employed in the restaurant and we have found others employment elsewhere. It is unthinkable that in these circumstances, this venture, which has come to be regarded in labour circles as a symbol of what workers are prepared to sacrifice for enjoyment of the rights of free citizens, should be allowed to fail. We require immediately at least £500 to go on.

I am therefore taking this medium of asking you to be good enough to give these girls' enterprise the generous financial support which I venture to suggest it undoubtedly deserves. By so doing, you will not only be helping them but you will also be assisting to strengthen the progressive working class movement to which they belong, and for which my Congress stands. My Congress is a member of the World Federation of Trades Unions and is recognised by the Trades Union Congress of Britain as the authentic spokesman of the Jamaican Labour Movement.

Your generous support will be gratefully appreciated.

Thanking you for early attention and reply,

Yours sincerely,

Ken Hill

KEN HILL. Vice-Chairman.

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22-9-52

Doctor William E. Burghardt Du Bois,
President National Association For the
Advancement of the Colored People,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Doctor Du Bois:-

My first adequate recognition of the Negro's right to enjoy co-equal political and economic security with the white race, came to me at the age of 20, 46 years ago, when I had as a seat-and class-mate at the New York Law School, Francis Fennard Giles,-the first Negro to be admitted to that institution, he then having been a Bachelor of Divinity of Howard University; and who, subsequent to his admission to the New York Bar, acquitted himself creditably.

Thereafter, and up to date, I have thoroughly familiarized myself with the signal achievements of the Black Man since his technical freedom from slavery. Later, when I was a student attending post-graduate study of the law in Washington, D. C., I had the opportunity to become acquainted with members of the Black Race, in the profession of teaching, law, medicine, and also with such men as Paul Lawrence Dunbar, professors Syphax and Miller of Howard University, Judge Bundy, and many others.

Your immortal statements- excerpts of The Souls Of Black Folk, concerning the black man and the tragedy of the age, definitely convinced me that the Negro, too, is human- no different from the white man, excepting the tint of his skin; and that it is indeed true in this age- as you have well said, "That men know so little of men".

In spirit with your words, " Laurence Hope", (Adela Florence Cory Nicholson) who died in 1904, said:

Men should be judged, not by their tint
of skin,
The Gods they serve, the Vintage
that they drink,
Nor by the way they fight, or love, or
sin,
But by the quality of thought they
think.

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NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY, WASH., D.C.

22-9-53

Twenty years ago, as a result of my resolve to aid the Negro, I proposed to Judge Watson of New-York, that he consider the propriety of recommending the establishment of a National Negro Exhibition showing the contribution which the Negro has made in music, literature, art, religion, exploration, invention, medicine, scientific research, and in all of the other sciences in which the white man has participated since the dawn of civilization.

In this momentous and crucial period- with the Tallmadges, Bilbos, Rankins, and the KKK's, permit me to suggest that such a Permanent Memorial Building or Exhibition be established either in New York, New Orleans, Chicago, or Los Angeles, or such other city as may be deemed more appropriate.

May I add, that I believe that I could enlist the aid of the major national organizations to assist in this proposed venture.

Permit me to inform you that I am the author of the U. S. ARMY TRADE SCHOOL, commonly known as the University in Khaki- in 1919, after the first world war- which has been teaching the enlisted soldier 114 trades, so that upon expiration of enlistment he might be better able to adjust himself in civilian life.

In 1930, I wrote House of Representative Bill 15,076, which together with its Senate Bill 598, resulted in the establishment of the (CCC) Civilian Conservation Corps. President Franklin D. Roosevelt thanked me for my interest in the wandering and jobless youth of our nation during the depression of 1929 and therafter.

In 1936 I prosecuted Fritz Kuhn, der Fuehrer of the German American Bund, in an application for the revocation of his Certificate of Naturalization because of his dual status of citizenship- in Germany and in the U. S.; and because of his threat to overthrow our Government and turn it over to the Nazi-gangsters.

Several months ago, I persuaded the Hon. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations to

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22-9-54

place on the agenda fordiscussion- the subject of outlawing commercialized prostitution throu gh out the world. This matter will be discussed during the September session by the Social and Economic Council in New York.

I am at your command to help you.

Respectfully,

Julius Hochfelder

Julius Hochfelder,
Major, Education- presently on
Inactive Status, U. S. ARMY.

Social Friend

3 October 1946

22-9-55

My dear sir:

I have your letter of September 2, 1946. May I thank you for your interest in the Negro people and congratulate you upon what you have tried to do. I agree with you that a museum of Negro accomplishment and more especially of African history, would be of great importance and I hope it will be established sometime in the not too far future.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Major Julius Hochfelder
The National Research Council
5417 Fernwood Avenue
Los Angeles 27, California

5240 Prairie Ave.,Apt.3
Chicago 15, Illinois
May 12, 1946

21-26-99

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
Director of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Dear Dr. Dubois:-

Your plea for a new religion in "Color and Democracy" is not only to the point , but the type of new religion advocated is the sine qua non of defense against world annihilation . The development of the atomic bomb had not been consummated when your book reached the market; but this development renders the creation of the new religion even more urgent. It is amazing that intelligent people who are writing and speaking anent the bomb , do not seem to realize that this development has forced the issue between right and might. The issue having been forced , the alternatives are either the ruthless use of might with all pretensions of justice, brotherhood and human uplift abandoned or elss the immediate institution of justice on a world-wide scale; and the time is getting late. Compton and Hutchins came close to the truth in their statement of the alternatives , but they did not probe deeply enough for their alternatives or at least they did not bring out the significant implications of their alternatives.In advocating a world state they seemed to overlook the important consideration that a world state could operate with the same old "Reason of State " philosophy. That is , it could be nothing but a pooling of power in which state of affairs most of the peoples of the earth would continue in a state of subjection and suppression.As matters appear now,Russia seems to be the only offset to such an eventuation.

I am an exponent of the new religion which you envisage .I am now trying to write a book about it; with the intention of initiating the new religious movement after the release of the book . Why not engage me as an assistant in your dept., commissioned to organize the new religion; appealing chiefly to young people,and with a view of corralling veterans who have been enlightened by the war, the disaffected intelligantsia, and the disaffected young people of the labour unions. The disaffected as I use the term here refers to the great defection from organized religion which is void of any new dedication.

The new religion will not develop inside of organized religion as now constituted. There are a great many functionaries within the compass of organized religion who are aware of the inanity and obstructionism of their religion , but they will not risk their livelihood in the attempt to effect a new orientation. The new movement must be set up on the outside,and draw recruits from the traditional set-up. The new Youth for Christ movement is a very dangerous thing, being diametrically opposed to the sort of religion that you and I envisage. But it indicates the possibilities for another sort of youth based movement dedicated to other ideals and operating with a different philosophy.

I have not been able to secure a teaching appointment in philosophy since leaving Livingstone, due partly to my known advanced position in religion and philosophy,and particularly to the opposition of the hide-bound Pres.Trent.

21-26-100

By way of introduction , I am the person who submitted an article to you for publication in the Crisis,at the time of your leave-taking,in support of the position that you had taken at that time. I did not know that you were leaving , and you returned the article to me from Atlanta. Subsequently, the Courier printed the article in two installments. I was teaching at Livingstone in the late thirties when you came there to lecture,shortly after your trip around the world.At present I hold three academic degrees , including the B.D. from Oberlin and the M.A. from Wisconsin in philosophy. I have yet to write the dissertation for the doctor's at Wisconsin.I have had two scholarships and one fellowship at Wisconsin; but being a married man ; and my wife who is a teacher,being pregnant, I must make more contribution to the family budget than a university fellowship will permit.If I had followed the beaten path, you would know me well by this time; but it takes a pioneer longer to become known.

I suggest that you ask for a year's appointment for me with the organization to work on the new religion project.Since you know what is required,why not tackle it through the organization .Without organized backing at the start I would have heavy sledding going it alone.Dr. Max Otto of Wisconsin will tell you about me if you are interested .

Sincerely yours,
Neil W. Hoffman.

21-26-101

3 October 1946

My dear Mr. Hoffman:

Answering at this late date your letter of May 12th may I say that field work for a New Religion might be of some use, although I am not sure. The chief fact is that I have no funds for any such experiment. Most religious propaganda has to be done by individuals without pay. This of course cannot be as well done or as widely done as if paid for but people do no feel the need of religion until be comes popular and then of course it is apt to lose it character.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Neil W. Hoffman
5240 Prairie Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

12 March 1946

21-20-8

My dear Dr. Holland:

May I thank you and Mrs. Holland for the privilege of enjoying your pleasant home. I hope I did not incommode you too much. I certainly enjoyed the trip.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. R. W. Holland
92 Masten Avenue
Buffalo 8, New York

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

OF NEW YORK

MINISTER
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

STUDY
TEN PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

21-27-28

May 13, 1946.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

May I join with others among the great host of your friends and comrades in congratulating Mrs. DuBois and yourself on your happy celebration yesterday of your Golden Wedding. Mrs. Holmes and I are still some years short of that notable milestone, but we have traveled far enough on life's journey to understand its blessed significance. I rejoice that your daughter and granddaughter were with you to complete the family circle on this occasion.

I cannot refrain from taking advantage of this opportunity to pay tribute to your own great career as a champion of your people, and as a statesman of these times. You will probably be surprised to hear that only lately have I been reading your autobiography, "Dusk of Dawn" - but it is not easy these days to keep up with the books one wants to read! It is a great story you tell of utter devotion to an heroic cause, of notable leadership in that cause, of triumphant achievement, and of an immortal place won in the literature of America. I count it one of the honors of my life that I have had the privilege of being associated with you and enjoying your friendship.

Very sincerely yours,

John Haynes Holmes

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
2302 Montebello Terrace,
Baltimore 14, Md.

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

OF NEW YORK

MINISTER
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

STUDY
~~[redacted]~~

Kennebunk Beach, Maine,
July 31, 1946.

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

22-9-45

I have read with a profound sense of gratitude and admiration your noble letter of the 24th, setting forth your proposal for appeal to the Assembly of the United Nations on behalf of the neglected and even forgotten peoples of Africa. Here is one more example of the statesmanship which has been the glory of your career, and the vision and courage which have never failed you.

I feel deeply honored that you are including me among those whom you are asking for cooperation. I am not only willing but eager to join hands with you, and I stand ready to do anything in my power to follow your leadership in this supremely important matter. I regret that I shall be unable to attend the meeting you are calling in August, as I shall be out of the city at that time, but I shall hope to have a full report of what is done.

Very sincerely yours,

John Haynes Holmes

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
c/o N. A. A. C. P.,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, New York.

MEMORIAL SERVICE
In Honor Of
MRS. LUGENIA BURNS HOPE

Sunday, November 30, 1947
TEN O'CLOCK
SALE HALL CHAPEL
MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
Atlanta, Georgia

THE ORDER OF SERVICE

The Reverend Maynard H. Jackson, Presiding

PRELUDE

"LEAD, KINDLY LIGHT" ..... John H. Newman

Lead, kindly Light, amid th' encircling gloom,
Lead thou me on.
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
Lead thou me on.
Keep thou my feet; I do not ask to see
The distant scene, one step enough for me.

I was not ever thus, nor prayed that thou
Shouldst lead me on;
I loved to choose and see my path; but now
Lead thou me on.
I loved the garish day, and, spite of fears,
Pride ruled my will; remember not past years.

So long thy power hath blest me, sure it still
Will lead me on,
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
The night is gone;
And with the morn those angel faces smile
Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile.

SCRIPTURE AND PRAYER....Doctor Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University

"INTEGER VITAE" ..... Horace 65-8 B. C.

Morehouse College Quartet

He who is upright, kind, and free from error,
Needs not the aid of arms or men to guard him;
Safely he moves, a child to guilty terrors,
Strong in his virtues.

What though he journey o'er the burning desert,
Or climb alone the dreadful, dangerous mountains,
Or taste the waters of the famed Hydaspes,
God will attend him.

Denie's ashes were thrown from one of Morehouse's buildings Sunday just before the services. Her request.

BIOGRAPHY ..... Reverend L. O. Lewis
Chicago, Illinois

SPIRITUAL—"SWING LOW SWEET CHARIOT".....
.....Morehouse College Quartet

MRS. HOPE IN THE LIFE OF MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
.....Doctor Ira De A. Reid
Atlanta University

Very Good—

MRS. HOPE IN THE ATLANTA COMMUNITY .....
.....Professor Walter R. Chivers
Morehouse College

"CLOSE TO THEE" ..... Friendship Church Choir

MRS. HOPE IN THE NATIONAL SCENE.....
.....Doctor Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Palmer Memorial Institute

THE WOMAN ..... Doctor Benjamin E. Mays
Morehouse College

"PEACE I LEAVE WITH YOU" .....
.....Friendship Church Choir

"OUR GOD, OUR HELP IN AGES PAST".....Hymn 30
.....Isaac Watts, 1719

Scenic autos were thrown from
our Morehouse building, Sunday
just before the services. Tornado!

[Hotel + Restaurant]

"The Catering Industry Employee," Our Official Journal, Subscription $1.50 a Year

EDWARD FLORE, GENERAL PRESIDENT · HUGO ERNST, GENERAL SEC'Y-TREAS. · JOSEPH A. PADWAY, GENERAL COUNSEL

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance
and
Bartenders' International League of America

Headquarters
528-530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati (2), Ohio, U. S. A.

GENERAL OFFICE TELEPHONE MAIN 0851

New York City (30), N. Y.

AFFILIATED WITH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS OF CANADA

GEORGE E. BROWN
VICE-PRESIDENT AT LARGE
ROOM 203-A, 200 WEST 135TH STREET,
NEW YORK CITY (30), N. Y.

July 8, 1946

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
In Care Of: Chicago Defender
3435 South Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Chicago Defender

21-19-172

Dear Sir:

We were more than surprised, upon reading your column, appearing in the "Defender", June 22, 1946, to learn that you too, are reluctant to bring the attention of Negro People to bear upon the fact--that all A. F. of L. International Unions and Standard Railway Labor Organizations do not practice racial discrimination as a policy.

We have long been an ardent "Fan" of yours, and, on many occasions have quoted from your writings, for your line of thought and ours, generally travel the same road.

But, there can be no excuse for the failure to present all of the facts in their true light when writing upon a subject, so vastly important to Negro People as their role in the trade unions. We have therefore, taken the liberty to make reply to your June 22, 1946, column through the "Peoples Voice" of New York City, and, for your information, we inclose herewith copy of that reply.

We would appreciate any comments you may have in connection therewith.

Very truly yours,
George E. Brown
George E. Brown
International Vice President.

GEB:ARD -Enclosure
c: R.W. Wasson
Cincinnati, Ohio

21-19-173

31 July 1946

My dear Mr. Brown:

I have your letter of July 8 sent to me in care of Chicago Defender. You say that I am "reluctant to bring the attention of Negro people to bear upon the fact that all A. F. of L. International Unions and Standard Railway Labor Organization do not practice racial discrimination as a policy." There is of course no word of truth in that statement; I am not reluctant. On the other hand, I am eager to learn of any cases where railway unions do not discriminate; at the same time it is true as I said that most of them do. I am certainly glad to know that the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance does not discriminate.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George E. Brown
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance
200 West 135th Street
New York City 30, N.Y.

HOUSTON, HOUSTON & HASTIE
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
615 F STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

TELEPHONE NAT'L 7058

WILLIAM L. HOUSTON
CHARLES H. HOUSTON
JOSEPH C. WADDY

WILLIAM H. HASTIE
COUNSEL

21-17-28

September 27, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter of 25 September 1946 extends an invitation I should like to accept but the time-table makes it impossible.

Our courts open their fall term 6 October 1946 and I shall be terribly busy the entire month. In addition I have two cases to try in Maryland beginning 5 and 7 October respectively.

The person who appears to me best prepared to carry the assignment is W. Robert Ming, Jr., who has just been appointed to Hutchins' institute panel of lawyers and other social scientists at the University of Chicago. He has worked extensively in the field of Civil Rights and is doing the same work at the University of Chicago. The legal department of the N.A.A.C.P. can give you his address.

With respect and good wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

Charles H. Houston

Charles H. Houston

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

42-8F-10

Mr. Charles H. Houston
615 F St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

On your recommendation I invited Ming to collaborate in a petition to the United Nations. Ming assented asking until November 15 to finish. All other parts were ready November 1. Have wired Ming twice but can get no reply. Resulting situation very embarrassing. Can you induce Ming to do us the courtesy of wiring at my expense to let us know if he is doing the chapter and when it can be ready.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Sent R.L. 11-20-46

[Howard University]

21-20-60

July 15, 1946

President Mordecai Johnson
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

My dear President Johnson:

Assuming that you are resting this summer with nothing to do!; here are two little matters that I want to bring to your attention. First I have received from England a letter concerning "a very gifted young man named Nicholson now wasting his time here to his complete frustration, disappointment and misory. The enclosed recommedantions from his various professors speak for themselves and will leave no doubt as to Nicholson's capabilities. I shall be most grateful if you could find him a job even if only a temporary one. It would help him not only financially and spiritually, but make it easier, I have no doubt, for him to get a post at the West Indian University when that is ultimately established." I am enclosing a copy of three of his recommendations. I hope you will keep him in mind. Mr. Nicholson can be reached in care of George Padmore, 22 Cranleigh House, Cranleigh Street, London, N.W.1. England.

The second matter that I want to call to your attention is that of the social science program of the Land-Grant Colleges, What has become of it? I have had no word from Frazier for six months or more. I regard this idea as really of tremendous importance and its ultimate development could make Howard University, one of the great centres of social study in the world. I hate to let the idea drop. Can you give me any information? With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

GOODY!

It's your Birthday!

21-12-12

[Hubbard]

Goody! Goody!

It's your Birthday!

Just the chance I've waited for

To tell you that I like you lots

And hope you'll have lots more!

Lillie Mae

Las Palmas
2/16/46 trying to arrive on
2/23/46.

[Hubbard] American Consulate,
Las Palmas, C.I., 2/17/46.

21-12-11

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I hope you are as happy as this little fellow who comes to wish you a happy birthday. Only when I read your "Dusk of Dawn", which I enjoyed more than any book I've ever read, did I recall that your birthday was so near mine. Mine is Feb. 19th, and this card is being sent hoping that it will reach you very near the 23rd, as is possible.

I think I told you that I was returning to a new set-up here, Consul & Vice Consul. The latter is just beginning his career, but the other has been in the service more that 20 years.

continues to improve.

P.S. Let me hear from you

Sincerely yours

Lillie Wade.

2.

The Consul's wife is prejudice and is trying to sow the seed here. I have not met her and from all I've been told it's likely to be a bit rude. I have not been going out or receiving socially on account of my recent loss, but I only hope that it does not affect my work & shall strive not to let it worry me, but apparently she wears the trousers. The V.C. and wife are going & the poor man hardly knows what to do. They are from Charleston, S.C. I may write you later about developments. I am wondering about putting in for a transfer what do you think?

How is Mrs. D. W. Bird? Do give her my love, and I hope that she

10 May 1946

21-12-13

My dear Lillie Maie:

I have received the sheets from your Aunt and your letters which I have appreciated. I have just returned from a trip to the Pacific Coast on which I saw the borders of Mexico and Canada, the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Incidentally I delivered seven lectures which more than paid my expenses. I hope you are well and reasonably happy and that we are going to see you this summer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Lillie Maie Hubbard
American Consulate
Las Palmas, Canary Islands

21-29-35

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

(55). [HUBBARD]

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NNA638 INTL=CD LASPALMAS VIA RCA 15 11 1340

LC DUBOIS=

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE BALTO= 14

LOVE AND HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS FOR YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING=

=LILLIEMAIE.

Ha. 9015
adv
440p
DL
Mailed

2302 LILLIEMAIE.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[HUBBARD]

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(07)

A. N. WILLIAMS
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2-29-29

1946 MAY 11 PM 9 07

BRL259 INTL VIA RCA=CD LASPALMAS 15 11 1340

LC DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE BALTO=

LOVE AND HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS FOR YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING=

LILLIEMAIE.

2302.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

21-29-62

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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965CC OD 14 NL PD

NEWYORK NY MAY 12 1946

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS

409 EDGECOMBE AVE NYK EMD

ACCEPT MY WARM CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR ANNIVERSARY BEST WISHES FOR CONTINUED HEALTH AND HAPPINESS

B W HUEBSCH

225A13

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

21-29-21

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(33)

A. N. WILLIAMS
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BRL241 9=FTVALLEY GA 11 649P 1946 MAY 11 PM 8 36

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

2302 MONTIBELLE TERRACE BALTO=

OUR SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS YOUR FIFTIETH WEDDING ANNIVERSARY=

MRS H A HUNT SR AND FAMILY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 4-6140

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Treasurer

MAX YERGAN
Executive Director

W. A. HUNTON
Educational Director

21-9-11

February 19, 1946.

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MRS. STANLEY F. SMITH
CHANNING H. TOBIAS
DOXEY A. WILKERSON

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
The Crisis,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I understand that there has been issued a sixteen-page statement of the Declarations and Resolutions of the fifth Pan-African Congress. I would be very grate-full if you would let me have a copy or tell me how I may get it.

Very truly yours,

W. A. Hunton

W. A. Hunton.

wah:mm

264

21-9-12

10 May 1946

My dear Mr. Hunton:

I have been greatly embarrassed at developments concerning the Pan African Congress. I want to see you and talk with you about it and consider what can be done. The report and resolutions have only been published in part. I want to consider with you plans for the future.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. W. A. Hunton
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York 10

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 4-6140

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MRS. STANLEY F. SMITH
CHANNING H. TOBIAS
DOXEY A. WILKERSON

W. A. HUNTON
Educational Director

September 9, 1946.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
Dept. of Special Research, N.A.A.C.P.,
20 West 40th Street,
New York City.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Herewith my suggested revisions of the petition to the United Nations. Altered or added passages are underscored.

I should like to explain my thinking behind certain of the changes. The petition as drafted made no reference to other organizations which have the same general objectives as the Pan African Congress and which may themselves feel qualified also to represent African demands before the United Nations. In the light of this fact and in order to avoid the impression that the Pan African Congress is the only body which should be qualified to represent the African people, I have made the revision indicated in 2(a) on Page 2.

I think such a formulation would insure the widest support of organizations here and abroad, dispelling any possible feelings of rivalry, and also making it impossible for the United Nations authorities to pit one organization representing the African people against another or others.

Dr. Yergan concurs in these recommended changes.

I also enclose a list of organizations here and abroad to whom the petition might be sent.

Sincerely yours,

W A Hunton

W. A. Hunton

wah:mm
uopwa 19.
encl.

42-8F-39

ENC

To the Assembly of the United Nations,
meeting in New York in September, 1946:

The undersigned organizations and individuals representing African Negroes and descendants of Africans in the West Indies and United States of America, united under the initative of the Pan African Congress respectfully submit:

1. The great need of the world today is intelligent citizenship capable of controlling the actions of men by democratic methods of government.

2. One of the greatest obstacles to this accomplishment is the poverty, ignorance and disease in colonies and especially in African colonies.

3. The most important step before us is to start the peoples of Africa on the path toward efficient industry, health improvement, education and self-government.

4. In spite of all efforts in this direction by the colonial powers, by private philanthropy and missions of religious bodies and by the efforts of the Negroes themselves, progress is hindered by the difficulties which ~~these Negroes~~ African colonials have in making known their needs and wants and the ~~opposition that confronts them~~ oppressive conditions under which they live; and in addition to this, the widespread assumption that Negroes lack the intelligence to complain and can only be represented by the imperial governments or by exclusively white organizations. Therefore voice their

Because of this situation ~~which renders~~ the problem of colonial Africa is the least understood and most neglected of all colonial problems, and it is of pressing importance that some method be found by which the Africans can freely give and formal expression to ~~express~~ their grievances and just ~~their~~ demands.

Already for nearly a half century peoples of African descent in Africa and overseas have been holding congresses. Their object has been to increase mutual knowledge of each other and cooperation among

Who, what? (?)

Query: In addition to being a forum has it not articulated needs?

42-8F-35

the various African peoples and their descendents in America. Such Congresses have been held in London, 1900; Paris, 1919; London, Paris and Brussels, 1921; London, Paris, Lisbon, 1923; New York, 1927; Manchester, England, 1945. The organization of the Pan African Congress has been loose and only partially representative of all the elements interested. But it has had far-reaching and increasing influence among Negroes and has especially brought persons of Negro descent in the Americas into sympathy and cooperation with their African brethen.

American and West Indian citizens of Negro descent regard it as especially appropriate that they should take part in this emancipation of Africa. They have already shown the world that they can help in government and contribute to progress in Science, Industry, Art and Literature. Also the African Negroes themselves have made far more progress in modern culture than they are usually given credit for and have a growing class of educated persons capable of expressing their desires. Even those who lack modern education have the training of ancient and highly developed cultural patterns which render their opinions and desires of value.

Because of this situation:

1. The Pan African Congress and its affiliated organizations in Africa and America desire to be authorized to send a limited number of consultants to the Assembly of the United Nations.

2. That these consultants have the right to attend sessions of the Assembly of the United Nations and of such committees as may deal with Africa.

3. That these consultants may by conference, speech or by written statement express to the Assembly of the United Nations from time to time, their opinions and wishes and help voice the complaints

THIS IDEA SEEMS OUT OF POSITION; SORT OF STUCK ON.

IS THIS NOT OVERLY ANTICIPATORY?

WESTERN HEMISPHERE (?)

42-8f-36

and demands of African Negroes as they by study and investigation understand them.

The object and aim of this PETITION is to establish at the earliest moment the right of African peoples to freedom, self-support, intelligence and political autonomy and to counteract the still prevalent opinion that colonies exist primarily for the profit of private investors.

42-8F-37

QUERY: Is the object of our action here to get freedom etc, or to articulate grievances, etc., of course, ultimately it is hoped Colonial UN will do give political autonomy etc.

WEBB

21-23-14

December 3, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MRS. HURLEY

May I have your reaction to the following excerpt in a letter to me from Dr. William C. Lehmann of the Syracuse University Department of Sociology?

Dr. Lehmann is one of the faculty advisors to our chapter there and has been very anxious to have you come to them.

---"We should be most happy to have Dr. Du Bois here as our guest some time in the near future to help the cause along--for one or possibly two addresses and an informal "cup o' tea" with our group, possible as guest jointly of our student chapter and of AKD, sociology honorary. Either early in December, if it could be arranged so soon, or say sometime in February. We have no visible funds except for expenses and the most nominal kind of honoraruim--unless it were possible to work it up sufficiently to sell tickets or otherwise raise funds on the occasion.

"If Dr. Du Bois can arrange to come, there is nothing that I would like better than to present him to as wide a university audience as possible--chiefly of course because I know he would have a message that I am anxious they get; but also in part for the good of the NAACP as an organization."---

RH:cer
uopwa-19-cio

21-23-15

6 December 1946

Memorandum to Mrs. Hurley:

I shall be glad to speak at Syracuse University sometime, but have too many engagements for December. I might arrange it in January, April or May. In February and March I shall be absent in the South and West.

W. E. B. Du Bois

letter 1947

December 9, 1946

22-11-67

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MRS. HURLEY

Thank you for agreeing to speak at Syracuse. I am writing to Dr. Lehmann today and suggesting that he contact you directly for an agreement on dates.

RH:cer
uopwa-19-cio

[Huston College]

********** 20 West 40th Street

4 January 1946

21-14-20

My dear President Downs:

Mr. Joseph McMillan of Dallas approached me last summer concerning lectures in Texas. I am just sending him the enclosed letter. I should be glad to have any suggestions from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President Karl Downs
Houston College
~~Houston~~ San Antonio, Texas
Austin

26 February 1946

21-14-21

My dear President Downs:

Mr. Joseph McMillan of Dallas has approached me concerning lectures. I have just written him February twenty-first and enclose a copy of the letter. If you have any suggestions, I should be glad to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President Karl Downs
Sam Houston College
~~San Antonio~~, Texas
Austin

21-14-25

4 December 1946

My dear President Downs:

I am lecturing in the South and West during February and March, 1947 and I might be able to come to Austin on or about March 15. My fee is $125. I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President Karl Downs
Sam Huston College
Austin, Texas

Request to quote

12-13-52

341 West Main St.,
Geneva, Ohio
April 6th 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois

Accept my sincere thanks for your permission to send the copy of your poem "A Hymn to the Peoples" to my friend in England. She here asked that a note of acknowledgment be sent to the Chicago Library because I do not know your address. I am also giving to the library a copy of each of my books of poems for adding to their Poetry Department. They, I presume in due course will let me know of their safe receipt.

A book mark is added to this letter of appreciation. It is for you.

Very truly,
Ellen Mary Hutchinson.

21-29-23

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WESTERN UNION (28)..

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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.QA23

Q.LC159 8=ATLANTA GA 9 921A

1946 MAY 9 AM 9 37

MR & MRS W E DUBOIS=

DO NOT PHONE DLR SUNDAY AM=2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE

BALTIMORE 14 MD=

CONGRATULATIONS AND EVERY GOOD WISH FOR YOUR HAPPINESS=.

A S HUTH.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

HAROLD L. ICKES
3624 PROSPECT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

DUPONT 2281

September 21, 1946.

42-F-18-18

My dear Doctor DuBois:

I have your letter of September 18 and while I am in sympathy with your objective I regret that I must adhere to my rule of not signing petitions.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Ickes

Harold L. Ickes.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
Pres. Pan African Congress,
20 W. 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

[INES]

THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE
Knoxville College
Knoxville 16, Tenn.

21-29-82

Wm Lloyd and Grace V Imes
send heartiest felicitations
to
Dr and Mrs W. E. B. DuBois
on their Golden Anniversary
May 12, 1946

21-14-57

KNOXVILLE
NOV 14
8 PM
1946
TENN.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

BUILD YO
WISELY
U.S. SAVI

JEFFERSON

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th St.,
Newyork 18
N.Y.

P.S. I do hope you see this Card!

Knoxville College,
Knoxville, Tenn.
November 14- 1946.

INES

To Dr. W.E.B. DuBois.

Dear Sir.

I have just finished reading an article written by you, in the Tuesday New York Times. (We get our papers a day late and some times two.)

We, our family, Thank God for a man like you, for such a time as this!

The Ines'

[INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMM. OF ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROF. JUNE 1946]

JANUARY 1945 - JUNE 1946

The History of the First Eighteen Months of the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

Our Purposes

When we formed the ICCASP in January, 1945, under Jo Davidson's chairmanship, we agreed upon a five-point program: for international security; for full employment; to end racial discrimination and achieve equal opportunity for all; to extend democracy, especially by the abolition of the poll tax; and for a greater program of public health and an increase of educational, scientific and cultural facilities throughout the country. Around this program there have rallied 15,000 men and women in the fields of the arts, sciences and professions—in New York, California, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Washington, Colorado, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Rhode Island and New Hampshire.

We have had eighteen months in which to work toward the perspectives we laid down for ourselves in our program. The following is an account of some of the things we have done in that period.

32-34-56

We Work For World Peace Through the UN

It was our conviction during the early months of 1945 —until the ultimate ratification of the United Nations Charter — that our weight would be most effectively felt in urging full American participation toward international security. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements, the Bretton Woods legislation, as well as the United Nations Charter itself, were our principal objectives, in common with all American citizens of good will. Through the ICCASP, we were able to combine our individual talents and efforts with special effectiveness. Our magazine, our newsletters from Washington, our action letters from the national office — all served to stress the importance of international unity. Our first public event in this campaign was the banquet which we tendered to Archibald MacLeish, then newly-appointed Assistant Secretary of State. That evening Senators Wayne Morse and Claude Pepper and Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas participated in a round-table discussion of America's role in the international security program. You will remember that one of our directors, Morris Llewellyn Cooke, testified on behalf of the Charter before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, speaking for our Committee. On behalf of the charter, at an ICCASP luncheon, Mrs. Wendell Willkie introduced a Women's Pledge for Peace, which was signed by women all over the country.

For these first months, the major work of the ICCASP was aimed in the direction of urging passage of the international legislation. Hand-in-hand with our work on the Charter and its ratification by the Senate, went our efforts on behalf of the Reciprocal Trade agreements and the Bretton Woods legislation. We were asked by the Treasury Department to lend our special talents in bringing the story of Bretton Woods to the people. We prepared special pamphlets, brochures, posters, radio programs, and films.

Since the establishment of the United Nations, ICCASP has consistently worked for the strengthening of the organization and the restoration of the principle of Big Three unity within the UN Security Council. In March of 1946, together with other progressive organizations, we sent to President Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes a memorandum defining the Fascist character and activities of Franco Spain and demanding that the United States immediately sever relations with that nation and recognize the Republican form of government as the legitimate government of Spain. When this matter was brought before the Security Council of the UN, we repeated our demands to the US representatives.

We participated in the Win-The-Peace Conference held in Washington in April, 1946. Meetings and rallies calling for international unity were held in Philadelphia, Brooklyn, New Haven, Seattle and Hollywood.

On April 25, 1946, in celebration of the first anniversary of the San Francisco Conference, ICCASP gave a dinner in honor of Trygve Lie and the members of the Security Council, climaxed by a coast-to-coast broadcast produced by Norman Corwin on which Mr. Lie, Andrei Gromyko, Henri Bonnet, Sir Alexander Cadogan, Dr. Quo Tai-Chi and Harold L. Ickes spoke to the American people.

Full Employment — Basis of a Sound Economy

In the nature of things, as soon as one hurdle has been leaped, another presents itself. Even before the Charter had been ratified, the need for a full employment program became sharply apparent. In the spring of 1945, because in common with most liberals and progressives we had agreed that the appointment of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce was vital to the full employment program, we had gone effectively to work on his behalf: working closely with the Businessmen for Wallace Committee; holding a reception for Wallace in New York at the height of the Senate controversy over his confirmation; calling a midnight standing-room-only rally in a Broadway theatre where Wallace spoke, as did Orson Welles, Elliot Nugent, and Norman Corwin, among others; producing on his behalf a fifteen-minute network program, from New York and Hollywood, with Bette Davis, Edward G. Robinson and Walter Huston.

This was only the beginning of our work on behalf of full employment. It was the ICCASP which called the first major conference for full employment, examining the question as it affects our fields most importantly, but

is of value principally if we can get it in advance — so that there will be time to do something about it. Every other week, the Washington office of ICCASP prepares a newsletter, relating the important Congressional action of the last fortnight and indicating what legislation is scheduled to come up shortly — and how members can "act." In addition, chapter offices receive weekly reports from Washington, as well as special bulletins when emergencies arise.

The second function of our Washington office is — if we may use a word which should be whispered — to lobby. In the ICCASP dictionary, lobbying is the process whereby we maintain liason with Congressmen sympathetic to the broad general program of ICCASP, urging them to take positive action on behalf of legislation which would further that program. It is our job to find those Congressmen who are generally sympathetic, and to help them. It is likewise our job to find out who those Congressmen are who are inimical to our broad aims and to campaign against them in the 1946 elections. Recent lobbying activities include: effective pressure on Congressmen from states where there are ICCASP chapters to reconsider their original votes for the Truman anti-strike legislation; a conference of Senators who organized opposition to the Case Bill; lobbying against the Lea Bill and for the McMahon Bill.

Our third purpose in the Washington office is to cooperate closely with the legislative representatives of other national organizations on issues where their interests coincide with ours. Last December, we initiated a conference of atomic scientists and representatives of over 100 national organizations which resulted in the organization of the Committee for Atomic Information. Through the Conference on Jobs and Security our Washington representatives have worked with other organizations on such legislation as FEPC, OPA, and the 65¢ Minimum Wage Bill. Again, it was ICCASP which initiated a committee of non-labor organizations to lobby against the Truman Anti-Strike Bill.

Last, but by no means least, it is the Washington office which obtains the services of such men as Senator Pepper, Rep. De Lacy, Sen. Kilgore, Rep. Douglas, Rep. Baldwin, Sen. Taylor and Rep. Woodhouse to speak at ICCASP meetings throughout the country.

Elections — Most Potent Weapon of the Citizen

Recognizing the importance of mobilizing the independent voters for organized political action on legislation and in the 1946 elections, ICCASP began last January to enlarge its staff toward that end, by appointing James Roosevelt National Director of Political Organization. In March, Harold L. Ickes, who had just resigned as Secretary of the Interior, became Executive Director of ICCASP.

In May, in order to strengthen the progressive coalition for the elections, ICCASP joined with the National Citizens' Political Action Committee and the CIO Political Action Committee in forming a Coordinating Committee "to mobilize the people of the United States for the 1946 campaign" and invited other citizens' committees to join with them in the Coordinating Committee which is to serve as a clearing house and repository for joint action.

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES and PROFESSIONS, Inc.

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September 18, 1946

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HANNAH DORNER
Executive Director
JAMES ROOSEVELT
Director of Political Organization

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

21-14-44

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The nominating committee of the Executive Board of our Literature Division has recommended your name on a slate of directors for this division, to be placed before our annual membership meeting on October 16.

We hope that you will do us the honor of accepting this nomination and thereby help us to make the voice of the independent citizen a strong and potent force in our country.

Very cordially yours,

Howard Fast

Howard Fast, Chairman
Literature Division

hf:rv
uopwa - 16/142

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Washington, D.C.: 1018 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

25 September 1946

21-14-45

Dear Mr. Fast:

I should be glad to serve on the Executive Board of the Literature Division of your organization if asked to. Of course it will be rather difficult for me to attend meetings.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Howard Fast
Independent Citizens' Committee
of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, Inc.
Hotel Astor,
New York 19, N. Y.

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF THE

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Executive Chairman
FREDERIC MARCH
Treasurer
HERMAN SHUMLIN
Secretary
HANNAH DORNER
Executive Director

October 31, 1946

Mr. W. E. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. DuBois:

At its most recent meeting, the National Executive Committee endorsed - inprinciple - subject to approval of the National Board of Directors - the participation of this organization along with other independent progressive political groups in the formation of a new independent citizens organization.

21-14-42

The considerations which guided the committee in its deliberations might be briefly summarized thus:

The next two years will be decisive in the defense of our democracy and of world peace. Accordingly, it devolves upon all independent progressives to organize themselves as rapidly, as fully and as effectively as possible to meet this threat.

Nationally, the independent progressives must achieve the strongest possible coalition; locally, they must find membership in every one of the nation's 125,000 precincts.

Within the ranks of the progressives, the members of ICCASP have taken a leading position. We can no longer afford to assess ourselves as "valuable"; we have become indispensable.

The Chicago Conference of Progressives in September demonstrated that organizational unity was possible. It is felt that the time has now arrived for an even more concrete expression of the same sort of unity. Specifically, the members of the National Executive Committee are proposing the creation of a new political organization into which there would go, at the outset, the membership and resources of this organization, National Citizens Political Action Committee and various unaffiliated state-wide bodies.

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Washington, D.C.:	1018 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Wash., D.C.

The value of such action depends a great deal, of course, upon how quickly it is taken. The convening of the 80th Congress, presents, it seems to me, an important deadline for us. Accordingly, pursuant to Article 8, Section 4, of the Constitution, I am calling a meeting of the National Board of Directors to consider this question at once. The meeting will take place in New York City on Sunday, November 10th, at the Hotel Astor, beginning at 1:00 P.M.

I am looking forward to seeing you there.

Yours very truly,

JD Davidson

JO DAVIDSON, Chairman

21-14-43

JD:do
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INDEPENDENT CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF THE
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Executive Director

October 31, 1946

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21-14

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I am looking forward to seeing you there.

Yours very truly,

Jo Davidson

JO DAVIDSON, Chairman

21-141

JO DAVIDSON
Chairman
FREDRIC MARCH
Treasurer
HERMAN SHUMLIN
Chairman, Finance Committee

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES *and* PROFESSIONS, Inc.

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Hotel Ambassador
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WASHINGTON OFFICE
1018 Vermont Ave., N.W.
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HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

CIrcle 6-5412

November 7, 1946

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Mark Van Doren
Max Weber
Orson Welles
William Zorach

21-14

MEMORANDUM

TO ALL DIVISION EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS

A joint meeting of all Division Executive Boards of the New York ICCASP will be held on Thursday, November 14th, at 8 p.m., in the American Common Hall, 40 E. 40th Street, New York City.

The main item on the agenda will be the consideration of any proposals by the National Board of Directors and the State Executive Board for the participation of ICCASP along with other independent progressive political groups in the formation of a new independent citizens organization. The National Executive Committee has already endorsed in principle the formation of a new national progressive organization which will maintain within it the professional character of the ICCASP. By the time the Joint Executive Board meeting takes place on the 14th, the National Board of Directors and the State Executive Board will have met.

It is urgent that you make every effort to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Trilling

Paul Trilling,
Executive Director,
New York State.

uopwa/16-142

Board of Directors:
WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT, VAN WYCK BROOKS, LOUIS CALHERN, MARC CONNELLY, MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE, NORMAN CORWIN, JOHN CROMWELL, BARTLEY CRUM, OLIVIA DE HAVILLAND, DR. MOSES DIAMOND, DONALD DU SHANE, PROF. ALBERT EINSTEIN, FLORENCE ELDRIDGE, RUDOLPH GANZ, MOSS HART, LILLIAN HELLMAN, HOWARD KOCH, JOHN HOWARD LAWSON, JOHN T. McMANUS, WILLIAM MORRIS, DR. ALONZO F. MYERS, DR. JOHN P. PETERS, MARTIN POPPER, PAUL ROBESON, DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY, HERMAN SHUMLIN, CARL VAN DOREN.

303

7 November 1946

21-14-46

My dear Mr. Davidson:

I have your circular letter of October 31 inviting the Board of Directors to meet November 10. I have had no notice of election to that Board. Will you please send me a list of the members?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Jo Davidson
Independent Citizens' Committee of the
Arts, Sciences and Professions, Inc.
Hotel Astor
New York 19, N. Y.

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Executive Chairman
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Treasurer
HERMAN SHUMLIN
Secretary
HANNAH DORNER
Executive Director

November 15, 1946

Dear Mr. DuBois:

21-14

Pursuant to a resolution passed by the National Board of Directors on Sunday, November 10th, there will be a meeting of the Board of Directors on Sunday, November 24th, at the Hotel Astor at 3 P. M., to give further consideration to the question of this Committee's participation in the formation of a new national organization.

The subcommittee appointed to explore the organizational problems involved will have met with a similar committee from NCPAC by that time and will be prepared to make its report to the board.

I look forward to seeing you.

Yours sincerely,

Jo Davidson

JO DAVIDSON
Chairman

mr
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HANNAH DORNER
Executive Director
JAMES ROOSEVELT
Director of Political Organization

November 18,1946

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City

21-14-40

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Thank you for your recent letter. We are sorry that you did not receive our original letter advising you that you had been elected to the National Board of Directors. Please find a copy enclosed.

On the reverse side of this letterhead, you will find a list of our National Board of Directors with the following additions:

Dashiell Hammett	Dr. George Boas
Aaron Copland	Ian McGreal
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We hope you will find it possible to serve on this board.

170

Yours sincerely,

Hannah Dorner

HANNAH DORNER

mr-encl.
uopwa/16

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[Encl.]

(COPY)

September 12,1946

Mr. W. E. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. DuBois:

2-14-41

At its regular quarterly meeting held on September 5th, the National Board of Directors of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions voted unanimously to elect you as one of its members.

The National Board is the governing body of this Committee subject only to the annual membership convention.

For your information I am enclosing a summary of the activities of this Committee since its formation.

I join with the members of the Board in urging you to accept this post. I know that you will find it, as we all have, an enormously satisfying way to work for political progress and-even more importantly today-for peace.

Will you be kind enough to let me know as soon as possible whether we can count you a member of the Board.

Sincerely,

Hannah Dorner
Executive Director

hd:mr
uopwa/16-encl.

21-26-72

13 November 1946

Gentlemen:

I shall be glad to attend the reception in honor of the India's delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, Sunday, November 17, from five to seven.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

India League of America
40 East 49th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

[INSTITUTE OF ETHNIC AFFAIRS]

20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N. Y.
April 14, 1946

Mr. John Collier
Care of David K. Niles
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Collier:

I am very sorry indeed that my absence from New York deprives me of the pleasure of talking with you.

I shall be in Washington in May and if you will let me know where I can find you I shall be glad to call.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

42-9-22

The Institute of Ethnic Affairs, Inc.
1719 K Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

April 21, 1946

21-19-122

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Mr. Collier is in Mexico at the present time for the Interamerican Indian Institute Conference. He will be back in the office on April 25.

He will be, I am sure, most pleased if you will call during your trip to Washington in May. The telephone at the office is EX 6271.

Sincerely yours

Betty Winquest

Betty Winquest
Administrative Assistant

N.Y. Times

EXecutive 6271

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22-9-102

November 22, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

If only every American would read and pay heed to your Letter-to-the-Editor appearing in the New York Times! The problem of Africa looms high among the problems of all the world's non-self-governing, dependent peoples. Indeed the problems of all are so inter-related they become virtually inseperable. It is with the problems that the Institute of Ethnic Affairs has been working. I call your attention to the section in the November News Letter (enclosed) headed "Spotlight on Africa."

Any suggestions as to how we might do more would be welcome.

Sincerely yours

John Collier

John Collier
President

b

[INTER. AFRICAN IN.]

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30th May 1946

21-24

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21-24

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El Tesorero,

Dr. Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla.

Subscription

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Seymour House,
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December 1946

Dear Sir ~~Madam~~

Your annual membership subscription will become due on 1st January, 1947 *and I should be much obliged if you would remit the amount, viz.,* ~~£1~~ 25/- *at your early convenience.*, as per the attached invoice.

I should be glad to send you a form for a permanent order on your bankers should you desire to pay your subscription in future in this manner.

Yours faithfully,

B Ely Allt

Secretary.

W.E.B. Du Bois, Esq.,

21-24

*** Cheques and postal orders should be drawn to the order of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, and crossed Messrs. Barclays Dominion, Colonial and Overseas Bank.

International League for Reconciliation and Fraternization
"FRIENDS of HUMANITY"
in the spirit of the
UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

Seat of the International League in Austria
Salzburg, Auerspergstraße 27, Telephon 69773

Seat of League's Committee for Austria
Imbergstraße 26, Telephon 67623

& temporary seat of the International League in Europe. Tel. 4603.

21-21-37

Mr. William E. B. Dubois
Atlanta University
Atlanta,
Georgia

Salzburg, May 31st, 1946

Sir,

I beg to submit you herewith the Articles of Association -The Charter of United Individuals- of the above named Organization of which I have been elected President General and for which the high patronage of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has been proposed.

The Organization has been created for the purpose of providing a genuine foundation for the United Nations Organization, envisioned by the late President Roosevelt and its task is to do UNO work among Individuals just as UNO does among the Nations. The Organization being beyond all limitations of national, religious or political nature and based exclusively on moral principles, is able to appeal to all men worthy of that name.

This Organization is the result of extensive studies of the Peace problem throughout the World to which I have devoted all my life and fortune. It is already in touch with all the Heads of Government of practically all the countries in the World. In view of your experience in such matters I should be very grateful if you would be so kind as to give me your opinion and make the Charter of United Individuals known.

The noble struggle against racial prejustice which has always been the central idea of your life is certainly one of the most important aims of our League.

In view of your high democratic principles you will appreciate the great significance of such an Organization and I feel certain that you, too, will think it advisable to contribute to World Peace by supporting its aims.

Awaiting your reply,

I am, Sir,

yours sincerely,

(Dr. André Salza)

THE CHARTER OF INDIVIDUALS [Enc.]

Section I. The name of the League.

International League for Reconciliation and Fraternization
"FRIENDS of HUMANITY"
in the spirit of the
United Nations Organization

Section II. Purpose of the League.

The League necessarily supplements the scope of the United Nations Organization for the purpose of

1) bringing home as rapidly as possible the ideas of the United Nations Organization to every man individually;

2) strengthening the striving of individuals for the coming into being of a better world based on humanitarian principles that will be more just and noble than the present one and stimulating and guiding the support by individuals of the ideas of the United Nations Organization, in order to ensure their rapid and very thorough acceptance by all men individually;

3) placing at the disposal of the United Nations Organization an organization of individuals spreading and fighting for the acceptance of its ideas.

Section III. The aims of the League.

The aims of the League shall be in line with the Covenant of the United Nations as follows, viz.:

1) to save future generations from the scourge of war;

2) to emphasize once more the belief in the fundamental rights of man, the value and dignity of the individual and equality of rights for everyone, regardless of sex, race, nationality, tongue, religion or ideology;

3) to promote the coming into being of conditions safeguarding justice and compliance with the engagements resulting from human and international law;

4) to take a stand for the education of all human beings to peaceful co-existence based on mutual tolerance;

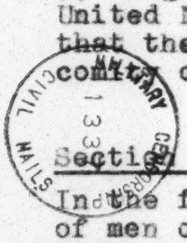
5) to muster all forces with a view to the maintenance of peace, security and liberty for the benefit of all and each;

6) to abolish any recourse to violence by the acceptance of suitable principles and the application of adequate methods;

7) to promote the betterment of the individual in regard to economics, public health, social order, humanitarian considerations and cultural progress;

8) to help all human beings who are suffering, and particularly those whose rights of man were curtailed in the past, to rebuild a new existence;

9) to give all men an opportunity of abiding by the principles of the United Nations Organization as well as a chance to prove by word and deed that they have adopted those principles and are useful members of the comity of men even in case they were no such ones in the past.



Section IV. The teachings of the League.

In the first place the members shall take a stand for a harmonious comity of men on a world wide basis. As world citizens on a footing of equality belonging to such a comity they shall consider the absolute recognition of the equality of all men in regard to their unalienable right to live, freely to develop as individuals and receive an adequate share of the material and spiritual patrimony of mankind, as the very basis of all relations between and the co-existence of human beings. Both the naturally existing and artificially created distinctions and limitation between man

and man, such as the notions of race and nation and state, shall be regarded by them as different manifestations of "man" whose aspects are necessarily variegated in accordance with the basic principle of life which leaves no room for uniformity, so that two men are never really alike. The members of the League shall entirely live up to its ethical standards and abide by its principles, contnuously and consciously promoting, by their living example, the universal acceptance of the principle of equality of men, and shall reject any attitude that is not in conformity with that principle, be it antisemitism or any other kind of racial hatred or intolerance arising from other causes. The members particularly realize that any views or teachings bearing the stamp of discrepancy between their alleged tenor and the actual attitude and aims pursued by those expounding them are nothing short of fraud; that repentance not accompanied by the actual determination to make amends bears the stamp of hypocrisy; and that those whose pity does not express itself in action render themselves guilty, together with the others in regard to those who are in the grip of suffering.

Section V. Obligations.

The members shall most scrupulously comply with the laws of the country, and their activities for and on behalf of the League shall bear the stamp of that law-abiding attitude.

On the assumption that the security of peace between nations and individuals is interdependent, the members shall take the engagement to do their utmost to the best of their knowledge, strength and qualification:

1) To lend their support to the ideas and instructions of the United Nations Organization and fight any kind of antagonism to the latter.

2) To do their best towards the uplifting of mankind by inducing the individual to make a start to that end by eradicating in his own heart any inclination to quarrelsomeness, envy, hatred, greed, intolerance, cruelty, indifference to the sufferings of others or evil.

3) To fight all kinds of racial hatred, and anti-Jewish tendencies in particular by all the means of their disposal.

4) To help, by word and deed, all those in need, and particularly those whose rights of man were curtailed in the past in accordance with the guiding principle of the League, viz. kindness, love and friendship.

5) To look for suitable ways and means to safeguard peace, properity, freedom and security of the individual.

6) To take a stand for all that is not evil but good, and make a point of contributing to that end at least one good thought, one good sentence and one good deed every day.

7) To live cleanly, decently, peacefully and creatively.

8) To help one another.

9) Scrupulously to comply with the decisions taken at meetings and by approved members as well as by superiors, particularly those of and above the rank of President.

Section VI. Language of the League.

English shall be the language of the League. All the names of the League and its branch organizations as well as the different denominations and correspondence between various societies shall be English. Apart from the above denominations, the use of any other language shall be permitted within the branch organizations.

Section VII. Formation and development of the League.

The League shall be formed by the founders who will be the first members. Its development shall be ensured by the admission of additional members.

Section VIII. Its organization.

The organization of the League shall be based on the principle of the equality of all members who comply with their obligation in good faith.

1) The members shall be called Friends, They shall form small circles of three to nine members who, by majority of votes, shall elect a First Friend as leader of their circle.

2) Three to nine such First Friends shall form a group and elect, by majority of votes, the group leader who shall be called Chief Friend.

3) As soon as a circle or group shall have attained a number of members or circle exceeding nine, it shall be split up into three new units which shall strive to attract additional members until the number nine is exceeded again.

4) Nine Chief Friends shall form a Committee. If all of them are approved members, they shall elect, by majority of votes, their leader, the General Friend, otherwise the stipulations of paragraph 9 of the present Section shall apply.

5) The General Friends of a country, state or nation shall form a Country State or National League for ... (insert name of the respective country, state or nation), and provided that all of them have been duly elected, they shall elect, by majority of votes, their leader who shall be called President; otherwise the stipulations of paragraph 9 of the present Section shall apply.

6) Nine Presidents shall form a Group of Leagues, and provided all of them have been duly elected, they shall elect, by majority of votes, their leader who shall be called Chief President; otherwise the stipulations of paragraph 9 of the present Section shall apply.

7) The Presidents and Chief Presidents collectively shall form the International League whose leader shall be called President General and shall be elected by majority of votes, by the Chief Presidents, provided the latter have been duly elected; otherwise the stipulations of paragraph 9 of the present Section shall apply.

8) In accordance with the needs of the organization the President General and Presidents shall choose their own Vice-Presidents General, Vice Presidents or Deputies, as the case may be.

9) The leaders of the various Committees, the so-called General Friends, shall be appointed by the President or President General, as the case may be, until all the nine Chief Friends who form the Committee in question, are approved members. As soon as such is the case the election of General Friends shall be carried out in accordance with paragraph 4. The President shall be appointed by the President General until at least nine committees have been formed in the country, state or nation in question and the elections of all General Friends are carried out. If such is the case the election of the President shall be carried out in accordance with the stipulations of paragraph 5 of the present Section. The Chief Presidents shall be appointed by the President General until at least in all countries, states or nations that are members of the United Nations Organization the Leagues have come into existence and all the Presidents are duly elected. If such is the case the Chief President and also by them the President General, shall be elected in accordance with the stipulations of the above paragraph Nos 6 and 7. Until then the President General elected at the meeting of the founders of the League on March 30th, 1945 shall remain President General, and after him the person appointed by the United Nations Organization.

Section IX. Admission of Members.

All decent persons who comply with the obligations contained in the present Articles of Association and are willing to live up to them may become members.

1) The members shall be either "individual ones", "organized ones" or "tested ones."

2) All those who for any reason whatsoever are not in a position to join a circle shall be so-called individual members. They shall take the engagement to join or form a circle as soon as there is a possibility to do so.

3) The members belonging to a circle shall be so-called organized members.

4) Those who have successfully passed a test in regard to their compliance with their engagements shall be so-called tested members.

5) Persons who would like to become so-called individual members shall send their application enclosing three photographs and their curriculum vitae in triplicate to a leader or president, accompanied by a statement saying that they have duly noted the contents of the Articles of Association and are willing to comply with the obligations resulting therefrom in a loyal manner.

6) As soon as three so-called individual members have joined, they shall form a circle that shall elect a leader. The latter shall report the fact that the circle has been formed to a General Friend or President.

7) New members shall be admitted to a circle already existing by a First Friend, subject to the approval of the admission by all members of the circle involved.

8) As soon as three First Friends have joined, they shall form a group and elect a leader who shall report the creation of the group to a General Friend or President.

9) The admission of a First Friend to a group already existing shall be carried out by the respective Chief Friend subject to the approval of all the members of the group concerned.

10) The creation of groups of a still higher order shall be in accordance with the stipulations of paragraph 4, 5 and 6 of Section VIII or shall be ordered by the President or President General.

11) All members shall be provided with a membership card issued by the president or someone authorized by him to do so.

12) After passing their tests, so-called tested members shall be entitled to a "special legitimation" ensuring them of the protection of the League in every respect.

13) The testing of members and the issuance of "special legitimations" shall be subject to regulations fixed by the presidents involved subject to the approval of the President General in accordance with the local conditions prevailing at the time in the respective district.

14) Approved members who have made quite special efforts on behalf of the aims of the League shall be awarded the title of "World Citizen".

15) All the founders, both those of the International League and those of individual Leagues shall be awarded the title of "World Citizen", their taking part in the formation of the League being equivalent to a test. Should they prove later on, however, that they are not worthy of it, they may be deprived of that title.

Section X. Exclusion of members.

1) Members who intentionally violate the Articles of Association shall be excluded from the League.

2) Exclusions shall be effected by the superior upon the approval of the majority of the unit of the League concerned, and as soon as it is final it shall be published together with the reasons for which the member in question has been excluded.

3) Members excluded shall be given an opportunity of appealing within three days against their exclusion to the superior ranking immediately above the one who has ordered it, who shall then take a final decision.

Section XI. Executives and Structure of the League.

The following list of executives shows the structure of the League, viz:

a) assembly of the Friends of the circle
b) assembly of the First Friends of the Group
c) assembly of the Chief Friends of the Committee
d) assembly of the General Friends of a League
e) assembly of the Presidents of a Group of Leagues
f) assembly of the Chief Presidents of the International League
g) President General
h) Chief President
i) President
j) General Friend
k) Chief Friend
l) First Friend
m) Friend

Section XII. Meetings.

1) The assembly of a circle is a meeting of all its members under the chairmanship of the First Friend.

2) The assembly of a group is a meeting of all the First Friends under the chairmanship of the Chief Friend.

3) The assembly of a committee is a meeting of all the Chief Friends in it under the chairmanship of the General Friend.

4) The assembly of a League is a meeting of all General Friends in it under the chairmanship of the President.

5) The assembly of a group of Leagues is a meeting of all the presidents in it under the chairmanship of the Chief President.

6) The assembly of the International League is a meeting of all the Chief Presidents in it under the chairmanship of the President General.

7) The President General and the Presidents may convene extraordinary meetings of any members whenever there is a special reason for doing so.

8) Each assembly shall fix its own place of meeting.
9) A) The time for it shall be fixed as follows, viz.:
   a) by the assembly itself in regard to the subsequent meeting,
   b) by the chairman,
   c) by order of the president or the President General,
   B) The usual agenda of all assemblies shall be as follows, viz.:
   a) taking note of the reports submitted by the members with regard to their activities
   b) taking note of the reports submitted by the chairman with regard to his activities
   c) reading out the orders of superiors of higher rank
   d) confirming the continuance of the term of office of the chairman or election of a new chairman in accordance with the stipulations of Section VIII.

Assemblies shall take decisions by majority of votes of the members present at the meeting.
Elections, relations and removals from office of chairmen shall be effected by the majority of votes of all members.

MILITARY CENSORSHIP 1337 CIVIL MAILS

Section XIII. Leaders and Presidents.

1) Leaders and Presidents of all ranks shall be elected in accordance with the stipulations of Section VIII.

2) The leaders and presidents of all ranks, both elected and appointed, shall remain in office until further notice.

3) Every leader and chief president may be removed from office at any time by the assembly over whom he presides or by the President or President General.

4) Removals from office of Presidents of Leagues shall be effected by a majority of votes of all chief friends or by the President General.

5) The removal from office of the President General shall be effected by a majority of votes of all presidents of the various leagues or by the United Nations Organization.

6) Under the orders and responsible to the President General shall be all members; under the orders and responsible to presidents and leaders are only the members of their respective units.

7) The President General shall account for his activities to the United Nations Organization and receive instructions from the latter.

Section XIV. Funds.

The members shall not pay any membership fees, nor shall they receive emoluments for services rendered to the League unless they are employees of the latter.

1) The expenses in connection with carrying out the tasks of the League shall be met out of funds provided by the members concerned or voluntarily provided by third parties. In the latter event members shall be responsible to third persons only in case the latter are in possession of a promise in writing obtained at the time of their receipt stipulating control and restitution.

2) All members shall inform their superiors of the acceptance of voluntary contributions and their use. Under pain of instant exclusion, members shall be forbidden to ask for any contribution from anyone whomsoever.

3) The funds for running the organization shall be raised by editing publications, selling badges and voluntary contributions.

4) Every unit shall meet its expenses out of its own funds and take care that the former do not exceed its financial possibilities.

Section XV. Badges.

The members shall wear the following badges, viz.:

1) so-called individual members: a gold-coloured circle measuring 9 mm in diameter.

2) So-called organized members (friends): the same badge displying the letters F.o.H.

3) First Friends: the same as two but silver-coloured.

4) Chief Friends: the same as three with a small piece of crystal measuring one mm in diameter in the center.

5) General Friends: gold-coloured circle, measuring 27 mm in diameter, with a piece of crystal as described in four.

6) Presidents of the various leagues as above, but the piece of crystal measuring three mm in diameter and surrounded by a wreath of gold-coloured olive leaves. The letters F.o.H. and the name of the respective league.

7) Chief Presidents: as 6, but silver-coloured.

8) President General: as 7, but with a piece of crystal measuring 9 mm in diameter.

9) So-called tested friends: as 6, but dark blue.

10) Tested First Friends, Chief Friends and General Friends shall, moreover, wear a badge indicating their position.

11) So-called "World Citizen": as 8, dark blue.

12) Vice Presidents and Vice Presidents General shall wear the same badges as their respective presidents, without crystals, their badges displaying instead circles marked "Vice-President" or "Vice President General" respectively. The same shall apply to Deputies.

13) Moreover, founders of the League shall wear triangulal "founder's crystals" set in silver, pointing upwards and displaying the words "love, kindness, friendship" along the sides and the letters F.o.H. in the corners.

14) Non-founders and also non-members who have rendered quite exeptional services to the League, may be awarded by the President General "founder's crystals" h.c. set in gold.

15) The presidents of all ranks shall not wear the additional badges provided for tested members, since it is supposed that they have been duly tested and are in possession of the title "World Citizen" as well as the special "legitimation".

21-81

Section XVI. Colours, Device and Uniform.

1) The words "Love, Kindness, Friendship" shall be the device of the League.

2) Dark blue, silver and gold shall be the colours of the League.

3) The members shall not wear any uniform. However, in case it is deemed advantageous in any country to create a uniform, the League, as a rule, shall raise any objection.

Section XVII. Articles of Association.

1) Since the League is not going to handle any financial matters for the present the appointment of Directors and Supervisors is unnecessary.

2) As soon as the organization is set up, more detailed Articles of Association shall be established in accordance with local conditions and the requirements of organization. These details, however, shall be strictly in accordance with the stipulations of the above Sections.

3) Uncertain issues, if any, as well as any other problems arising shall be solved by the President General whose decisions shall be regarded as final by all those concerned.

4) All relations with the United Nations Organization and any relations with chiefs of state and personalities shall be taken up by the President General direct or through his representatives, and relations with local governments by the respective presidents.

5) The President General and those of his Deputies who are specially authorized by him to do so shall have powers to sign papers on behalf of the League.

6) The presidents and those of their deputies who are specially empowered by them to do so shall be authorized to sign papers on behalf of their respective leagues.

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Sept. 30, 1946

Dr. W.E. Dubois
NAACP
20 West 40 St.
New York City

21-22-86

Dear Dr. Dubois,

Following our telephone conversation of today, I am sending you some additional explanatory information regarding our agency. I hope that you won't interpret our anxiety to obtain a prompt answer from you as being "high pressure". It is merely that the season is upon us and every day of delay in getting our brochure printed holds up our activities. We are almost ready with the remainder of the material for the printer, but we cannot permit our brochure to be printed without adequate representation of the problems of the Negro people.

Although we are a professional concert and lecture agency, unaffiliated with any organization, we have a definite point of view with which we do not compromise. We are only interested in speakers who represent the democratic point of view and who are on the side of the people, regardless of race, color or creed. On the other hand, we are anxious to reach the broadest audience possible and we avoid a narrow sectarian approach in the selection of our speakers. The following are some of the speakers we represent; Alfred Kreymbourg, Elie Siegmeister, Sidney Walton, Albert Kahn, Harold Clurman.

We do not require exclusive representation nor do we insist upon speakers accepting all engagements offerred. We merely wish them to accept those dates which do not interfere with their activities. From the financial end, we do not extract exhorbitant "management" fees. We receive the minimum booking fee of 10%.

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS

sponsors of "Youth Theatre" productions

1050 AVENUE of AMERICAS - NEW YORK 18, N. Y. PEnnsylvania 6-5258 - 9

SYLVIA SIEGLER,
Production

LEONARD JACOBSON,
Concert & Lecture Division

21-27-87

I can understand that your organizational activities take up a good deal of your time and that you are not too much interested in exploiting your abilities for financial considerations. However, we feel that speakers with a progressive point of view ought to go out to the regular lecture organizations occasionally, to counteract the conservative and even reactionary attitude expressed by many of the professional lecturers.

I do hope that you will give this matter your serious consideration and that if it is at all possible, you will permit us to include your name and photograph among our list of speakers on our brochure. Please permit me to call you to get your answer.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard Jacobson

Leonard Jacobson

21-22-11

3 October 1946

My dear sir:

I am willing to be included in your list of lecturers. My chief topics are Democracy, Colonies, Race Relations, Africa and the American Negro.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Leonard Jacobson
International Programs
1050 Avenue of Americas
New York 18, N. Y.

Lecture

21-26-43

25 November 1946

My dear sir:

In your announcement of lectures you have made as about as many mistakes in my seven lines as would be possible. My name is wrong, I am not a professor at Atlanta University. I am not director of research, N.A.A.C.P.; I am not the editor of The Crisis. Moreover my lecture subjects are not correctly given, I am enclosing a correct statement.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Leonard Jacobson
International Programs
1050 Avenue of the Americas
New York City

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CHARTERED BY THE INSURANCE DEPARTMENT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER

80 FIFTH AVENUE IWO SECURITY · EQUALITY FRATERNALISM INCORPORATED 1930 NEW YORK 11, N.Y. · AL 4-7733

December 20, 1946

Dr. W. E. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40 Street
New York, New York

Dear Friend:

As you know, 1947 Negro History Week will be held during the week of February 9 to February 15, inclusive. The International Workers Order is issuing for the third year its annual bulletin which, for 1947, will be titled, "The Negro People and Democracy." We feel that emphasis on history in the making is an essential part of the observance of Negro History Week. We are planning many features which will be announced in the Negro, labor, and progressive press.

21-13

Among these features is one about which we are writing you specifically. This will be a page of brief statements by Negro and white leaders in all walks of life in answer to the following question: "What particular action must be taken by Negro and white Americans for the year 1947 to advance the best interests of the Negro people and the nation with respect to that field of activity in which you are interested professionally?" We would appreciate your contribution to this feature in the form of a brief statement.

The International Workers Order is America's only interracial fraternal insurance organization. More than 6,000 Negroes are members of our Order. Du Sable Lodge in Chicago and Solidarity Lodge in New York are among the two largest fraternal lodges in the Negro communities of the United States.

Our official magazine, Fraternal Outlook, in February will have a section of eight pages in which the feature will appear. We hope to have your statement not later than December 30, 1946.

With appreciation for your cooperation, I am

Fraternally yours,

Max Bedacht

Max Bedacht,
General Secretary

ek/ctj
dopwa/16

Form LH-1-10M-9-46
209

COPY

Dakar, Senegal
French West Africa
Dec. 10, 1946

21-24-12

The Secretary
National Association for the Advan. of Colored People
New York-N.Y.,

Dear Sir:

May I, a black American who has lived in West Africa, (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, French Guiana, French Sudan and Senegal) covering a period of thirteen years - take the liberty of of writing you.

My main reason for writing first-I would like to know if your Association are at present working on or are in any way giving consideration to the peoples in West Africa, most especially French West Africa. And secondly, I would like for you to advise where I can get information from sources interested in Negro affairs in America as well as elsewhere. It has been seven years since I have seen a paper or magazine published by our group. The French administraters are everywhere trying to block news from the outside from reaching their nationals whom they are keeping in slavery. For instance, I have not been able to get a single letter from the states for over a year, not even from relatives.

Perhaps you have been informed that America has maintained a military and air base here at Dakar for four years. It is now rumored that the base will be turned over the Pan American Airways - as Dakar is the important gateway to West and Central Africa, and a very important point.

During the military occupation period, only a very few Negro troops were stationed here and at present there are none, although white civilians are being sent here as policemen, mechanics, etc., by the government and by the Pan American Airways -even the American consulate. Personally, I cannot see why American Negroes are not being sent out here where there is such a large African community. Their presence would go far in combatting the strong French propoganda which they are making against Americans whom they say are holding American Negroes as chattel slaves.

21-24-13

It seems to me that your organization can bring pressure to bear upon the government and private concerns the necessity for establishing a Negro community here in Dakar. Cetainly there should be Negroes attached to the Consulate. Government and American business firms should employ Negroes. Encouragement should be given to American Negro missionary organizations. Y.M.C.A - and private individuals to settle here as permanent residents. As Dakar will, in a few years become the most important city in West Africa north of the Congo.

I would greatly appreciate your opinion in regard to the proposal which I have made, and if possible, please send me such matters as might be of interest. In your reply, please enclose it in an envelope, addressed to Miss Clara Collins, American Consulate General.

Sincerely yours,

W. A. Jackson

Lecture 1947

JACKSON COLLEGE

FOR NEGRO TEACHERS

JACKSON, MISS.

OFFICE OF
DEAN AND REGISTRAR

October 7
1 9 4 6

21-14-6

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Director, Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

In our series of Lyceum Features for this school year, we are endeavoring to bring a lecturer of prominence as one of our presentations. It was suggested by the Chairman of our Social Science Area that I contact you in order to find out whether you would be available for an appearance as guest lecturer on our campus one evening during Negro History Week. We would prefer February tenth or eleventh. If this engagement could be arranged what would be your fee?

It may happen that these suggested dates conflict with your schedule; if so, is there any other date when you would be in this vicinity?

I sincerely hope that we will be able to make some satisfactory terms with you. May I look forward to a reply at your earliest convenience.

Yours very truly,

Edna L. Davis

(Miss) Edna L. Davis,
Chairman Area of Creative and Recreative Arts

21-14-12

27 November 1946

My dear madam:

I had a letter from you October 7 asking about lectures but have been unable to give you any definite answer until now. I could not be in Jackson during Negro history week but I might be there ~~January~~ Febr- uary 23 or 24. My charge would be $100. Kindly let me hear from you at your earliest convenience as I am planning a series of lectures and have offered this date elsewhere.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Edna L. Davis
Jackson College
Jackson, Mississippi

[Jackson College] Lecture 1947

P.O. Box 251
Jackson College
Jackson, Miss.
December 18, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
c/o N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

21.14.7

Yours of November 27 received. Please excuse my delay in answering you due to the fact that the correspondence had to be placed in the hands of the program committee for final action. We regret that you were unable to inform us earlier regarding the possibility of an appearance here the last of February. The Committee has completed its plans for the last Lyceum feature to be presented on March 4 thus making it impossible to schedule you on the date suggested.

I sincerely hope that arrangements may be made, however, for another year.

Yours truly,

Edna L. Davis

Edna L. Davis

Box 52

THE UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS, CONNECTICUT

January 13, 1946

Request for appointment

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Special Research Assistant
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York
New York

21-20-24

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am a graduate student at the University of Connecticut. For a Master's thesis I shall attempt an interpretation of your sociology as derived from your published material.

May I have an interview with you on February 1, 1946, to discuss your concept of the nature of society, social structure, the forces that cause social change, and other relevant questions? I shall appreciate greatly any time that you may give me.

Respectfully,

Marie C. Jacobs

(Miss) Marie C. Jacobs

MCJ/sml

21-20-25

July 9, 1946.

Miss Marie C. Jacobs
Box 52
University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut.

My dear Miss Jacobs:

I am very sorry that I have not been able to answer your letter of January 13, before this. I presume that it is now too late for me to be of any help to you but if it is not and you are in the vicinity of New York at any time, if you will let me know, I shall be glad to talk with you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois.

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. · WATKINS 9-1600

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October 22, 1946

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Director
Social Research, N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We should like very much to have you take part in our second annual Bookfair, which will be held at our Main Center, during the weekend of December 6th - 8th.

The Bookfair, this year, will serve as the major event with which we shall close our third year as the largest center of progressive adult education in the country. It should therefore, attract the attention, not only of the 35,000 students whom we have enrolled since our inception, but of the many thousands of non-students who have taken part in our other public functions.

Our general objective, in this year's Bookfair, will be to discuss, as well as to present through appropriate exhibits, those books in all fields which should be in the library of the progressive and anti-fascist American today. For this purpose, we have planned a dozen panel-discussions, in which authors, critics, and practical workers in each field, will analyze the problems of getting adequate material before the public in that field, and evaluate the merits of current and earlier works.

The panel in which we should like you to participate will be held on Sunday evening, December 8th, and will deal with "The Negro People in the United States". We should especially want you to deal with the question of analytic studies on the over-all problem of the Negro in American life today.

Since we must complete our preparations for the Bookfair within the next ten days, would you let me know shortly whether you are able to accept this invitation? I should be very glad to arrange for further discussion with you, with regard to any aspects of the Bookfair as a whole, or of your prospective role in it.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Collins

Harold Collins

HC:PTK
UOPWA
CIO

21-20-37

28 October 1946

21-20-39

Dear Mr. Collins:

Unless some duty arises to prevent me, I will be glad to take part in your panel of Sunday evening, December 8th, which deals with The Negro People in the United States."

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Harold Collins
The Jefferson School of Social Science
575 Avenue of the Americas
New York 11, N. Y.

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. · WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
LOUIS LERMAN, Exec. Secretary

November 18, 1946

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Ruth Young

21-13-07

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Social Research
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is to confirm your participation in our Second Annual Bookfair, during the weekend of December 6-8. We are very happy to have you with us in what promises to be an outstanding event in the life of the School, and in the cultural life of our city generally.

Your panel on "The Road To Negro Freedom," will take place on Sunday evening, December 8, at 8:45 P.M., and will include, besides yourself, Miss Elizabeth Lawson, and Doxey Wilkerson, as chairman. Each speaker will take from 15 to 20 minutes, and there will be a concluding period of questions and discussion from the floor.

Our plan is to have Miss Lawson deal with the historical background of the current situation. In the course of your discussion we hope that you will deal with current literature on the Negro question from the point of view of its effectiveness in clarifying the fundamental issues at stake.

We hope that the organization of the panel, as described above, meets with your approval. If there are questions relating to the Bookfair as a whole, or to your own part in it, on which you would like further discussion, please let me know, so that we can arrange for such discussion.

Sincerely,

Harold Collins

HC:ML
tu-upw-555

Lecture

21-20-36

2 December 1946

My dear Mr. Collins:

I shall be glad to take part in your panel on "The Road to Negro Freedom" Sunday evening, December 8.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Harold Collins
The Jefferson School of Social Science
575 Avenue of the Americas,
New York 11, N. Y.

Lecture

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. · WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
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21-20-39

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Doxey Wilkerson
Dr. Max Yergan
Ruth Young

December 5, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your letter of December 4th, with regard to the theme of your talk at our Bookfair.

I'm very sorry that such confusion has arisen. Its source was purely technical, the problem arising from the fact that, with limited and sometimes ill-equipped help, we have been trying to carry through a project of rather large size. The last note was written without first consulting the earlier one, and the results were, to say the least, unfortunate.

Of course we would like to have you cover the topic originally assigned : " analytic studiesson the overall problem", etc; and this, you will agree, does fit in with the title of the panel as a whole. I do hope that our slip has not caused you any difficulty. I look forward to meeting you on the evening of the panel.

Sincerely,
Harold Collins
Harold Collins

HC:c

264

Lecture 1946
[Jefferson School of Social Science]

9 December 1946

21-27-6

Memorandum to Miss Elizabeth Lawson:

The labor leaders to whom I referred last night were Hermann Kreige and Wilhelm Weitling "friends of Marx and Engels". Kreige openly repudiated abolition. Weitling did not condemn it.

The Arbeiterbund under Joseph Weydemeyer was formed in 1853. It protested against "white and black slavery". When reorganized in 1857 slavery was not mentioned. In 1859 the Arbeiterbund condemned "all slavery".

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Elizabeth Lawson - Jefferson School of Social Science
575 Avenue of the Americas
New York 11, N. Y.

[JERNIGAN]

H. T. SIMMS, SECRETARY
WICHITA, KANSAS

M. BURGESS, TREASURER
CHICAGO, ILL.

National Sunday School and B. T. U. Congress
U. S. A.

REV. W. H. JERNAGIN, PRESIDENT
1341 THIRD STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

5 August 1946

21-21-02

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter of July 24 was awaiting me upon my arrival home on August 3. I note what you say with reference to the people in Africa and agree with you that somebody, in some manner, should seek an opportunity for them to have representation in the U. N., even if representative is identified as an observer.

I am ready to join you in striving to find a way out and agree with you wholeheartedly that we should get all the information we can in order that we can make an intelligent presentation of our case.

I am leaving today for my vacation in Atlantic City, where I plan to stay for at least three weeks. You may reach me at 338 N. Kentucky Avenue.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. Jernagin

WHJ:irl

5 August 1946

National Sunday School and B. T. U. Congress

Rev. W. H. Jernagin, President
1341 Third Street, N.W.
Washington, 1, D. C.

42/8F/21

Your letter of July 24 was awaiting me upon my arrival home on August 3. I note what you say with reference to the people of Africa and agree with you that somebody, in some manner, should seek an opportunity for them to have representation in the U. N., even if representive is identified as an observer.

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I am leaving today for my vacation in Atlantic City, where I plan to stay for at least three weeks. You may reach me at 338 N. Kentucky Avenue.

W.H. Jernagin

H. T. SIMMS, SECRETARY
WICHITA, KANSAS

M. BURGESS, TREASURER
CHICAGO, ILL.

National Sunday School and B. T. U. Congress
U. S. A.

REV. W. H. JERNAGIN, PRESIDENT
1341 THIRD STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

42-F-24

28 October 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 - 34th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter of a few days ago received. I should like to say in reply that I will try to serve at the committee meeting whenever you let me know the date.

Respectfully yours,

W. H. Jernagin

WHJ:irl

21-26-88

10 September 1946

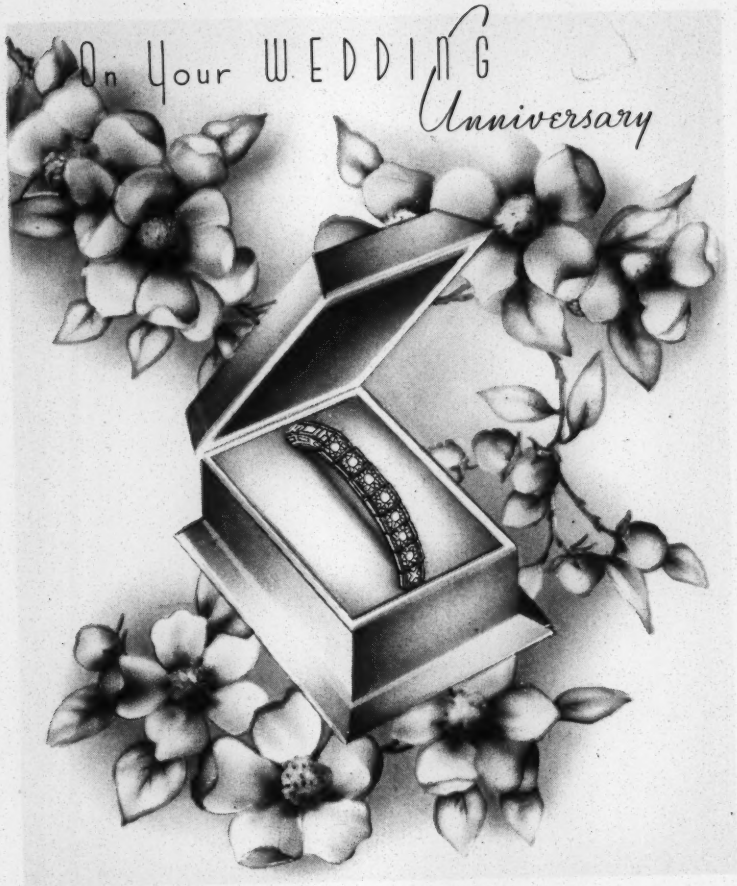
My dear Mr. Johnson:

I received your book, Clock of History and was very much pleased to have it. I was prevented from acknowledging it on account of the illness of Mrs. Du Bois, but I am glad she is better. Thank you very much for your thought.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Alvin Johnson
66 West 12th Street
New York City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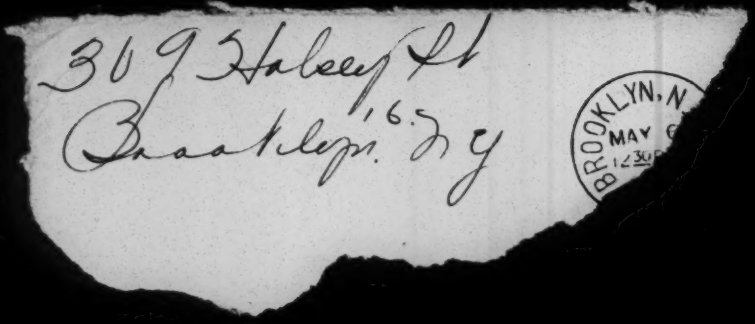
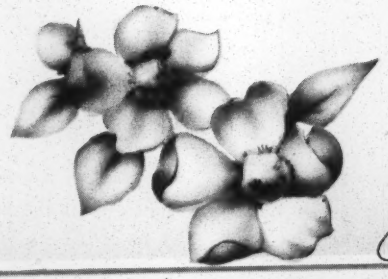

369 Halsey St
Brooklyn, N.Y.
BROOKLYN, N
MAY

Count the happiness you've known,
Recall the Friends you've made,
Bring back your Precious Memories
That Time can never fade.

Then, on this day, add them all
And multiply them, too,
A dozen times, if you would know
The Joy I'm wishing you.



– May 12 – 1896 – 1946 –

Just one who appreciates & admires
your life and actions most sincerely.
Best wishes for a continuation of
all that is good. (Miss) Ida F. Lawson
Washington, D.C.

21-29-27

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23 West 89 Street
New York 24, N.Y.
April 31, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
C/o NAACP
20 West 40 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

21-20-21

About 21 or 22 years ago you addressed a small interracial group -- called the Negro-Caucasian Club -- at the University of Michigan, and afterward spent the night in my home. I was faculty advisor of the club, and my name is Oakley C. Johnson. A short account of the Negro-Caucasian Club afterward appeared in The Crisis.

My purpose in writing to you at this time is to ask if I may call to see you, for that incident so long ago must be dim in your memory. And then I hope I'll be permitted to use your name as a reference in my letters applying for a teaching position in one or another Negro college.

I enclose a photograph, but I doubt if it will recall me to you, though my friends tell me I haven't changed very much. I enclose also a resume of my qualifications, such as I send with letters of application.

I have a Ph. D. degree in English, having specialized in English and American literature and composition; my dissertation was on the subject, "Literary Allusion in Contemporary American Writing," in the field of rhetoric and esthetics. I did twelve years of college teaching altogether, in the University of Michigan, Long Island University and the College of the City of New York.

In addition, I've done a good deal of writing, including co-authorship of The Way of Composition (Harcourt, Brace, 1925) and authorship of The Arguer's Handbook (Edwards Bros., Ann Arbor, 1927).

Apart from academic work, I have for years steadily supported the struggle for equal rights and against racial discrimination. I have supported the campaigns for justice initiated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Negro Congress, and similar organizations. I think I could contribute something of worth as a teacher in a college for Negroes, or for both whites and Negroes.

May I call at your office for a few minutes talk at some time convenient to you?

Very truly yours,

Oakley C. Johnson

Oakley C. Johnson, Ph. D.

1946 [Enc.]

RESUME

NAME: Oakley C. Johnson, Ph. D.
25 West 89 Street, New York 24, N.Y.

BIRTHPLACE:
Standish, Michigan

RELIGIOUS ORIGIN:
Protestant (Congregational)

EDUCATION:
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., Phi Beta Kappa & A.B.(1920), A.M.(1921), Ph.D.(1928), specializing in English literature, composition and philosophy
Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich., diploma and state teachers life certificate
Standish High School and Arenac County Normal Training School, both at Standish, Mich.

Note: Summer or special courses in Mt. Pleasant Normal School, Mt. Pleasant, Mich.; Ferris Institute, Big Rapids, Mich.; and New School for Social Research, New York

EXPERIENCE:
Instructor in English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y., (Evening), Sept., 1930 to June, 1932.
Assistant Professor of English, Long Island University, Brooklyn, N. Y., Sept., 1928 to June, 1930.
Instructor in English & Rhetoric, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., Oct. 1920 to June, 1928.

Newspaper and free lance writing, editing, book reviewing, lecturing and private teaching in New York, 1932 to 1940. Trips to Europe in 1935 and 1939, the second time as leader of summer travel group; visited London, Paris, Helsinki, Moscow, Warsaw, etc.

PUBLICATION:
Co-Author, The Way of Composition, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1925.
Author, The Arguer's Handbook, Edwards Bros., Ann Arbor, Mich., 1927
Numerous pedagogical, literary and critical articles and book reviews in the Journal of Adult Education, The English Journal, American Speech, The Nation, The Freeman, The New Republic, Scribner's, The Monthly Review, The New York Sun, The Fred Newton Scott Anniversary Papers, etc.

POSITION DESIRED:
Instructor or Assistant Professor of English Literature, American Literature, English Composition, in private, municipal or state college or university
(Can teach specialized courses, as: The Rise of the English Novel, English Essayists, Short Story Writing, Essay Writing, Argumentative Writing, etc.)
(Can also teach -- if desired -- American History, Ancient or Modern European History, Psychology, Sociology, Philosophy)

. . .
. .
.

21-20

21-20-72

10 September 1946

Dear Mr. Johnson

On account of illness in the family my correspondence has been delayed and I have just come to your letter of April 31. I shall be very glad to see you at any time if you will call at this address and make an appointment.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Oakley C. Johnson
23 West 89th Street
New York 24, N. Y.

[Jones]

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Treasurer
6139 S. Aberdeen St.
Wentworth 2791

September 6,1946

Dr William E. B. DuBois
20 West fortieth Street
New York, N. Y.

21-02-34

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you as to one whom I think is the greatest philosopher that the colored race has produced, as well as the most informed as to the course that the young colored American should follow.

A number of G. I.'s in the Englewood Community have formed an association, and after the preliminaries of organization are doubtful as to the course to follow for permanency as well as constructive enterprise.

A mass meeting was held protesting the naked and flagrant murders in the southland, and from the funds raised Seventy five dollars ($ 75.00) was allocated to form the new organization.

It was at this point that I was called in to advise and head the new body.

In accordance witht the plan, I tried to sell them the idea of international contact with the pigmented peoples of the world and suggested your name as honorary president and advisor, knowing that you ahve contact with all organizations through out the world that are fighting to beat down the monster "white supremacy" and to elevate a dark power to the supreme bench.

The program that I have outlined would if accepted be an invitation to you to come to Chicago and speak on the forum program and during your visit to suggest or advise in any way that you think feasible.

On Saturday October 19 th a club dinner will be served to those interested in the new body, and we are asking you to be present if possible for a "Tete a Tete" with the group.

Sunday October 20th a dinner will be given in your honor after which a forum will be held to give the community at large an opportunity to hear you.

If you can accept; your fare by plane or pulman will be pre-paid and housing accomodations will be cared for . If there is a specific amount asked for your services,please inform us as to the amount of same. If there is no charge an honorarium will be presented.

Hoping to hear from you soon,
With every good wish,
Herbert W. Jones

Herbert W. Jones
1352 West Sixty ,irst Street
Chicago 36, Illinois

September 6,1946

Dr William T. B. Dubois
20 West fortieth Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you as to one whom I think is the greatest philosopher that the colored race has produced, as well as the most informed as to the course that the young colored American should follow.

A number of C. I.'s in the Englewood Community have formed an association, and after the preliminaries of organization are doubtful as to the course to follow for permanency as well as constructive enterprise.

A mass meeting was held protesting the naked and flagrant murders in the southland, and from the funds raised seventy five dollars ($ 75.00) was allocated to form the new organization.

It was at this point that I was called in to advise and head the new body.

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If you can accept; your fare by plane or pulman will be pre-paid and housing accomodations will be cared for . If there is a specific amount asked for your services,please inform us as to the amount of same. If there is no charge an honorarium will be presented.

Hoping to hear from you soon.
With every good wish,

[Jones]

21-20-35

23 September 1946

Dear Sir:

I am sorry to be so long in answering your letter of September 6. It has been impossible before this to know just what my commitments were. Unfortunately on October 20, I am speaking at the Southern Youth Congress, Columbia, S.C. On the other hand, if your date of meeting could be changed I would only be too glad to cooperate with your movement. November would suit me.

In case we can agree on a date, my charge would be $200, for a conference and lecture. Out of this I would pay my own expenses. This charge is rather high and it is quite possible that it is more than you can afford. I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Herbert W. Jones
1352 West 61st Street
Chicago, Illinois

[Jones]

3 December 1946

My dear sir:

September 6, 1946 you wrote me concerning a lecture. I replied September 23 stating that I was unable to come at that date that you wished. It happens now that in February and March, 1947 I am making a lecture trip in the South and West. I am planning to be in Chicago somewhere about March 23 to the 27th. If you are interested in arranging a lecture for that time, will you please consult with Mr. Metz T. P. Lochard, editor of the Chicago Defender?

21-14-35

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Herbert Jones
1352 West 61st Street
Chicago, Illinois

4828 Forrestville Ave.,
Chicago, 15, Illinois,
Mar. 31, 1946.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,

12-13-06

Dear Sir:-

I have just read in the Chicago Defender that you are going to be in this city to deliver a lecture on April 5th. It truly seems Providential that your coming is so timed for I had already begun a letter to you requesting time for an appointment in the near future for the purpose of talking over very important matters concerning race integration.

Another matter pertains to a book which I have just finished writing. I think it will interest you and other students of history, yet to come, for several reasons.

1. It mentions your <u>Darkwater</u> as the blue print of a large part of the bold experiment which was started under the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

That will be news to many people.

2. It tells why the slander of one particular woman of our race has been so widely publicized. (The motion picture Darkwaters is one interpretation of my own terrible experience).

3. It gives one reason, which, to date, has not been mentioned, why the United States was determined to get into the war with Germany.

I know your time is well-taken Dr. DuBois, but I hope it will be possible for you to arrange so that you can read this manuscript while you are here and give me your opinion of its merits or defects. It is my first effort. I may frankly say that, had I not been assured that God is using me as one of His instruments to advance the cause of my people, I might never have completed it.

My life has been spent in teaching in five states and six cities - north - south, west. Excellent character references can be obtained from every one. For this city, one should suffice. It is that of

12-13-07

12-13-08

Dr. U. G. Dailey, in whose home I lived for five years. Mrs. Dailey is a very dear friend of mine. Dr. Dailey, as you already know, stands high in the ranks of the National Medical Association and is a columnist for the Chicago Defender.

Thanking you for the time you have given in reading this rather lengthy letter, I shall eagerly await your reply.

Very truly yours,
(Mrs.) Lucile B. Jones
Tel. (Dre. 2449)

b03-f31-18

10 September 1946

My dear Mrs. Jones:

I have just read your letter of March 31 in which you speak of making contact with me in April when I spoke in Chicago. I am sorry that I did not have the opportunity to see you. Usually however, on such lecture trips my time is very much taken up and there is scarcely opportunity for consulting concerning manuscripts.

I thank you for your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Lucile B. Jones
4828 Forrestville Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

21-19-93

July 9, 1946

Mr. Lucius C. Jones
200 West 145th Street
New York City, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Jones:

Mrs. Du Bois and I appreciate very deeply your kind remembrance of us on our fiftieth wedding anniversary.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois.

MILDRED BRYANT-JONES
4809 INDIANA AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Monday, January 8, 1946.

21-14-54

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Have had no time from you since the Ireland greeting - marked in New York Nov. 27. I immediately sent you an air mail letter and asked that you let me hear at once, as I had been so worried about Mrs Du Bois. Since no replies have been received from letter sent you to the Office, I am sending this to your residence - hoping it will reach you. Deliveries in Chicago of mail especially in this & some other sections are simply awful. Sometimes we get no deliveries for two or three days - the substitute carriers are most unreliable & just toss ordinary first class mail about with great carelessness. All of my letters bore my return address & should, therefore, have been

returned to me, if not delivered to you. . .
Let me know how you, Mr. & Mrs. Bova, &
Yolande & Mr. Bova are, please.

The winter has been rather terrific. Almost
be a "brick-bat" — I have (like countless others)
had to battle a cold which was the most
painful one I ever had — stayed on my feet,
however, & only got scared when I was about
O.K. & learned that, walking around, I had
been "very cough" to bronchial pneumonia.
What would I do without Ned? "I dunno" —
& I refuse to think very hard about any
such calamity.

All good wishes for the whole family — &
my love to them. I do pray that Mrs. DeBova
is much better.

Yours, Mildred.

********** 20 West 40th Street

10 January 1946

21-14-55

Dear Mildred:

What with six weeks in England, a wife in the hospital, an office to be moved and a book to be begun merry hell has been played with my correspondence. Of course I have been meaning to write you for months. I am quite well and full of plans but with limited my hours of work, as I know I must, and trying to get things straight, I do not feel altogether comfortable at all times.

Mrs. Du Bois is improving distinctly. She will never be well but she will be able to get around and to rest as she ought to have done years ago.

I am, as you see, in the new Willkie Building at 20 West 40th Street with a pleasant but small office. I am intending to come west in March and then I shall hope to see you. Meantime do not get too busy. Take life leisurely and write me soon.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15

20 March 1946

21-26-08

Dear Mildred:

I am going to California for lectures and a rest during April. I plan to arrive in Chicago April first or second and to leave by air, April fifth. If the Grand Hotel de Bryant-Jones is planning to be open at that time, I should like a room and bath.

I am very well and hope to have finished the book which I am writing by the time I see you. It gives me tremendous satisfaction to think of you actually resting and not working yourself gradually to death.

Mrs. Du Bois is continuing to improve slowly. I want to keep her in the hospital in New York until I return from California and then take her to Baltimore. The rest of the family is well.

Let me hear from you at your convenience.
With much love,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

2 May 1946

21-14-53

My dear Mildred:

I am home and everything is all right. I enjoyed the day in Chicago and hope you did. Write me at your convenience. I was so glad to see you looking better.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15

21-29-14

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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BRL31 NL PD=CHICAGO ILL MAY 11

DR AND MRS W E DUBOIS=

:2302 MONTBELLO TERRACE=

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS AND ALL GOOD WISHES TO YOU ON THIS YOUR GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY MAY EACH DAY BRING YOU CONTINUED HAPPINESS AND ADDED BLESSINGS=

:MILDRED BRYANT JONES.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

16 May 1946

21-14-52

Dear Mildred:

I agree with your choice and suggest cutting the picture at the bottom. I am so glad you had that trip to Indianapolis.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

21-14-48

MILDRED BRYANT-JONES
4809 INDIANA AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Monday Afternoon
May 20, 1946

Dear Mr. Du Bois: It was good to get your little letter with assurance that my judgment concerning the proofs met your approval. Am enclosing the glosses which I have just received. Mr Chase (who made the pictures & who has charge of the studio for his wife - the former widow of R.D. Jones) says he is sending you two of the first choice and one of the 2nd - with his compliments - & is happy to do so. I am sure that he hopes that you will & ask the Defender to use one of the 1st choice to make a cut for use in that paper. But, on that score, you must consult your own wishes & judgment.

Miss you much. Rest much and in every way take good care of yourself. Hope

Mr. DuBois is constantly improving in health.
Be sure to remember one to her — & two,
please remember to send Mr. Chew a little note of
~~the~~ thanks for his effort to show appreciation
of you. Now don't feel like shaking me
~~for sending~~ reminding you to do so, Dear. —
But you have so much to look after — &
even as meticulous as you are in all such
matters, it might slip your mind — if you
delay. And, my Dear, I want to tell you
that you have no idea how many people
value you & wish they had some means of
expressing their admiration & appreciation!
Do you remember the children near my home
who so joyfully recognized you & greeted you
as we were entente to the photographer?
They are still talking about their good fortune
in seeing & greeting you.

Write. Lots of love

from

Mildred.

MILDRED BRYANT-JONES
4809 INDIANA AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Tuesday, June 18, 1946.

21-14-52

Dearest Mr. DuBois:

Are you all right? I hope so — & I hope, too, that Mrs. DuBois is constantly improving in health, that the book is so far finished as to be off your mind (as a worry). Have not heard from you since the glosses were mailed to you — so much has happened since then — in my life, at least, (on May 23, — the day of the accident to my hand (the mirrored weight of the raised top of the piano, jerked by a passing truck, fell on & pinioned it for 30 agonized minutes while I struggled vainly to free it, & finally succeeded), I realized what I was up against — here alone — & I have come to the conclusion that God surely takes care of me. The physicians consider me the "recipient of a miraculous come-back & reality" (whatever that may mean). Anyway, the hand is now normal & in use. I hope never again in life to have to fight for

consciousness & strength. But enough of that — I want to forget it if I can. Other things have happened too, — of which I may be able to talk when I see you — but just now they are still too fresh. Still — I am a lucky gazabo" as Dad tremblingly said when it was definitely ascertained that the hand would be normal again. I am voted a "good patient" — I suppose it is because I follow directions whole-heartedly and without question.

At this moment, a voice on the radio announces a tremendous gale in lower New York State, Pennsylvania, & parts of Maryland. I hope you & all of your family are safer & warmer indoors. The weather is cold & stormy here too — altogether unpredictable and rather uncomfortable. At one time Monday the heat was intense — in the 90's — then within a few minutes everyone was shivering because of the freakish drop in temperature. But that is Chicago!

I shall probably be in N. Y. City a very few sometime in July —
days — possibly three — coming to look after my brother's & my nephew's graves & one or two other things that are rather necessary. I shall let you know when my plans are definite & hope to see

MILDRED BRYANT-JONES
4809 INDIANA AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

21-14-51

you. Have not decided on my hotel yet — but I know it won't be "The Theresa" — Noh, no — never again for me. One stay there was enough for me.

A couple of days ago I learned (accidentally from the ignoramus who thinks he is cute) that a note was written you on the back of the card which he enclosed with my letter & the glasses when I addressed the envelope at the studio. I wish I had examined that card — something makes me suspicious that it may have been as ignorant & out of place as the wording of a communication sent me from the same source. I hope not though. Truly there is no dearth of nit-wits in this world! But if I can help it, they never get but one chance at me.

Do write soon — & note or type it yourself — even if it must be very short. And please take good care of yourself. Greetings & all good wishes to Mrs. Du Bois & your daughters!

With love, Yours, Mildred.

July 9, 1946

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, 15, Illinois.

My dear Mildred:

My correspondence and other activities have been interrupted by the efforts of getting Mrs. Du Bois back to Baltimore. We had a very pleasant trip on the whole and she is now comfortably settled at home, with our granddaughter as chief nurse. This of course is vacation time for both Yolande and her daughter. I think if we can only get a housekeeper, that matters would be quite comfortable and that Nina will slowly improve.

Let me know as far ahead as possible when you are coming to New York. I shall be here all summer except the first two weeks in August when I go to the camp in Maine. You will find the Hotel Pennsylvania very comfortable and convenient, but make your reservation as far ahead as possible. All the hotels are jammed. I am so sorry to hear of the accident to your hand. You can certainly do the damndest things! I hope that it is quite well by this time, but for heavens' sake be careful. Write me soon and let me know about your coming.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois.

21-14-56

Mrs Mildred Bryant Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mildred:

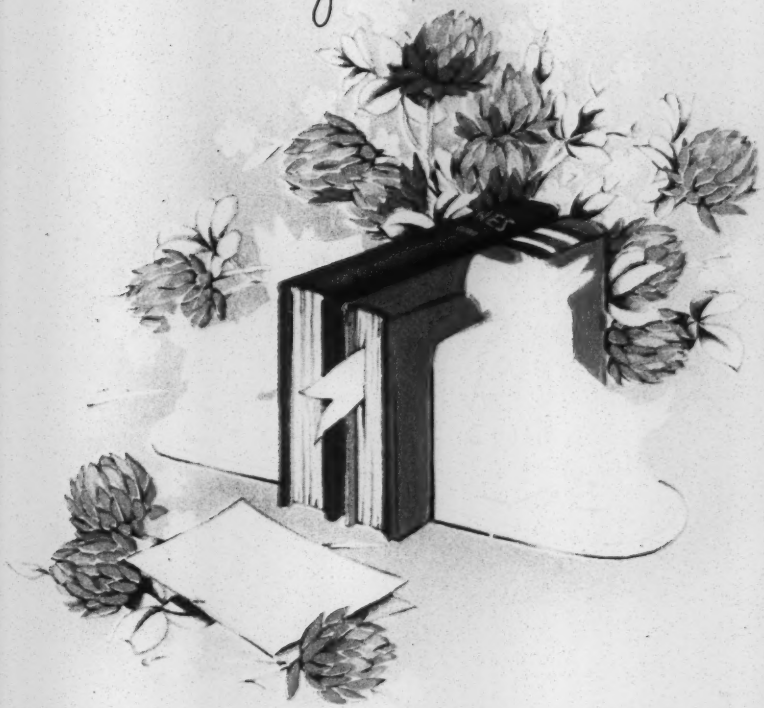
I arrived home safely and want to thank you for your hospitality. It was nice to have our dinner together again. But you are thin and pale; you must remember that as you grow older that it is going to be more difficult to recover strength from over-exertion. An annual vacation will not do; you ought to get up refreshed each morning. I am telling you this, not because you will listen to it, but in spite of the fact that you won't. With best love.

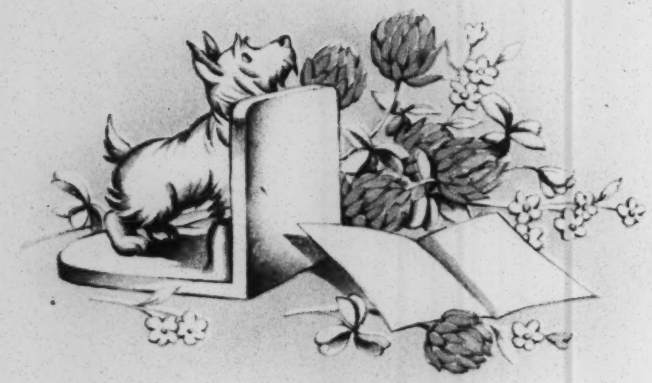
Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:OLD

ANNIVERSARY *Greetings*





With best wishes

for many more

happy anniversaries

Mrs. H. B. Jordan

21-28-36

520 Bergen Ave
Jersey City, N.J
May 8, 46

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois:

You will very likely remember when you used to visit Hampton Institute. You came to Shelltanks Farm when, Captain Jordan was manager. We left that Farm long ago. He isn't living now. One son and myself only only. I want to let you hear from us on your and Mrs Du Bois' Anniversary. Sincerely

Mrs. H. B. Jordan

Mrs Jasenberger
705 N. 11 St
Ft Smith, Ark.

CONGRATULATIONS!
And Best Wishes!

Good luck, success and happiness!

CONGRATULATIONS, TOO!

May all the good things
you could wish
Extend through life
for you!

Mrs Mamie Rosenberger

[JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION]

2 May 1946

21-19-28

My dear Mr. Thompson:

I have just been to California and am now trying to get my ducks in a row. Just when is it that you wish the article for your quarterly?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Charles Thompson
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

21-27-56

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DR W E B DUBOIS=

=20 WEST 40 ST=

=PLEASE WIRE COLLECT WHEN WE MAY EXPECT YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE JOURNAL=

=CHARLES H THOMPSON.

Will mail Mrs. June 19

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

18 June 1946

WIRE COLLECT
Dr. Charles H. Thompson
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

WILL MAIL MANUSCRIPT JUNE NINETEENTH.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[Kappa Alpha Psi]

October 18, 1946

Mr. Agustus G. Parker
Grand Polemarch
Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity
2272 E. 55th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Gus:

Enclosed is some correspondence received from Dr. DuBois of New York which is self-explanatory. The matter came to me because of my former official connection as Grand Polemarch of the Fraternity. I would suggest that you make appropriate reply.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Carl R. Johnson

CRJ:LE

cc: Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Color and Democracy
Colonies and Peace
20 W. 40th Street
New York, New York

KAPPA ALPHA PSI FRATERNITY

21-2-21

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AUGUSTUS G. PARKER
GRAND POLEMARCH
2584 EAST 55TH STREET
CLEVELAND, OHIO

October 15, 1946

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

In response to your kind letter of the 11th inst,, please be advised that I designate Mr. James Egert Allen, 2272 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York as a representative of the Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity to be present on the occasion of the presentation to the secretariat of the United Nations of the petition inclosed by you.

Yours very truly

Augustus G. Parker
Augustus G. Parker

AGP:mob

1038 - East 45th St
Chicago, Mar 31, 1942

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.
409 Edgecomb Ave.,
New York City.

Social memo

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Had I read the Defender as zealously as I read your articles in it, I would have known last Friday that you would be in Chicago this week, and would have written you immediately, urging you to be our guest while here. We are endeavoring now to reach you by telephone to make this request.

21-12-76

You will be interested to know that at our meeting this afternoon at Corpus Christi more than $500, I believe, was pledged to fight the Columbia Affair, and Rabbi Eller encouto here in Chicago.

We do hope you will be able to accept our invitation to be our guest

Most sincerely yours
Mae Owings Kauffman

10 May 1946

21-19-77

My dear Mrs. Kauffman:

I want to tell you how much I enjoyed meeting you and the family. It was nice to see you after so many years.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Mae Owings Kauffman
1035 East Forty-fifth Street
Chicago, Illinois

Telephone
~~Fairfax 0063~~
Drexel 6763

Chicago Defender

KAUFFMAN REFRIGERATION SERVICE
5439 Kimbark Ave. or 1098 East 45th St
Chicago, Ill.

June 11, 1946

21-19-166

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have just read your article in today's Defender, and before writing Miss La Badie, I should like to hear from you as to whether you think it possible for us to adopt one or more of these precious little "Orphans of the Storm". We feel they would add much to the completion of our lives, and aid us immeasurably in providing the atmosphere we desire for Ted.

Believe it or not, I have begun a novel - which I hope to make a "Thriller", it being a love story about me and somebody, somewhere way down south. Dare I tell the whole truth?

We read of you and Mrs. DuBois celebrating your 50th anniversary.

Sidney A. Jones, our lawyer, a former A.U. graduate, whom you may know, is working on a real estate deal for us, involving restrictive covenants. If New York is removing them, surely Chicago should follow suit.

My husband, Mr. Parsons and Ted send their regards to you, and we hope that some time Mrs. DuBois may accompany you on a visit to us.

Sincerely yours

Mae Ovington Kauffman

Sadie July 25 | Lv July 27

J. Brown Gloucester 6-8057

John S. Brown

2-19-167

July 9, 1946

Mrs. Mae Owings Kauffman
1035 East 45th Street
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Mrs. Kauffman:

My answer to your letter of June 11 is inexcuseably late but you know Mrs. Du Bois has been in the hospital for eight months and we have just gotten her comfortably settled at home. This has taken a great deal of time and thought and my correspondence has been neglected.

With regard to the orphan, I think you would best correspond with Mrs. LaBadie and see what she says. Of course always in adopting a child one ought to see the child actually before making final preparations. Perhaps you and Mr. Kauffman could take a little trip to England! I think your proposed novel would indeed be thrilling. My best regards to the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois.

Social Mews
1035 East 45th St., Chicago, Ill
Oct 30, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Ted and I are leaving here ab the beginning of his Christmas holidays, so as to reach England on or before the New year. We hope to be in New York a week before sailing; and if Ted likes it, we may remain there indefinitely; for I hope to have him eventually ab Eaton, or some good private school, where no discrimination or prejudice is in evidence. We hope to geh reservation while in New York as near you as possible, for I desire several conferences with you, relative to my book etc, and to obtain from you perhaps letters of introduction to some of your friends in England

Ted will be anxious to meet Mrs Diggs, for his stamp book is now becoming valuable. I hope to meet Mrs. Roosevelt while in New York, and locate some remunerative work in England

Sincerely yours
MacOwings Kauffman

21-26-70

OFFICE OF
THE GOVERNOR

GOVERNMENT OF
THE VIRGIN ISLANDS OF THE UNITED STATES

CHARLOTTE AMALIE, ST. THOMAS

November 7, 1946

21-26-117

Mrs. Mae Owings Kauffman
1035 East 45th Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Kauffman:

Thank you for your cordial and interesting letter of October 31.

If you will let me know the date of your prospective arrival in the Virgin Islands as soon as your schedule is arranged, I will be glad to attempt to make hotel reservations for you; or, if you prefer, you can write direct to Bluebeard Castle Hotel, St. Thomas, where comfortable modern accommodations are provided.

We shall look forward to having you in our community this winter.

Sincerely yours,

Governor

WHH/md

21-26-71

8 November 1946

My dear Mrs. Kaufman:

I hope to be in New York at the time that you plan to arrive. I shall be glad to be of any service that I can. Miss Diggs is in Uruguay on a job for the State Department and may not be back by the time you arrive. My best regards to the family and yourself.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Mae Owings Kauffman
1035 East 45th Street
Chicago, Illinois

Social mens

Telephone
Fairfax 0982
Drexel 6763

KAUFFMAN REFRIGERATION SERVICE
~~5439 Kimbark Ave.~~ 1035 East 45th St
Chicago, Ill.

Nov. 11, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Our trip to England is being delayed. Instead, our itinery will read: New York, Washington, Charlotte, Durham, Charleston (and The Magnolia Gardens) Savannah, Augusta, Miami, Havana, Porto Rico, and The Virgin Islands for six weeks. Then home via St. Petersburg, Atlanta, and Chattanooga, where we want to get better acquainted with the daring & courageous Mr. Maurice Weaver. We hope to leave here about Dec. 21, depending on my state of health (chronic bronchitis and arthritis) and be out of Washington before our dear congressmen open their next session. Mabe, however, Ted ought to see a little of that.

I hope to make all stops at Negro hotels only. In the south I shall be with my former students & shall never go to another church or enter

21-26-116

a theatre where any discrimination is shown.

I shall write you the date of our arrival in New York and hope that you can make reservation for us, shall I say at the Theresa or somewhere near? we shall be sorry to miss Miss Diggs, for I wanted to get from her some information about you for the chapter in my book telling of your influence in my life

Most sincerely yours
MacOwings Kauffman

TELEPHONE, CHELSEA 2-3230
OUT OF OFFICE HOURS
CHELSEA 2-3234

AMERICAN MISSION to LEPERS
INCORPORATED

CO-OPERATING WITH THE MISSION TO LEPERS • LONDON • FOUNDED IN 1874

156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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JULIA LAKE KELLERSBERGER
Promotional Secretary

request to quote

Feb.1st,1946

Dr.W.E.B.DuBois.
Atlanta,Ga.

12-13-57

My dear Dr.DuBois,

As you see from the enclosed letter from your publishers I have read your book,The Souls of Black Folk, with keenest interest and deepest sympathy, and wish to quote from it in a book I am publishing about the life of a great negro-American woman,Mrs.Althea Brown Edmiston, a graduate of Fisk University.Perhaps you knew her when you were a student there,but I do not know at what time you graduated.

I am an Alabama white woman who lived with Mrs.Edmiston in Africa and saw,first hand,the noble work she did.I do not know of a single inspiring biography of a noble negro woman,and I am grateful for the privilege of acceding to the request of my Mission to compile the annals of her life.She,too,taught rural schools near Nashville, Tenn.during her summer vacations.Your experiences were similar to hers,and since she did not leave a detailed account of her work in Pikeville,Tenn.I'd like to quote exactly what I have enclosed,acknowledging,of course,the source material.If you will give me permission to do this,I will greatly appreciate it,and will be glad to send you a complimentary copy of this Biography when it is published.

May I also ask your opinion as to what methods of procedure I should use in getting this book before the Negro-Americans in our country.I owe a debt of life to your race,and I do wish what I write to inspire the other "Altheas" who follow in her train?

Most cordially yours, Julia Lake Kellersberger.

(Mrs.E.R.Kellersberger)

(over)

Royalty from this
book will be
used to establish
a scholarship
for girls at
Fisk University.

[Encl.]

Once I taught school in the hills of Tennessee,where the dark vale of the Mississippi begins to roll and crumple to greet the Alleghanies. I was a Fisk student, then,and Fisk students,in vacation time,sallied forth to meet the county school-commissioners. Young and happy,I too went, and I shall not soon forget that summer.

~~First,there was a Teacher's Institute at the county seat where distinguished guests of the superintendent taught the teachers fractions and spelling and other mysteries, white~~ I see now the white hot roads lazily wind before me under the burning July sun. I feel the deep weariness ~~of heart and limb~~ as ten,eight,six miles stretch relentlessly ahead.I feel my heart sink heavily as I hear again, "Got a teacher?" "Yes." So I walked on and on until I had wandered beyond railways to a land of "varmints" and rattlesnakes,where the coming of a stranger was an event,and men lived and died in the shadow of one blue hill.

21-13-59

Sprinkled over hill and dale lay cabins and farmhouses,shut out from the world by the forests and the rolling hills toward the east. There,at last,I found a school. The school house was a log hut,where Colonel Wheeler used to shelter his corn.It sat in a lot behind a rail fence and thorn bushes,near the sweetest of springs.There was an entrance where a door once was, and within, a massive rickety fireplace. Great chinks between the logs served as windows. Furniture was scarce. A pale blackboard crouched in the corner. My desk was made of three boards,reinforced at critical points, and my chair,borrowed from the landlady ,had to be returned every night.Seats for the children puzzled me much.I was haunted by a vision of neat little desks and chairs,but the reality ~~was~~/ rough/ plank benches without backs and at times without legs. They had the one virtue of making naps dangerous,-possibly fatal,for the floor was not to be trusted.

It was a hot morning late in July when school opened.I trembled when I saw that row of dark solemn faces.~~and~~ First came Josie.The longing to know hovered like a star above this child-~~woman amid~~- and she studied doggedly. Then there were the Dowells from their farm,-Fannie with her smooth black face and wondering eyes,and Martha, brown and dull. There were the Burkes,-two brown and yellow lads,and a small haughty-eyed girl. 'Thenie was on hand early, a jolly,good-hearted girl,who sly dipped snuff

and looked after her little bow-legged brother. When her mother could spare her,'Tildy came,- a midnight beauty with starry eyes and tapering limbs.And then the big bous,- the hulking Lawrences, the lazy Neills, ~~the~~ unfathered sons of mother and daughter; Hickman,with a stoop in his shoulders,-and the rest.

There they sat,nearly thirty of them,on the rough benches,their faces shading from a pale cream to a deep brown,feet bare and swinging,eyes full of expectation,and hands grasping Webster's blue-back spelling-book. I loved my school, and the faith the children had in the wisdom of their teacher was marvelous.We read and spelled together, wrote a little,picked flowers, ~~and listened~~ sang, and listened to stories of the world beyond the hill. At times the school would dwindle and I would visit Mun Eddings,who lived in two dirty rooms, and ask why I missed so often the inimitable rags of Mack and Ed. Then the father, who worked Colonel Wheeler's farm on shares,would tell me how the crops needed the boys,and how their girl must mind the baby. When the Lawrences stopped,I knew that the doubts of the old folks about book-learning had conquered again,and so,toiling up the hill,I put Cicero into the simplest English with local applications,and usually convinced them,-for a week or so.

21-13-60

On Firday nights I often went home with some of the children,-sometimes to Doc Burke's farm. He was ever working,trying to buy the seventy five acres where he lived,but people said that he would surely fail,and the "white folks would get it all." His wife was a magnificent Amazon,uncorseted and barefooted,and the children were strong and beautiful. They lived in a one-and-a-half ~~cabin~~ room cabin in the hollow of the farm,near the spring.The front room was full of fat white beds,scrupulously neat, and there were cromos on the walls, and a tired centre-table. In the kitchen I was invited to "take out and help" myself to fried chicken and biscuits,string beans,and berries.At first I used to be alarmed at the approach of bedtime in the lone bedroom,but embarassment was deftly avoided. First, the children nodded and were stowed away in one great pile of goose feathers; next,the mother and the father discreetly slipped away to the kitchen while I went to bed;then,blowing out the light, they retired in the dark. In the morning all were up and out before I thought of awaking.But across the road where Reuben lived, the family went outdoors while the teacher retired,because they did not boast the luxury of a kitchen.

12-13-61

I liked to stay with the Dowells,for they had four rooms and plenty of good country food. Uncle Bird was full of tales (he preached now and then)—and with his children,horses and wheat he was happy and prosperous.Often,to keep peace,I must go where life was less lovely; for instance,'Tildy's mother was incorrigibly dirty,Reuben's larder was seriously limited,and herds of untamed insects wandered over the Eddingses(beds. Best of all I loved to go to Josie's and sit on the porch,eating peaches,while the mother bustled about and talked,-how Josie had bought the sewing machine, how Josie had worked at service in the winter,but that four dollars a month was "mighty little wages", how Josie longed to go away to school,but that it looked like they ~~could~~ never could get far enoug ahead to let her,-how the crops had failed and the well was yet unfisnished.

I have called my tiny community a world,and so its isolation made it,and yet there was among us but a half-awakened common consciousness,sprung from common joy and grief, at burials, births,or weddings;sprung from common hardships in poverty,poor land and low wages; but above all,from the Veil that hung between us and Opportunity. There were,however, some, such as Josie,Jim, and Ben to whom War and Slavery were but childhood tales, whose appetites had been whetted to an edge by school and story and half awakened thought. And their weak wings beat across their barriers,-barriers of caste,of youth,of life.

Quoted from THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK

by W.E.B.DuBois. Chapter IV. —60-68.

Courtesy of
A. C. McClurg & Co.
Chicago.

[Encl.]

Publishing Department

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

333 East Ontario Street : Chicago, Illinois

July 6, 1945

12-13-58

Mrs. E. R. Kellersberger
38 Gramercy Park
New York City, New York

Dear Mrs. Kellersberger:

With this letter we are returning your copy of material which you wish to use in your projected book. We are unable to give you this permission, but suggest that you get directly in touch with Mr. DuBois, c/o Atlanta University, 223 Chestnut St N. W., Room 209, Atlanta, Georgia. We are sure he will be glad to work with you.

Very truly yours,

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

Publishing Dept.

JJOC:MM
encl.

21-13-62

10 September 1946

My dear Madam:

I am afraid I have never answered your letter of February 1, 1946. Much of my correspondence has been delayed because of illness in my family. You are quite at liberty to use quotations from the Souls of Black Folk to which you refer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. E.R. Kellersberger
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

[Kelly]

21-29-50

Dear Friends at the Du Bois Cottage:

Please accept my hearty congratulations on the event of the 12th. Fifty years seemed a long time to us when we were getting through our college course. It seems strange to me to have that and more past since graduation. You have had fifty years since you were also married, and you have packed into the whole period a lot of strenuous and effective effort for a great cause and a great body of people and you

must look on it with much happiness. But in the quiet of your own home you have contributed substantially to the sum of the common welfare by spending fifty years in the practise of the art of living together. That is certainly one of the most beautiful of the fine arts and one of the most essential and most productive of the practical arts. And withal sometimes very difficult. If only all we human beings would make an honest effort to practise it, there would be a great

difference" where cross the crowded ways of life", where now so many things look dark and threatening.

"The best is yet to be." May the next fifty years for you two be even better than the fifty just come to completion! And may there be, here where we have prayed and toiled and fought, a lessening of the evils of our own time and an increase in the volume and the quality of the things we are beginning to learn and to catch from the Son of Man.

To conclude in the plural this note

[4]

much of which has naturally dropped into the singular between two who started on the same course as young fellows more than fifty years ago, we congratulate you on having a daughter and a granddaughter to carry on the torch for you. We have one son, and he and his wife are raising a little family of grandchildren for us.

With every good wish to you and yours,

Sincerely yours,

Edward P. Kelly

Anna P. Kelly

of 91 Central St.
Auburndale 66
Mass.

May 9, 1946

ag
Sing. mo.

Kentucky State College

R. B. Atwood, President
Frankfort, Kentucky

July 30, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

We are in process of preparing a record of Negro persons who now are serving, or have at any time served on the faculties of colleges and universities serving white students chiefly. Our list is to include persons who have served as guest lecturer for a whole course, or part of a course, visiting professors, or others who have received regular appointments at these universities. For our purpose we are describing these as follows:

Guest lecturer - one who delivers one or more lectures without assuming and responsibility for examination and grading.

Visiting professor - assumes responsibility for instructing and examining the class on a visiting basis.

Regular appointment - one who is regularly appointed for some position at the institution.

We are requesting your cooperation on this matter by listing every person of your acquaintance who has served in any of these capacities. We would like to have the persons name, address, training, date of his service and in what capacity served.

Very sincerely yours,

R. B. Atwood

R. B. Atwood

RBA/cov

26 September 1946

21-24-18

My dear President Atwood:

You of course realize that form letters can be printed and distributed much faster than they can be answered. I am just answering therefore your letter of July 30th. I have been guest lecturer at the following institutions: University of Chicago, University of Minnesota, University of California, Cornell University, Yale University, Connecticut College, University of Pennsylvania, University of Michigan, Toledo Municipal College, Northwestern University, University of Wisconsin, University of Iowa, Wooster College Ohio, Ohio State University, Vassar College, Wellsley College, Smith College, Mt. Holyoke College.

There are probably several other institutions which I have forgotten. In most cases, although not in all, these were single lectures asked for by the university and delivered to large groups of students or the whole student body.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. R. B. Atwood
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

C/o Mrs J. Weekes,
29 West. 119 Street,
New York City
26/8/46.

Dear Dr Du Bois,

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your invitation to attend a preliminary meeting of the representatives of organisations who are cooperating with your project to have consultants for the African Colonies at the meeting of the Assembly of the United Nations.

This preliminary meeting will take place, I note at the 135th St branch of the N-Y. Public Library on Saturday 31/8/46 at 2.00pm.

I shall be most happy to attend. be there present.

Sincerely Yours,

J. Stling

James Cliviston King

41-8-24

C/o Mrs J. Weekes,
29 West 119 Street,
New York City,
28 Sept., 1946.

Dear Dr Du Bois,

I am in agreement with the sentiments as expressed in the draft petition to the assembly of the United Nations.

I should prefer however that the scope of the power of consultants be extended so that they may be empowered to express opinions not only on matters affecting Africa only but also on matters which may affect colonial peoples generally.

42-8-F-41

I would favour a revision of the latter part of the petition to read as follows:

"Because of this situation, the Pan African Congress and its affiliated organisations in Africa and in America desire to be authorized to send a limited number of consultants to the Assembly of the United Nations, so that:

(1) These consultants may have the right to attend sessions of the Assembly of the United Nations and of such

committees as may deal with Africa and with Colonial Problems.

2. These consultants may by conference, by speech or by written statement express to the Assembly of the United Nations from time to time, their opinions and wishes and help voice the complaints and demands of African Negroes and of Colonial Peoples as they by study and investigation understand them."

There is, I understand a reorganisation of the Ethiopian World Movement. It might be interesting to send them a copy of the petition. The African Academy of Arts and Research might have some useful suggestions to offer, and I think that this might be a chance for the U.N.I.A. to show that they are willing to do some constructive work on behalf of Modern Africa.

I regret the delay in replying to your letter of the 3rd inst.

May I wish your venture all success! By the end of this month I shall be en route for Barbados but I can assure you of my continued cooperation in any efforts for the advancement of Coloured & of Colonial peoples.

Yours Sincerely,

J. C. KING.

FOR YOUR
Golden Wedding Day

Mr. & Mrs. L. W. King
337 N. E. Ninth Street
Oklahoma City, Okla.

It's a real pleasure
to say "CONGRATULATIONS"
to a wonderful couple like you
on your
Golden Wedding Day

Mr. and Mrs. L. W. King

Ruby R. Craig-King
One of your former students
at
Atlanta University

From the desk of

Frank Hingan

21-21-43

September 20th

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I regret that my schedule prevents me from attending the meeting on October 5th, but I am happy to endorse the petition of the Pan African Congress to the United Nations Assembly.

Sincerely,

Frank Hingan

Democracy is brotherhood in action.

INSPECTOR'S SLIP

This appliance has been thoroughly tested and passed as electrically and mechanically perfect.

Inspected and Passed by.....

In the event of return of this appliance, within the terms of the guarantee, this slip must accompany the item.

F 116

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[Knapp-Monarch]

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KNAPP-MONARCH CO.

WE HEREBY GUARANTEE that this appliance has been thoroughly checked and tested before shipment, and free of mechanical and electrical defects. Should defects due to faulty material or workmanship develop within one year from date of sale, the appliance will be repaired and put in workable condition free of charge, providing it is returned to authorized service station, transportation prepaid. This guarantee does not cover cord or plugs, nor is it valid if the item has been misused, abused or tampered with.

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T. E. Sullivan Company, Inc.
1041 N. Highland Ave., N. E.,

Billings, Montana
Billings Electric Supply Company
208 North Twenty-Ninth Street

Birmingham 4, Alabama
Woodford Electric Supply Co.
816-18 Second Avenue, North

Boston 24, Massachusetts
Community Electric Company
406 Miller Bldg.
93 Federal St.

Brantford, Ont., Canada
Crown Electrical Mfg. Ltd.
17-21 Sydenham Street

Buffalo 14, New York
Wangler Electric Company
2637 Main Street at Fillmore

Charlotte, North Carolina
Melton Tire and Appliance Co.
515 South Tryon Street

Chicago 7, Illinois
Master Electric Service Company
835 W. Washington Blvd.

Cincinnati 2, Ohio
Golden Rule Electric Shop
116 West Seventh Street

Cleveland 15, Ohio
Electric Sweeper Svc. Company, Div.
of Pearsol Appliance Corporation
2034 Euclid Avenue

Dallas, Texas
Pearsol Appliance Company
2010 Commerce Street

Denver 2, Colorado
Stafford Electronics
1423 Curtis Street

Detroit 26, Michigan
Cooley-Van Howe Service Company
744 Michigan Theatre Building

El Paso, Texas
Hays Electric Service
403 Montana Street

Honolulu, Hawaii
Automotive Service Company, Ltd.
South and Kawaiahao Streets

Houston 3, Texas
Houston Industrial Supply Co.
1101 Chenevert

Indianapolis, Indiana
Vogel Brothers
1312-14 W. Washington St.

Jacksonville 7, Florida
National Radio Service
1409 Miami Road

Kansas City, Missouri
Donaldson Radio and Elec. Co., Inc.
215 East 27th Street

Los Angeles, California
Electrical Appliance Service Corp.
726 W. Venice Blvd.

Miami 38, Florida
David Electric and Radio Company
209-11 N. W. 62nd Street

Milwaukee 5, Wisconsin
Charles W. Schneck Company
1333 North Twelfth Street

Minneapolis 2, Minnesota
E. B. Kelly and Company
214 South Seventh Street

Newark, New Jersey
Eclipse Radio Company
64 Elizabeth Street

New Orleans 15, La.
Simonds' Radio Store
4839 Laurel St.

Brooklyn—New York City 26, N. Y.
North American Illuminating and
Engineering Company, Inc.
1597 Nostrand Avenue

Oklahoma City 2, Oklahoma
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111 North Broadway

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Sterling Electric Company
2429 Farnam Street

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1316 Walnut Street

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Vinson-Carter Electric Company
25 East Adams Street

Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania
Quick Service Electric Company
44th & Post St.

Portland 5, Oregon
Morrison Electric Service
1236 S. W. Washington at 13th

Oakland, California
California Electric Service Stations
166 Grand Ave.

St. Louis 16, Mo.
Knapp-Monarch Company
Bent and Potomac

Salt Lake City, Utah
Wolters Electric Company
238 South State Street

San Antonio 2, Texas
Central Radio Sales and Service Co.
408 North Main Ave. and
3620 Broadway

San Diego, California
Electrical Appliance Service Corp.
302 17th Street

San Francisco 5, California
California Electric Service Stations
400 Mission St.

Seattle 1, Washington
Electrical Engineering Company
2012 Third Avenue

Spokane 8, Washington
Maxwells, Inc.
First Avenue at Wall Street

Washington, D. C.
C. A. Leppert Parts and Service
914 Eye St. Northwest

KNAPP-MONARCH CO., St. Louis 16, Mo.

IMPORTANT PRICING INFORMATION

Prices Effective May 23, 1946

Amendment 2 to Order 6 under Maximum Price Regulation 188 authorizes the following retail ceiling prices for all classes of trade.

Following is a list of new retail ceiling prices in both Zones I and II for all classes of trade established by the new order and are effective on and after May 23, 1946. Under the terms of Paragraph (d) of this order you must tag this merchandise. The order states,

> **"All dealers who receive "untagged" an article which the manufacturer is required to tag by the foregoing provisions with its retail ceiling price must tag it with its proper retail ceiling price or OPA price in accordance with Supplementary Order 135 before it is displayed, offered for sale, sold, or delivered at retail."**

This means that you must check the following list of retail ceiling prices and tag this piece of merchandise with the proper ceiling price. You must show on this tag the manufacturer's name, the model number of the appliance, and the applicable OPA retail ceiling price for the zone in which the merchandise is sold.

New OPA Ceiling Prices on Lady Dover Appliances

Model Number	Item	Retail Zone I	Retail Zone II	Chain Zone I	Chain Zone II	M. Order Zone I	M. Order Zone II
14A-901	Stove	$ 6.85	$ 7.20	$ 6.25	$ 6.55	$ 5.95	$ 6.25
21-901	Toaster	4.40	4.60	4.00	4.20	3.80	4.00
27-900	Pad	5.10	5.35	4.65	4.90	4.40	4.60
1-800	Fan	5.10	5.35	4.65	4.90	4.40	4.60
2A-800	Fan	13.60	14.30	12.40	13.00	11.80	12.40

As soon as price tags can be secured all Knapp-Monarch appliances will be pre-ticketed before they leave the plant.

KNAPP-MONARCH COMPANY
Bent and Potomac Streets
St. Louis, Missouri

[Knoxville College]

13 March 1946

21-27-7

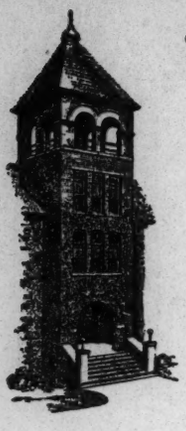
My dear Dr. Imes:

I am sorry I was not in the office when you called. I was waiting to see if I would not have some other engagement between here and Knoxville in June but none has offered. I should have, therefore, to charge you one hundred dollars and roundtrip travel expenses which would amount to about one hundred and sixty dollars. I am afraid this is more than you ought to expend. If I could get another engagement near the time of speaking for you, this would materially reduce the expense.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. William Lloyd Imes
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee



Office of the President

Under Auspices of the Board of American Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

WILLIAM LLOYD IMES, PRESIDENT

March 14, 1946

21-27-8

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:-

Thank you for your kind letter and it is wonderfully good news that you can be with us. You were very kind to explain the expense item, and we shall be glad to bear the whole of it. We will, if you will permit us, send in advance your necessary expense fund of sixty dollars, ($60.00), and then later at commencement will provide the honorarium of one hundred dollars ($100.00) for you.

Please confirm this understanding and it will be a great honor to have you. Mrs. Imes and I would like to have you as our house guest for whatever time you can spare to remain with us. There is a through Pullman car (N. W. 15, Southern Railway) which leaves Pennsylvania Station daily 11:45 A. M. and which has its terminal at Knoxville. After March 15th reservations may be made in advance as you desire.

We trust nothing will prevent your being with us June 10th, and, come as early as you can, and stay as long as you can. Welcome!

May we have your "cut" and "mats" for our student paper and for publicity in general press?

Faithfully yours,

Wm Lloyd Imes

Wm. Lloyd Imes
President

WLI:flf

18 March 1946

21-27-9

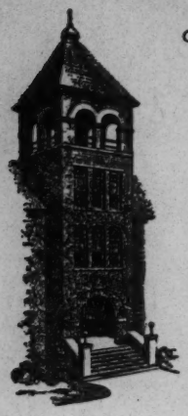
My dear President Imes:

Your arrangement is satisfactory and I will be with you June tenth. I am sending a photograph. I have no mats.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. William Lloyd Imes
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee



Office of the President

Under Auspices of the Board of American Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

WILLIAM LLOYD IMES, PRESIDENT

May 1, 1946

21-26-07

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Research Director
National Association Advancement of Colored People
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:-

In preparing publicity for the Commencement season and your address of June 10th, we should like to have a brief outline of your address in advance, a picture (or mats of yourself) and any biographical material you may wish to let us have, which is over and above that we have in "Who's Who".

We enclose herewith check to cover estimated railroad travel and necessary items accompanying travel. This is, of course, not remuneration, and we understand our promise to give an honorarium of $100.00, and expect to fulfill it.

Best personal wishes to you and yours.

I expect to be in New York City, May 15th and 16th for Union Seminary Commencement and Board Meeting.

Sincerely,

Wm. Lloyd Imes

Wm. Lloyd Imes
President

WLI:flf

[Knoxville College]

Lectures - 1946

THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE
Knoxville College
Knoxville 16, Tenn.

21-20-25

Dear Dr.DuBois:-

Would you kindly give us, for our local and national press, an outline of your commencement address in advance so we may have proper releases made?

This will be a wonderful help to the occasion, and I am sure you will cooperate. We need it now. We received your photograph, and thank you.

Also kindly let us know your route and expected time of arrival, as we should like to meet you. Miss Diggs seemed to state that you might come by air. Invitation cards enclosed.

Sincerely,
Wm Lloyd Imes
Wm.Lloyd Imes.

May 29
1946

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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TIME FILED

21-27-82

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

7 June 1946

President William Lloyd Imes
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

ARRIVING KNOXVILLE VIA PENNSYLVANIA CENTRAL AIRLINES ABOUT NOON SATURDAY JUNE EIGHTH

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Edgecombe 4-9837

17 June 1946

21-32-104

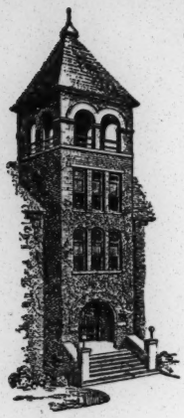
My dear President and Mrs. Imes:

May I thank you very much for your hospitality while I was in Knoxville. I had a very pleasant experience and rest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President and Mrs. William Lloyd Imes
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee



Office of the President

Under Auspices of the Board of American Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

WILLIAM LLOYD IMES, PRESIDENT

June 20, 1946

Lectures

21-19-103

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mrs. Imes and I received your kind message and it was equally a privilege for us to share with you our home here.

We deeply regretted my untimely appointments in Rochester and Buffalo that took us away at once after Commencement, but we trust that you did have a real rest and we know you enough to realize you would not say so if you had not had a good rest, in spite of the terrible heat. Your address is being mimeographed by our office here, and later we hope to have printed copies. Meanwhile, we are sending copies to Associated Press and other agencies for widest possible help and use. Needless to say, it is of most stimulating and helpful value, worth its weight in gold.

Sincerely,

Wm Lloyd Imes

Wm. Lloyd Imes

WLI/ei

[Konvitz]

21-12-21

25 September 1946

My dear Mr. Konvitz:

At the last meeting of the Board of Directors a proposal of mine for a petition to the Assembly of the United Nations was adopted. I am enclosing an outline of this booklet.

You will notice that I have put you down for the legal rights of American Negroes, under the Constitution by the federal and state statutes and court decisions. Mr. Marshall tells me that you have already made the latest and best study on this subject. Would it not be possible for you to make a condensation and popular statement without too much trouble? These parts will be about twenty pages long. They should be clear, restrained and factual rather than emotional; and of unquestionable accuracy. At the same time they should be written for the comprehension for the ordinary reader. They ought to be supported by a short bibliogfaphy of books and articles.

I know how presumptuous it is to ask a busy man to do work of this sort but I have chosen you because I think you are especially fitted to do it and I hope that you will regard it a contribution to social progress rather than an ordinary task. We are not in a position to offer adequate compensation for this work but a nominal fee of $100 has been appropriated for each of the four contributions.

May I ask that you think this matter over and write me at your earliest convenience whether or not you will be able to cooperate in this enterprise. I would be under great obligation if you can.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E.B. Du Bois

Mr. Martin Konvitz
519 East Buffalo Street
Ithaca, New York

[Konvitz]

NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

EDMUND EZRA DAY, PRESIDENT

IRVING M. IVES, DEAN

28 September 1946

21-17-23

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In view of my crowded schedule here at the University I feel strongly tempted to beg to be excused from the assignment; but how can I say no to you? No matter what work the assignment may entail, I shall not be able to live with myself if I refuse you.

I hope to get to work on the chapter you want me to do very soon and have it in your hands at the time indicated by your schedule. Would you please let me know whether or not you want references to cases and statutes? If you do want them, are they to be in footnotes or within the text? Are there any other matters of style about which I should know?

Sincerely yours,

MRKonvitz

Milton R. Konvitz
Director of Research and
Associate Professor

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

[KONVITZ]

21-17-18

1 October 1946

My dear Mr. Konvitz:

I deeply appreciate your letter of September 28th. Time is short but the need is imperative. May I suggest that in your case no particular research is necessary with your broad knowledge. What could be done would be a clear general statement of the actual legal status of the Negroes and its changes. I think that the references should be confined to the important laws and cases as directives for readers rather than for persons making special research. The object is to present in twenty pages a complete statement of the situation of the American Negro in law and decisions.

Would you be willing to make immediately a short outline of what you propose to do so, that I can warn the other writers off your territory and know myself just what to expect. Do you suppose that we could expect the completed manuscript by October 26? I shall be very glad to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Martin Konvitz
519 East Buffalo Street
Ithaca, New York

[KONVITZ]

NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

EDMUND EZRA DAY, PRESIDENT

IRVING M. IVES, DEAN

21-17-25

334 Warren Hall

October 4, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In reply to your letter of October 1, I wish to say that it would be difficult for me at the present time to submit to you an outline. I shall try to do exactly what you want me to do; namely, "a clear general statement of the actual legal status of the Negroes." I shall try to have it in your hands by the end of October.

Sincerely yours,

Milton R. Konvitz

Milton R. Konvitz
Associate Professor and
Director of Research

MRK:mah
Dictated but not read

P.S. - Please note that my first name is not Martin, but Milton.

[KONVITZ]

NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

EDMUND EZRA DAY, PRESIDENT
IRVING M. IVES, DEAN

21-17-33

28 October 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am happy to send you herewith original and one copy of my essay "The Negro in American Law," written for inclusion in your memorandum to be submitted to the United Nations Assembly. I trust that you will find it conforms with your requirements and expectations. Please acknowledge receipt.

It occurs to me that the piece may make an interesting and helpful pamphlet, which the Association might care to publish and distribute.

With personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

MRKonvitz

Milton R. Konvitz

[Enc.]

NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

EDMUND EZRA DAY, PRESIDENT

IRVING M. IVES, DEAN

6-11-12

Note:

For purposes of identification, you may say the following concerning me:

Milton R. Konvitz, associate professor and director of research, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University; a member of national legal committee, NAACP; and author of The Constitution and Civil Rights (Columbia University Press, 1946), and The Alien and the Asiatic in American Law (Cornell University Press, 1946).

[Enc.]

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LAW

By Milton R. Konvitz

This chapter will not deal with the inequalities that exist despite the law. It will be concerned with the inequalities that exist because of the law; the inequalities that are legal, that are sanctioned by the United States Supreme Court and by the laws of legislatures. We shall also consider to what extent inequalities have been declared against the law.

I. The Negro and the Supreme Court

1. The Negro's right to live where he pleases.

There are many municipalities where a Negro cannot buy land; there are large sections in nearly every city and town where he cannot buy or rent a house or shop. Have owners the legal right to refuse to sell or rent property to a Negro solely because of his color or race?

Although in the case of Buchanan v. Warly the Supreme Court in 1917 held that a municipality may not by ordinance segregate the Negro from the white residents, the constitutional restraint thus placed on a government agency is not imposed on individual owners. In the case, Corrigan v. Buckley, which came before the Court in 1926 and involved a covenant in a deed prohibiting for 21 years the sale of the property involved to any Negro, the Court held that under the constitution the Negro has no protection against the action of an individual owner. Individual owners may therefore enter into contracts respecting the control and disposition of their property with the purpose of excluding the Negro ~~forever~~ from its use and enjoyment.

The more recent decision of the court in Hansberry v. Lee has been hailed as a great victory for the Negro. Actually it was nothing of the kind. In that case it appeared that 500 Chicago landowners had made an agreement stipulating that for a specified period no part of their lands should be sold or leased to Negroes. The defendant was one of the owners; petitioners were Negroes who had acquired and were occupying a portion of the land. Petitioners claimed that the owners' agreement by its own terms had required the signature of 95 percent of the owners and that the required percentage of owners had not signed. Defandant claimed that 95 percent of the owners had signed, as had been determined in an earlier Illinois suit. To this answer petitioners replied that they were not bound by the Illinois decision since they had not been parties to that suit. A lower federal court had found as a fact that only 54 percent had signed but held that petitioners were none the less bound by the Illinois decision. The Supreme Court held simply that petitioners were not bound by the Illinois decision since they had not been parties in the suit before the state court. Nothing in the decision or in the opinion by Justice Stone may in any way be construed as changing the law laid down in 1926.

21-17

Under the law as it stands today, then, while the government may not enforce racial segregation, private agreements barring Negroes from neighborhoods or homes will be enforced by the courts. It has been argued often that contractual segregation should also be declared unconstitutional. The court had an opportunity in Hansberry v. Lee to adopt this position, thereby outlawing segregation howsoever instituted, but the court avoided the issue altogether by deciding the case on an incidental point.

2. The Negro's right to an education

As early as 1899 the Supreme Court, in Cumming v. Board of

Education, upheld segregation in schools. But the leading case is Berea College v. Kentucky, decided in 1908.

In 1904 the Kentucky legislature passed an act prohibiting any corporation or individual from maintaining an educational institution for both races. It did permit a school to maintain separate branches for the two races, provided they were at least 25 miles apart. The act was aimed directly at Berea College, established fifty years before and opened to Negro pupils after the Civil War. After the act was passed the college authorities reluctantly transferred their Negro pupils to Negro colleges. The college authorities undertook to test the constitutionality of the act. The Supreme Court held the act constitutional. Berea College was an incorporated institution, operating under a charter; a charter, being a legislative grant, may be amended by the legislature; the purpose of the act of 1904 was to amend the charter of the corporation; therefore, the act was constitutional.

Mr. Justice Harlan dissented and took pains to ridicule the reasoning of his associates. The obvious purpose of the legislature, he said, was not simply to prohibit mixed teaching by corporations but by anyone; the act did not purport to amend charters. The court, he said, should directly decide whether the act is constitutional in so far as it makes it a crime to operate a private school for both white and Negro pupils. He thought the act was contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment. Why not forbid white and Negro children from coming together in Sunday School or Church? The right not to be interfered with in one's religion is no more sacred than the right to impart and receive instruction not hammful to the public. "Have we become so inoculated with prejudice of race that an American government, professedly based on the principles of freedom, and charged with the protection of all citizens alike, can make distinctions between citizens

in the matter of their voluntary meeting for innocent purposes simply because of their respective races?"

The institution involved was a private school. A private school claimed the right to teach both white and Negro students; the law intervened to deny that right; the Supreme Court upheld the law. It is a case where the law compelled segregation.

In 1938 the court considered segregation in a public university. In Gaines v. Canada, petitioner, a Missouri citizen and a graduate of Lincoln University (for Negroes), wanted to study law at the University of Missouri and qualified for admission but was rejected. A state act provided that, pending the full development of Lincoln University, the board of curators might send a student to the university of an adjacent state to study any subjects provided for at the University of Missouri but not taught at Lincoln, the board to pay reasonable tuition fees. The curators offered to send the Negro petitioner to a law school in an adjacent state but he insisted on admission to the University of Missouri School for law. The state court, construing the state constitution, held it mandatory to segregate Negro students. The Supreme Court decided in favor of the petitioner and Chief Justice Hughes wrote, "We are of the opinion that the ruling was error, and that petitioner was entitled to be admitted to the law school of the state university in the absence of other and proper provision for his legal training within the state."

21-17

The court did not hold that the Negro student must be admitted to the University of Missouri School of Law as a white student would be admitted. It held only that either he must be admitted or the state must provide other proper facilities within the state. The Negro won the right not to be sent out of the state for his education; he was not accorded the right to an education in a public institution regardless

of his color.

3. The Negro's right to vote

The poll-tax has been universally condemned as an undemocratic obstacle to a free election. Yet in the case of Breedlove v. Suttles, decided by the Supreme Court in 1937, the court upheld the Georgia poll-tax law, saying, "Payment as a prerequisite is not required for the purpose of denying or abridging the privilege of voting." To make payment of the tax a prerequisite to voting is not, held the court, to infringe the Fourteenth Amendment; it "is a familiar and reasonable regulation long enforced in many states and for more than a century in Georgia." The court approved the poll-tax law as not only constitutional but as a reasonable piece of legislation.

21-17

The poll-tax is a bar to voting in final elections. As to the primary, the chief bar has been the pure-white ~~single~~ party rule. In southern states nomination in the Democratic Party primary election is equivalent to final election. In southern states the Democratic Party conducted primary elections from which Negroes were rigorously excluded. Repeatedly the Democratic Party attempted to show in cases brought to the Supreme Court that the Party was a private organization from which could be excluded any group not wanted by the Party, and that the primary conducted by the Party was a private affair. In 1945, in Smith v. Allwright, the court declared that the Democratic Party of Texas could not exclude Negroes from voting in the Party's primary election.

4. The Negro's right to public facilities

Just as some state laws compel segregation in schools, colleges, and universities, some state laws compel segregation in public conveyances. Such laws, in so far as they donnot apply to interstate traffic, are constitutional. The Supreme Court has so ruled time and again. In another part of this chapter will be listed the states which require

segregation --- Jim Crowism --- in railway transportation. In these states failure by the railway companies to enforce the terms of the laws is a misdemeanor, and a passenger or conductor who violates the law is guilty of a crime. Some states have Jim Crow laws which apply also to street cars. In some, compulsory segregation is extended to cover all forms of public transportation.

In 1896, in Plessy v. Ferguson, the court considered a Louisiana act which required equal but separate accommodations and provided a penalty for passengers who sit in a car or compartment assigned to the other race. The petitioner, an octoroon, in whom "Negro blood" was not discernible, sat in a white car and was arrested. The court held the Louisiana act constitutional"; it was a reasonable exercise of the state's police power. It was argued that segregation implies inferiority. To this the court replied that this is true solely because the Negro chooses to put that construction upon it.

21-17

Mr. Justice Harlan dissented, pointing out that the Thirteenth Amendment not only ended slavery but forbade the imposition of anything constituting a badge of servitude; that the Fourteenth Amendment gives Negroes the right to be exempt from "unfriendly legislation", "legal discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, lessening the security of their enjoyment of the rights which others enjoy, and discriminations which are steps towards reducing them to the condition of a subject race." To the argument that there was no discrimination because the law of separation applies to both races alike, Harlan replied that obviously the purpose of the act was not to exclude the white from the Negro cars but to exclude the Negro from the white cars. He maintained that if a white man and a Negro want to occupy the same public conveyance on a public highway it is their right to do so, and no government can prevent them without infringement of the personal liberty of each.

Why, asked Harlen, may not the principle of the decision apply to sidewalks, to a separation of Protestants and Catholics? "What," he asked, "can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than state enactments, which, in fact, proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in publich cbaches occupied by white citizens?" The act declares Negroes to be criminals if they ride in a white man's coach. Negroes, said Harlan, should never cease objecting to such a law. If evils will result from commingling, greater evils will result from the infringement of civil rights. "The thin disguise of 'equal accommodations'...will not mislead anyone, nor atone for the wrong done this day."

It was not until 1946, in the Irene Morgan case, that the court held unconstitutional a state Jim Crow law. But the Virginia law involved in that case was held unconstitutional only because it attempted to impose Jim Crow regulations on interstate passengers. It is significant that the basis for the decision is not equal protection of the law, or due processsof the law, but the exclusive right of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. Jim Crowism in interstate traffic is still constitutional.

5. The Negro's right to join a labor union

In several recent cases the Supreme Court has recognized the right of Negro workers to freely join labor unions without discrimination because of their race or color. In the Steele and Tunstall cases the court held that since the Railway Labor Act authorizes a union, chosen by a majority of the workers, to represent the entire craft, the union selected as the bargaining unit must represent all workers without discrimination because of race or color. In the Railway Mail Association case the court held that a state may by legislation declare the right to join a labor union without discrimination because of race, color, creed or national

origin, a civil right and protect this right by criminal sanctions.

6. Summary

The Negro has been successful before the Supreme Court in cases involving procedure in criminal trials, the treatment of persons suspected of the commission of crimes, the right to be indicted or tried by a jury from which members of one's own race are not systematically excluded. But these cases have not involved the rights of Negroes as such: the decisions of the court have simply extended to the Negro the constitutional right of all citizens to trials conducted according to "due process." In cases involving the rights of Negroes as Negroes --- to live where they please, to be free from segregation in schools and universities, to vote without the poll-tax restriction; to ride in interstate commerce in public conveyances without subjection to Jim Crowism --- in these cases the Negro has been unsuccessful, even when, as in recent years, the Supreme Court has consisted of a liberal majority.

II Protection of Civil Rights by Federal Law

Recently Tom Clark, United States Attorney General, speaking of federal action in cases involving mob violence against Negroes, has said: "Federal action in most of these cases hangs upon a very thin thread of law. It is like trying to fight a modern atomic war with a Civil War musket.... The time has come when Congress may have to pass legislation to insure to all citizens the guarantees under the Constitution." And Theron L. Caudle, Assistant Attorney General and head of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, has recently said: "... We hope to point out to Congress the inadequacy and defects of present federal statutes. Legislation is needed. We have no desire to assume jurisdiction over local affairs nor to interfere with local criminal administration, but where the community is lax in meeting its obligation to afford just and equal protection of the laws to its every individual member, that individual has --- and should have --- the right to look to his Federal Government for protection of himself and his neighbors. Our democracy suffers a grievous, if not fatal, blow when the processes of law and order are broken down by mob action because a few in the community lack the will to accept its obligation to keep those processes intact when the Federal Government is powerless."

The legal impotence of the federal government to protect an individual in the enjoyment of fundamental rights can be quickly demonstrated.

Following the Civil War, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution were adopted, which outlawed slavery, conferred citizenship on the Negro and provided that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. Congress also adopted five statutes which attempted to implement the constitutional guarantees. Before long, however, the Supreme Court held

that the Constitution protects only rights which stem from federal, as distinguished from state, citizenship, and that for the protection of civil rights the citizen must look to his state. Furthermore, it was held that Congress may not enact statutes which will define and protect civil rights ~~of~~ against invasion by an individual, as distinguished from a public official. These decisions took the heart out of the Congressional legislation; before long most of civil rights acts were repealed by Congress. There are left only two important acts, and these are sharply limited in scope.

One of the statutes is section 51 of the Criminal Code, which provides that if several persons conspire to injure or threaten a citizen in the exercise of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, they shall be guilty of a crime. As construed by the Supreme Court, this act protects a citizen (aliens are not covered by this act) in the exercise of only very few rights. It does not protect him in the enjoyment of life, liberty or property, mentioned in the Fourteenth Amendment. These are not rights federally secured against invasion by private persons but only against invasion by the states. The act affords no protection against lynch mobs. What rights are federally secured, and thus protected against invasion by a conspiracy of two or more private persons? The cases have enumerated the following: protection in the execution and enforcement of federal judicial decrees, protection as a witness in a federal court, access to federal courts, the right to vote for federal officers, the right to run for federal offices, and cognate rights.

The other statute is section 52 of the Criminal Code, which, until 1940, was used in only two reported cases. Its usefulness may be measured in part by this fact. The act provides that, whoever, under color of state law, wilfully subjects any inhabitant to the deprivation of any rights, privileges or immunities secured or protected by the

Constitution and laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains or penalties, on account of his alienage, color or race, shall be guilty of a crime. This act is directed only against state and local officers; it is not directed against non-official action. If a state or local officer, acting in an official capacity, deprives a person, because he is an alien or a Negro, of his life, liberty or property without due process of law, of his freedom of speech, or press, or assembly, or other constitutional right, his action, because it constitutes in effect state action, prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment, is a violation of the statute.

The effectiveness of this statute was considerably weakened by the decision of the Supreme Court in 1945 in the Screws case, in which it was held that the deprivation of rights, under section 52, must be wilful; otherwise the officer's action does not come within the prohibition of the statute.

21-17

Again, mob violence is not covered by this act, unless a state or local officer is shown to be a part of the mob and he acts as an officer wilfully to deprive a person of a federally-secured right.

The extent to which the effectiveness of this act has been weakened by the Screws case may be seen from the following statement made by the head of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice: "The uncertainty caused by the court's interpretation of the statute [in the Screws case] have [sic] placed great obstacles in the way of the District Attorney and he can no longer under take a prosecution for violation of this section with any degree of confidence, no matter how heinous is the offensive conduct charged, for the very reason that the government must carry the burden of proving that the act was committed solely for the purpose of denying the victim of a federal right."

In the light of the foregoing analysis of the scope of sections 51 and 52, it is easy to agree with the head of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice when he says that "sections 51 and 52 are indeed imperfect statutory authority upon which to ground a consistent and vigorous program for the protection of the rights of all."

21-17

III. State Statutes Prohibiting Discrimination

As we have seen, the Supreme Court has held that Congress has no power to define and protect civil rights. Only states may do this. A citizen must look to his state for the recognition of civil rights. The only thing he may demand is that the state shall not discriminate against him in the definition and protection of civil rights on account of his race or color. But the great limitation on this principle of nondiscriminatory state action is to be found in the decisions of the Supreme Court that segregation is not discrimination.

Following the decision in 1883 that civil rights are matters for the state governments, and not for Congress, state legislatures adopted civil rights acts. There are now eighteen states which have such acts, of varying scope and effectiveness. These eighteen states are: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, and Wisconsin.

The courts almost uniformly have construed these acts narrowly, and infringe private property rights. because, they say, the acts are in derogation of the common law. Frequent legislative amendment is required to overcome the adverse decisions of courts.

In California the person aggrieved has only the right of civil suit, in nine states provision is made for both civil and criminal penalties; seven states provide only for criminal sanctions; in New Jersey the person aggrieved sues for a money judgment, but the award is paid to the state. Only in New Jersey, New York, and Illinois are public officials charged with the duty of enforcement of civil rights acts.

The statutes generally provide that there shall be no discrimination against persons, because of their race or color, in public conveyances, schools, places of public accommodation (as hotels, restaurants) and

places of public amusement. The degrees of specificity in the statutes vary considerably: the Illinois act mentions department stores, clothing stores, hat stores, shoe stores; the New York act mentions beauty parlors; the Michigan act mentions escalators; while at the other extreme is the Washington act, which does not at all itemize or define places of public accommodation, resort or amusement.

There is no civil rights act for the District of Columbia. On the contrary, ~~as will be seen in the next section,~~ laws of Congress impose Jim Crow restrictions on the Negro citizens of the District. A District of Columbia civil rights bill has been before Congress for several years.

New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts have recently adopted acts against discrimination in private employment. These acts create a new civil right: freedom from discrimination in private employment.

21-17

IV State Statutes Compelling or Allowing Segregation or Discrimination

Since civil rights pertain to the jurisdiction of the individual states, some states, as We have seen, have adopted acts to define the scope of civil rights and to afford a measure of protection in their enjoyment. On the other hand, twenty states have adopted acts compelling segregation in various relations or activities. Ten states, by inaction, have left the matter to private discretion.

In twenty states segregation of pupils in schools is mandatory or expressly permitted. In three states the statutes require separate schools even for the deaf, dumb, and blind. In six states the statutes call for separate schools for the blind. Sixteen states require segregation in juvenile delinquent and reform schools; in nine states separate trade and agricultural schools are required. Three states require separate school libraries. Florida stipulates that textbooks used by Negro pupils shall be stored separately. Separate colleges are mandatory in twelve states. Separate teacher training schools are required in fourteen states. In four states a Negro may not teach white pupils and a white person may not teach Negro pupils; one of these states provides that only white persons born in the United States, whose parents could speak English and who themselves have spoken English since childhood, may teach white pupils.

In fourteen states the law require separate railroad facilities. Three states stipulate that separate sleeping compartments and bedding are to be used by Negro train passengers. Separate writing rooms are required in eight states. Separation in buses is required in eleven states; ten states have the same requirement affecting street car transportation. Three states provide for separation on steamboats.

Two states require separation of the races at circuses and tent shows. Three states require separation in parks, playgrounds and on beaches. Three states require separation in billiard and pool rooms. Arkansas requires separation at race tracks. In Tennessee and Virginia separation at theatres and public balls is required.

There are laws which require separation of the races in hospitals. In eleven states even mental defectives must be separated by race. In Alabama a female white nurse may not take care of a Negro male patient.

Separation is required by eleven states in penal and correctional institutions. Separate bathing facilities in such institutions are required by laws in Alabama and Tennessee. Separate tables in such institutions are required by a statute of Arkansas, and separate beds by statutes in two states.

There are laws which require separation of the races in a multitude of relations --- too many to be mentioned here. Several examples will make clear the scope of the Jim Crowism imposed by law: Oklahoma requires separate telephone booths for Negroes; a Texas statute prohibits whites and Negroes from engaging together in boxing matches; Arkansas requires a separation of the races in voting places; in Georgia a Negro minister may marry only Negro couples; in South Carolina Negroes and whites may not work together in the same room in cotton textile factories, nor may they use the same doors of entrance and exit at the same time, nor may they use the same pay windows or stairways at the same time.

If a state does not have an act calling for segregation with respect to a specific matter, it is not to be assumed that with respect to that matter there is no segregation. Many of the Southern and Border states do not have laws requiring segregation in theatres and other places of public amusement; yet the races do not mingle there, and the Negro cannot compel admission because the states have no civil rights acts.

As Myrdal has pointed out, these Jim Crow laws effectively tighten and freeze segregation and discrimination. Before this Jim Crow legislation was enacted there was a tendency on the part of white people to treat Negroes somewhat differently, depending upon class and education. " This tendency was broken by the laws which applied to all Negroes. The legislation thus solidified the caste line and minimized the importance of class differences in the Negro group."

Congress has refused to pass laws to declare the poll tax illegal; to make lynching more effectively subject to federal law; to make discrimination in private employment in interstate commerce a crime; to define and guarantee civil rights in the District of Columbia. The Supreme Court has failed to declare Jim Crowism in interstate commerce unconstitutional; to outlaw segregation in schools as a denial of due process or equal protection of the laws; to outlaw the restrictive covenant in the sale or rental of property; to declare the poll-tax an unconstitutional tax on a federally-guaranteed right or privilege. The Supreme Court has placed the Negro at the mercy of the individual states; they alone have the power to define and guarantee civil rights. The Negro is a citizen of the United States, yet the thread that ties him to the federal government, when it is a question of protecting his life, liberty or property, is so thin that the government is compelled to admit its impotence.

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21-17

[KONVITZ]

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PRESIDENT

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TIME FILED

21-17-22

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

Jne straight wire October 31, 1946

Martin Konvitz
519 East Buffalo Street
Ithaca, New York

Sent Mgm.

Three chapters of the proposed United Nations petitions by Konvitz, Dickerson and Logan have been received. Only one by Ming is awaited and we expect it soon. Thank you.

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-29-75

[HOPKINS]

Pittsburgh, Pa
May 8, 1946

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois:

Sincere good wishes and congratulations to you on this your Golden Wedding Anniversary. Fifty years to you have been short because of the full lives you have lived, and because of the fine contributions you have made to mankind. I cannot say to America because it has extended to the darker races of the world.

When the history of

21-29-76

America for the years
1896 to 1946 is written
the name of W. E. B. Du Bois
must appear frequently
on its pages, if it is a
true history.

Thank God for W. E. B.
and Nina, and for
Yolande and
Du Bois Williams.

My wish is that you
shall live to hold in
your arms your great-
grand child.

Sincerely yours

Daisy E. Lampkin

[Langston University] Lecture

2 December 1946

21-14-22

Dear Sir:

I am lecturing in the South and West in February and March and could speak at Langston March 8, 9, or 10 or thereabouts. My subjects are the "United Nations and the Negro", "Africa", and "Russia". My charge would be $150 for one or two lectures. I would be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President of Langston University
Langston, Oklahoma.

Langston University

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Langston, Oklahoma

G. L. HARRISON
PRESIDENT

December 18, 1946

21-26-19

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18
New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your communication of December 2nd.

This is to advise that we shall be pleased to pay you an honorarium of $150 for two lectures at Langston University on either March 8, 9, or 10. Kindly let me know just which of the dates you would prefer.

I should be glad to have you come and spend a few days here at Langston just to rest and relax.

With very best wishes for the holiday season, I am

Sincerely yours,

G. L. Harrison

G. L. Harrison
President

GLH:tph

March 8-9

21-24-13

31 December 1946

My dear President Harrison:

I should be glad to lecture at Langston University on March 8 and 9th. The fee would be $150 for the two lectures. I will let you know later just when I shall arrive.

Very sincerely yours,

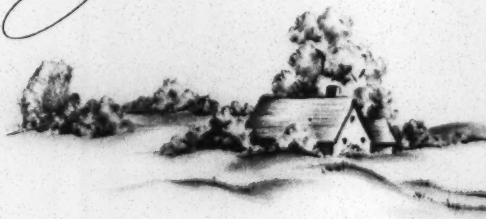
W. E. B. Du Bois

President G. L. Harrison
Langston University
Langston, Oklahoma

FOR YOUR

Golden Anniversary

The golden dreams
of FIFTY YEARS
Are coming true today
For two who've cared
and loved and shared
Each step along life's way—



[LATTIMER?]

And with very special
thoughts of you
This message will express
The best of wishes for a day
Of GOLDEN happiness

With love,
Catherine

[Lattimer, Louise]

137-03 Holly Ave.,
Flushing, N.Y.
Nov. 25, '46.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:-

Last night Minnie gave me the speech you delivered at the Southern Youth Conference. I read it and was thrilled.

What an inspiration it must have been to those young people to hear that stimulating talk! I am glad that they are planning to have several thousand copies printed. Having your words handy for reference and stimulus will mean much to A.Y.D. everywhere.

I enjoyed "Dusk of Dawn" a while back. Turned it over to the Norman household to read. It is well for young and old to know the mental and physical struggles which have given us the privileges we enjoy today. Dr. gives the

21-10-51

young people especially a proper sense of values and encourages them to go on to their own accomplishments.

We should enjoy having you drop in for a bite and a chat if and when you feel so disposed.

Sincerely,

Bunny

Chicago Defender

[LeGadie]

C/O. HEADQUARTERS TRANSPORT COMMAND,
TEDDINGTON BUSHEY PARK, MX.
United Kingdom,

17.4.46.

Dear Dr. Dubois,

21-19-179

You will no doubt remember me as the Jamaica girl who attended the Pan African Congress and promised in my little talk to do something for the coloured babies.

I have written an appeal for the Chicago Defender and am asking you to support this appeal for funds and gifts for the coloured children prphaned over here, I call them "orphans of the storm" because I think that is really what they are. A Committee has been formed over here, and I am on it together with George Padmore and Leary Constantine. I feel that we will have done a good job if out of the Pan African congress comes this really good thing, the responsibility for the welfare of the coloured babies.

I know that the American coloured people are most generous and that they will be very willing to help once they realise the position, I am certain too that the British people will help but as this is a matter of joint responsibility and our men have been guilty in some cases of affaires with married women, we must do something about it. Some of the husbands will forgive their erring wives once the offending coloured infant is removed from the midst of the family circle.

All funds collected could be sent to Mr. Leary Constantine, as Treasurer, and I have also appealed to the wife of Jamaica's Governor Lady Huggins, who has promised to try and persuade the knitting circle who used to knit for the war to continue to knit for these babies. It is a problem which I think can be met easily as there are only 1000 babies I believe here who need help, the only thing is whatever we do must have some degree of permanency as the children wont be self supporting at least until they are sixteen, so permanent committees will have to be formed pledging the help for at least another 16 years. Then as you know Dr. in the UK it is not like the USA. where the Negro knows his job and can fit in here the Negro has no specific place. There are no porters job to absorb them, or taxi service or pullman jobs, so that when they grow old possibly it would be a good idea if we could get them sent to the colonies, where there is not much prejuidce like Jamaica for instance. This of course is looking ahead, but one has to in cases like this.

or

We propose to have a home for them, and where practicable we will have coloured helps to look after them. Then they have to be fed and arrangements made for medical attention, and clothing and food.

My idea is that some permanent committee of distinguished Negroes on that side could be formed, just as is done for the white orphans here under the foster parents plan. I have visited these colonies as they are called and they are run to perfection.

I am going to remain on in the UK. so I feel that I will always be here to look after the children, or at least help with the supervision of the homes.

I shall be grateful to have an early reply from you in this connection.

With very kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Alma LaBadie

AGW1 2149608 La.Badie, A.V.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

INC.

112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y. • Telephone: ALgonquin 4-5865

OBJECT: Education in behalf of increasing democracy in our economic, political and cultural life

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SAMUEL WOLCHOK
THERESA WOLFSON

21-14-4

December 3, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois,

The Student League for Industrial Democracy is holding an open conference for students, December 27th in New York.

The evening meeting will take place at eight o'clock, in the auditorium of Freedom House, 20 W. 40th Street. The meeting is being co-sponsered by the USSA, Student Federalists, and the youth section of the NAACP. Harris Wofford and Norman Thomas will be among the speakers in a panel discussion of THE BASIS OF WORLD COOPTRATION.

Aware of what must be your very busy schedule, but remembering the excellent talks I have heard you give, I sincerely hope that you will be able to fit us in.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Healy

Elizabeth Healy
Student Membership Secretary

4 December 1946

12-14-5

My dear madam:

If you will let me know exactly what the subject is for your meeting December 27th and just what you want me to talk about and how long, I shall try to serve you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Elizabeth Healy
League for Industrial Democracy
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

21-10-11

11 December 1946

My dear Miss Healy:

I shall be glad to speak for you on the evening of December 27 for fifteen minutes on the "The Basis of World Cooperation".

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Elizabeth Healy
League for Industrial Democracy
112 East 19th Street
New York City

NEWS LETTER

Vol. XIV No. 81 June, 1946

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES

Founder & President - Dr. Harold A. Moody

SIXTEENTH YEAR

THIS MONTH—VICTORY NUMBER.

President's Letter.
Dr. Little on West Africa.
Colonial Contingent in V-March.
What is being said in U.S.A.
Venerable Archdeacon Lennon on African Development.
West African Troops in Burma.
British Colonial Policy.
OUR VICTORY DANCE, June 5th.

The L.C.P. exists to promote and protect its members' interests..
To interest members in all coloured peoples.
To improve relations between the races.
To co-operate with kindred organisations.
To assist financially, if possible.

General & Travelling Secretary -
Assistant Secretary - - MRS. MARGARET FULLER
Hon. Treasurer - - Dr. CHRISTINE O. MOODY

Communications to:
THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES,
19, OLD QUEEN STREET,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.1.

Phone:
WHItehall 6591.

Cables:
Amorpeck, London

Subscriptions:
Membership (including News Letter) 10/- Life Membership, £5 5s. 0d.
News Letter (Monthly, post free) 5/- per annum. Single copies 6d.

HD 8911

Dear Member,

We give much space to the part our people are to play in the Victory Parade of June 8th, not because we want to glorify war and military matters, but because it is not generally recognised what an important part our people played in the war effort. From every part of this far flung Empire, on which the "sun never sets," they came. Each and all heard the call of the Mother Country, each and all gave of their best. Not only were our people prepared to give their substance, they gave themselves. Now along with Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans they are to share in the glory of victory. We prophesy that the crowds will cheer them as much as, if not more than, they cheer their own kith and kin. Such is the spirit of the English. Left to the common people, they would give us of their best and not one of us would suffer unnecessarily.

The part our people played, man for man, was far greater than the part played by the English themselves. Our people, for the most part, were unaccustomed to regimentation and discipline ; they were uneducated and some of you have even said they were uncivilised. Although we must confess to some difficulty in applying a meaning to this term, when we recall what has been done during these past six years in the name of "civilisation." However, be that as it may, by and large our people were not accustomed to the methods and habits of Europe and as far as most of them were concerned, could not have imagined that their lot could have been any worse under the rule of any other power. Nevertheless, there was that intangible something, that spiritual force, if you like, which compelled them to put up with all the inconveniences and venture into the unknown in order to rally to the flag of Britain.

Marvellous experiments in education and health were carried out during the war years. The results were surprising from whatever angle they were viewed. Indeed, if these results were not as they were, the men might have been more an hindrance than a help.

Britain's strength on the Burma front was in direct proportion to the response of these men to the training to which they were submitted and to their willingness to enter into the spirit of the enterprise to which they

differences of thought between British officials and educated and aspiring colonials. British administration has produced in most colonies a class whose members tend to regard indirect rule through traditional authorities as obstructive to that rapid transition from tribal society to the modern world to which their hopes are fixed. Much can be done, as our Correspondent suggests, by the thorough investigation, in its social setting, of the impact of western civilisation upon more primitive communities. But even more depends, as he rightly observes, upon spiritual leadership. In the last resort the confidence of western man in the battle against the forces of nature has come from the faith that *convinces him of the value of his individual personality* (italics ours) and neither political changes nor technical advances can avail in the colonies unless this quality can be transmitted and shared."

We thank the **Times'** Leader writer for this very important and valuable contribution. The need for better understanding between the British official in the colonies and the indigenous population has been stressed by us in this letter and in the letter in our previous issue. The still more important spiritual need of giving to the colonial a sense of the worth of his own personality and of his ability to make an invaluable contribution to the building up of his own country is behind the inspiration of all the work of the **League of Coloured Peoples.** We print some extracts from the Correspondent's article in this issue. He states quite categorically that the permanent officials of the Colonial office need more help if they are really to understand and deal effectively with the problems which confront them. This is our opinion also. We said as much in our letter above, and feel that it is sufficiently important for us once again to stress this fact.

Yours very truly

Founder and President.

APPEAL.

We appeal to our members and friends to send in subscriptions to a fund for the entertainment of a representative group of the colonial contingent now here for the V-parade. The response must be immediate if it is to be of use. If you wish to be present at this Reception please get in touch with our office immediately.

28 The Colonial Contingent in the V-March. EAST AND WEST AFRICAN TROOPS TO LEAD CONTINGENT.

TROOPS WILL CAMP IN KENSINGTON GARDENS.

The Colonial Contingent in the V-Parade in London will be led by Major-General F. J. Loftus Tottenham, D.S.O., Commanding the 81st (West African) Division, and by Major-General W. A. Dimoline, C.B.E., M.C., Commanding the 11th (East African) Division.

The Contingent will be over 1,400 strong and will include representatives from each of the territories in the Colonial Empire and from the South African High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland.

Specially chosen to lead the Contingent as a tribute to their splendid fighting record will be troops of the British East and West African territories. The detachment from Malta G.C. will occupy a special place of honour at the rear of the Contingent. With one exception, all other territorial detachments will march in alphabetical order.

A feature of the Colonial Contingent will be the famous band of the King's African Rifles from East Africa.

West Africa will have 317, comprising one lieut.-colonel, 10 officers carrying colours with two escorts, one bearer each of the flags of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and 17 officers and 283 other ranks.

Band of King's African Rifles consisting of one Warrant officer and 39 other ranks.

East Africa: 324, comprising one lieut.-colonel, 14 officers carrying colours with two escorts, one bearer each of the flags of Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Uganda Protectorate, Tanganyika Territory, Zanzibar Protectorate, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland Protectorate and Somaliland Protectorate; 27 men officers, four women officers, 255 men other ranks, eight women other ranks, and six civilians.

Bermuda: 25, comprising one bearer of the Colonel's flag, two officers and 22 other ranks.

West Indies: 80, consisting of one bearer each of the flags of Bahamas, Barbados, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Trinidad, Windward Islands, and 72 marching in the ranks. (The whole detachment will consist of West Indians serving in the R.A.F.; final "break-down" by ranks is not yet known).

Malta: 126, consisting of one lieut.-colonel, two officers carrying colours with two escorts, two flag-bearers, three officers, 68 men other ranks, one woman other rank, three civilian officers, 43 civilian men and two civilian women.

Arrangements for the entertainment and welfare of the Colonial Contingent will be under the general direction of the Welfare Department, Colonial Office, Kinnaird House,

helped to drive the Italians out of Italian Somaliland and Abyssinia. They defended British West Africa from attack through Vichy territory, and they helped to capture Madagascar from the Vichy Government. African troops went to the Middle East as pioneers and so highly were their achievements valued that in October, 1944, the King granted permission to the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps to omit from its title the word "Auxiliary."

But it was in the Far East that the Colonial Forces played their biggest and grandest role. Against the Japanese in Burma, the East and West African troops more than held their own and their advances in the Kabaw Valley and the Arakan were a great contribution to the liberation of Burma. The names of the 81st and 82nd (West African) and the 11th (East African) Divisions will long be remembered by those who saw troops of these formations in action in Burma. And the Nigerian Brigade, which formed part of the late Major-General Wingate's Chindits, won for itself a special place in the history of the war in South-East Asia.

Although the East African territories (Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) raised more troops (at the peak of their strength they numbered approximately 228,000) than the West African Colonies of Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, whose peak total reached nearly 150,000, the latter territories had the distinction of providing the larger force for the campaign in the Far East. Altogether about 100,000 men of the Royal West African Frontier Force and ancillary units served against the Japanese in Burma, while about half this number of troops of the King's African Rifles (and ancillary units) from East Africa were engaged in this theatre of war. But, on the other hand, the East Africans provided more troops for the Abyssinian campaign than the West Africans and they (the East Africans) alone took part in the Madagascar operations. The troops sent by East and West Africa to the Far East comprised the biggest expeditionary force ever sent overseas by the Colonial Empire.

FIJI.

Fiji, small as it is in population (approximately 254,000), has a war record of which any country might be proud. To a Fijian went the honour of being the only Colonial-born coloured soldier to win the Victoria Cross during the last war. He was the late Corporal Sefanaia Sukanaivalu who was killed during the fighting in the Solomons. It was during this phase of the war in the Far East that the Fijians earned themselves the reputation of being "the world's best jungle fighters." At the peak of their strength (in August, 1943), the Fiji Military Forces totalled over 8,500, of whom more than 6,300 were Fijians. Men of the Labour Corps raised in the Solomons and in the Gilbert whose ships they helped to fuel and unload.

40880/5

THE WEST INDIES.

Although the West Indies main contribution to the fighting forces was the provision of volunteers for the Royal Air Force, there was a persistent desire to send a combatant unit overseas and, in 1944, this wish was gratified. A contingent about 1,000 strong, and chosen from all the West Indies and Bermuda, was sent to the United States to complete its final training. It was the first British unit to train on American soil since the War of Independence. In July, 1944, the contingent arrived in Italy but for various reasons it was not found possible to use it in action.

But it was the West Indian air and ground-crews of the R.A.F. who most brought fame to their homelands. In all, about 8,000 men and women joined the R.A.F. and the W.A.A.F. Approximately 400 West Indians served in aircrews and many of these were engaged in flying operations against the enemy. Upwards of 50 decorations were awarded to West Indian aircrews.

Many other Colonial territories also sent volunteers to the R.A.F.—although in very much smalled numbers than the West Indies—and their record is by no means unimpressive.

The contribution of the Colonial Empire to the war at sea was unspectacular although a great deal of useful work was done, for instance, in the Caribbean, in Ceylon and Fiji, and in East and West Africa.

Mention, too, should be made of the gallant and effective work done by the Civil Defence workers of Malta, Ceylon, Malaya and Hong Kong, the only Colonial territories to experience heavy bombing.

WEST AFRICAN OFFICER TO HELP WITH WELFARE ARRANGEMENTS.

Major Seth Kobla Anthony, the first West African to be commissioned in the Second World War in the Royal West African Frontier Force, has arrived in this country by air to help with the welfare arrangements for the West African troops. He will work with the Welfare Department of the Colonial Office at Kinnaird House, Pall Mall East.

ANOTHER WEST AFRICAN OFFICER WILL BE IN MARCH.

Marching with the contingent in the V-Parade will be Lieutenant T. K. Impraim, the seceond West African to be commissioned in the last war in the Royal West African Frontier Force. Impraim "passed out" of an O.C.T.U. in the Isle of Man in May, 1945, and then joined the 3rd Battalion, the Gold Coast Regiment (82nd W.A. Division) at Taungup, Burma, as a platoon-commander.

The total tonnage of Nigerian export of groundnuts for this season has reached more than 300,000 tons. This has been achieved in spite of many difficulties, including very bad weather conditions.

Emirs, Chiefs, District and Village Heads are being urged to stick at and to do the same again next season, thus materially helping to maintain world food supplies.

Pall Mall East, and a special Liaison Officer, Major A. Chamier, has been appointed to take charge of these particular activities.

Sight-seeing tours, coach trips to the country, visits to farms, tickets for theatres and other entertainment will be arranged by Lord Milne's Empire Societies War Hospitality Committee who will have an Information Bureau in the Colonial troops' lines at "G" Camp, Kensington Gardens, and a Central Bureau at 6, St. Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square. These Bureaux will have all information in connection with official entertainment and will also be in a position to answer individual enquiries and to assist those who want to find their own way about London.

In addition, the Royal Empire Society, the Victoria League, the Dominion and Allied Services Hospitality Committee, the Overseas League, Nutford House and other organisations which specialise in giving a welcome to overseas visitors will be arranging dances, tea parties and similar entertainments.

Admission to "G" camp will be by ticket only and anyone wishing to visit the camp should apply for a ticket of admission to:

MAJOR A. CHAMIER, O.B.E., E.D.,
The Welfare Department,
Colonial Office, Room 17,
Kinnaird House, Pall Mall East, S.W.1.
Telephone: ABBey 7878, Extension 13.

HD 8814

29 Some of the Notables in the V. Parade, June 8th.

Among the officers who will march with the East African troops will be Lieutenant M. E. Kawalya Kagwa, Prime Minister of Buganda* in the Uganda Protectorate.

Lieutenant Kagwa is a son of the late Sir Apollo Kagwa, the well-known Prime Minister of Buganda who, as one of the Regents, signed the Uganda Agreement of 1900 with Sir Harry Johnston, the Special Representative of Queen Victoria.

In the Second World War, Lieutenant Kagwa served with the King's African Rifles in East Africa. He is now one of the three Regents who are conducting the affairs of Buganda during the absence on a two years' course of studies at Magdalene College, Cambridge, of His Highness the Kabaka (Ruler) of Buganda, Mutesa II.

Nigeria. Of approximately 140 Nigerian troops who will march in the West African detachment; all have seen service either in East Africa, Abyssinia or Burma.

Corporal Komon, a member of the North Borneo V-detachment, which is expected to arrive at Southampton detachment, played an active part in assisting the escapes of Allied prisoners-of-war from the camp at Sandakan, West Borneo.

*Buganda, a province of the Uganda Protectorate, is about the size of Eire and has a population of about 1,000,000.

Mohamed Yassin, Chief of Sipitang, North Borneo, another member of the detachment, organised a force of native soldiers and led them in person against the Japanese, killing or capturing a number of the enemy. He was also responsible for obtaining information which led to the destruction of Japanese 'planes before the Allied invasion of North Borneo.

One of the most notable figures will be Lt. Col. Ratu (Chief) Sir Lala Sukuna, K.B.E., who will lead the contingent of 79 men from Fiji and Tonga. All members of the deachment served in overseas combat zones during the war and 22 of them were decorated. Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna, on whom a knighthood was conferred in the 1946 New Year's Honours List, is the first Fijian to receive this honour.

Educated at Wanganui College, New Zealand, and Wadham College, Oxford, he served in the 1914-18 war in the French Foreign Legion and in the Fiji Transport Detachment in France.

Two other distinguished Fijians in the Fijian contingent will be Major Ratu (Chief) Edward Thakombau, M.C., and Captain Ratu (Chief) George Thakombau—descendants of Thakombau, who in 1874, voluntarily ceded Fiji to Queen Victoria. Both are well known on the cricket and football fields of the Pacific.

Another Fijian officer will be Captain Isireli Korovulavula, M.C., the "Smiling Full-back" of the Fiji rugger team which won, drew, and lost in three test matches with the Maoris in 1938, but which was unbeaten in a tour of New Zealand in 1939; Captain George Thakombau was captain of the team. While artillery-"spotting" during the fighting in the Solomons, Korovulavula was the sole survivor from a 'plane which crashed and of which nothing was heard for more than a month. Although given up as lost, he eventually turned up "as thin as a rake but still with his famous smile." He had eluded Japanese patrols and for weeks had practically no food.

Sergeant Jione Inukiha Agana and Private Simotevea Mahe, two of the six representatives from the Kingdom of Tonga, each won the British Military Medal and the U.S. Silver Star for their gallantry in rescuing two wounded U.S. soldiers under heavy Japanese fire in New Georgia.

30 Colonial Forces in the War.

Comparatively few people in this country realise the splendid part played in the war by troops of the Colonial Empire. Numbering only about 40,000 at the beginning of hostilities, the Colonial Forces had been expanded to a total of nearly 500,000 before the Axis was finally defeated.

EAST AND WEST AFRICA.

The British Colonial territories in East and West Africa alone put over 350,000 men into the field. African soldiers

31 Medical School for West Indies.

Mr. John Hunter, Dean of the Medical Faculty of the University of London, and Professor Beyon McSwiney arrived in Kingston, Jamaica, at the beginning of April to consider plans for the setting up of the Medical School in connection with the proposed University of the West Indies. They are representatives of the London University with which the University of the West Indies will be associated.

32 What Is Being Said In U.S.A. *New Africa.* March, 1946.

COLONIAL EXPLOITATION MEANS THIS: COMPANY PROFITS —$26,728,864; AFRICANS' WAGES—$7.00 A MONTH.

Lever Brothers & Unilever Ltd. controls the United Africa Company, which dominates the export of African raw materials and the importing and sale of manufactured merchandise in British and French West Africa and the Belgian Congo.

Accounts of Lever Brothers for the year 1944 reveal an aggregate profit of nearly $65,000,000. Net profit after various operational and tax deductions came to $26,728,864. This means nice fat dividends for shareholders in the corporation, who know little and care less about how their dividends are secured.

But in the town of Burutu, Nigeria, employees of the United Africa Company have addressed a petition to the Commissioner of Labor, demanding a reduction in their overtime work (their total work-week comes to 77 hours, including 8 hours on Sunday) and an increase in pay (which is now $7.00 a month for regular time of 50 hours a week, and about 5c an hour for overtime).

They also demand reduction in taxation which now takes $4.00 of their monthly income. The workers, even after eighteen years of service, still get no pension and are subject to discharge at any time on the same basis as casual laborers.

Such exploitation of labor in the colonies undermines the security of workers throughout the world.

Dr. Malcolm Joseph Mitchell has been appointed Supervisor of our office for the month of June. We thank Mr. T. E. Sealy for all the solid work put in during the month of May.

We have moved our offices one floor down to the second floor, which will make it easier for our visitors.

The continuation of the article on Nigeria's Ten Year Development Plan along with other valuable matter has been held over for our next issue on account of lack of space.

33 Dr. Kenneth Little speaks on Africa at L.C.P. Conference.

Dr. Little who has recently returned from Sierra Leone where he spent a year in Sociological investigations informed us that he was speaking mainly about the country he had visited. He had met a great diversity of people there and had received a diversity of ideas about what Africans want, but there was a large measure of agreement only on political aims. Progress demanded more common understanding in regard to the inter-related economic and social goals.

In planning for the future in British Africa it had to be remembered that at present Africans are living in three categories of Society—the illiterate people under tribal conditions, in rural areas, and inclined to "superstition" and parochialism; the semi-illiterate, "detribalised" people, in mining areas, near the railway line and port area, hardly bound by either "tribal" or "civilized" sanctions; and the third, those living much the same as people in European countries. The latter is the smallest group, but more and more are moving towards it, and this fact should govern political planning and other considerations.

Dr. Little found that there was virtually no desire on the part of illiterate young people to follow tribal occupations in any way. But the fact that Africans are being absorbed more and more in a European and world economic system presented philosophical as well as practical difficulties. The practical problem is how to secure for Africa the greatest possible measure of freedom in the modern world. Only Africans themselves should answer the philosophical question of "Where are you heading for"? He reminded the audience of the sorry pjlight in which European society found itself today.

Dealing with practical considerations, Dr. Little thought that, broadly speaking, five main and immediate problems would have to be solved in achieving African social economic and political freedom. These were: the question of so-called economic "exploitation"; the breakdown of the agrarian system, coupled with the drift to the towns; health and nutrition; social relations—to some extent a cultural and psychological problem; and that of political representation.

Putting the matter very briefly, he thought that the institution of economic co-operation on a mass scale would go far to solve most of the first mentioned difficulties. **Essentially,** such efforts must be accompanied by literacy, and the enthusiastic collaboration of the educated section of the community was an urgent necessity. Co-operative methods were an integral part of the indigenous system of agriculture and production but they had to be brought up to date in terms of modern technique of accounting, book keeping, and co-operative organization. Films, and travelling cinema units would be invaluable, particularly in showing the people how they could work together and with the

Government to combat disease and infection. Preventative methods in such matters were as important as curative ones, and vastly cheaper and more effective in the long run. Co-operative instruction could also be given in this way.

In regard to social relations, so long as European administration was necessary, the essential principle was to appoint officials who liked Africans and were prepared to mix with them on a friendly and equal basis. Educated Africans themselves should also mix more, particularly with the present illiterate people. In the present situation, general progress depended to a large extent on the readiness of those possessing knowledge and experience to pass it on to the less educated.

In the political field, improved methods of education were necessary to convert "tribal consciousness," where it still remained, into "national consciousness." The "horizon of the village" must be extended as quickly as possible to a more real perspective of modern life. Political representatives should be selected on the basis of intelligence and of their ability to communicate lucidly and effectively the wishes of those for whom they spoke. The most urgent consideration in this respect was to extend direct representation as quickly as possible and in conformity with present trends in the sociological situation. Sociological and political realities must go together.

4/8/17

34 Negros Demonstrated Capabilities of Their Race in Queen Victoria's Days.

By Herbert Macaulay. *West African Pilot.*

John Carr, a full-blooded Negro who was born in the West Indies, was appointed Queen's Advocate of the colony of Sierra Leone in the year 1840 and was promoted to the bench as Chief Justice of Sierra Leone in 1841, which office he held with credit for a period over five-and-twenty years before he retired on a substantial pension in 1867.

He died in England in the year 1880.

During the absence of Sir John Jeremie, Kt., Governor of Sierra Leone, John Carr administered the government of that colony in the year 1841 till the arrival in Sierra Leone of Lieutenant Governor William Fergusson, the coloured Staff Surgeon of African descent who became the first Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief.

ALEXANDER FITZJAMES.

Alexander Fitzjames was a full-blooded West Indian Negro born in Trinidad, and a Barrister-at-Law of the Middle Temple, London, in 1847.

In Trinidad he built up an extensive practice which he carried on for eighteen years when he was appointed Police Magistrate of Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone.

He soon became Queen's Advocate and later served the colony as chief Justice till the year 1862.

This full blooded Negro administered the government of Sierra Leone from 1859 to 1860 during the absence in England of the European governor of the colony.

In Lagos, the capital, today, of Nigeria, Charles Pike, the offspring of a European and a female Mullatto settler in Sierra Leone possessing a quarter-Negro blood, was appointed and he acted as Deputy Governor of Lagos in 1885—1886 under Letters Patent of January 22, 1885.

35 THE VENERABLE AND HONOURABLE ARCHDEACON LENNON'S ABLE SPEECH IN THE NIGERIAN LEGISLATURE IN THE DEBATE ON THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN. *West African Pilot,* February 11th.

The honourable gentleman, who spoke after the commercial member for Kono, the Hon. W. T. G. Gates, made strong reference to the talk about the British tax-payer's money. He had heard much mention about it and the time had come for it to stop. Without the colonies, he did not think the British Empire would be what it is today. In his opinion, the money voted by the British tax-payer for the development of the colonies was only coming back to where it belonged.

Continuing, Hon. Lennon said that the country needed development and he would like to see the government getting on with the job as early as possible, if the ten-year plan was not to turn out in the end to be a ten-year tour.

"We must begin with what we have," he went on, "and we must spend at once."

The Hon. Lennon then went on to cite instances to show the readiness of the people of Nigeria for development.

He made references to Ikosi Industries, which, he revealed, was building a school costing no less than £3,000 without any help from the government.

He hoped the government would give due assistance to such spontaneous gestures.

Turning to the staff of the devlopment branch, the Hon. Lennon deplored the scanty manner in which the government was making use of local talent.

"We are not using the ability of the African enough," he emphasised, and he cited the case of an African (now retired) who, although he rose from the lowest rung of the ladder to the post of Resident Class I, yet never saw a province until he retired.

"It is time people were given a chance—and a big chance too," went on Hon. Lennon.

By way of suggestion, the honourable gentleman said the working of the devlopment plan would be very much speeded up if only the Public Works Department would make the best use of the talent of those Africans who had retired from that department.

To the people of Nigeria the Hon. Lennon also had a note of warning to sound.

The government, under the development plan, are not preparing jobs merely for the sake of doing so.

"We must ourselves prepare ourselves for the situations

had given themselves. When half a million men and women, drawn from such a variety of backgrounds could prove themselves so educible, it can never again be said with any measure of honesty that these people cannot be educated. That theory has been exploded for ever, we hope never to rear its horrid head again.

The Empire, however, needs to be strong not only in war. The need, in our opinion, is far greater and much more urgent in peace. War has more than fully demonstrated what can be done. Let Britain now apply the lessons learnt in the emergency of war in order to help build securely the peace. We have discovered that, even if we take Africa alone, there are vast untapped reservoirs of strength upon which Britain can draw if she only will. The man power of Africa is just crying out for development. Let Britain understand that her most urgent need at the moment is to respond to this cry. Africa heard your cry and responded magnificently in the hour of war, now she calls to you to stand by her in the hour of peace. Surely Britain will not only blandish fine garments before her and give her merely drums and parades and the like. She asks for bread, to build up body and mind and soul, beware lest she only receives the stone of military power and brute force; she asks for fish, with which to secure economic strength and social equality in order to enable her to make her contribution to the world family, see that she does not only get the serpent of bitterness, disillusionment and frustration. Britain never had a greater opportunity to cash in upon the loyalty and love of the peoples of her far flung Empire than at the present moment. She can bind them to her with an undying bond and those spiritual ties to which we have just referred can be made unbreakable, but let her remember that this can only be done on the basis of honesty and sincerity of purpose. If, in her dealings with her "Colonial Peoples" (we want to drop this term, because we feel it connotes a status of inferiority. We want rather to speak of ourselves as Africans, West Indians, &c.) she sets out primarily to save her own soul, then she will not only lose her own soul, but her peoples also. If, however, she genuinely sets out to save them because she loves them, believes in them, is grateful to them and wants to see them occupy their

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rightful place in this earth, then she will not only save them but she will also save herself and become well-nigh immortal.

With wise and imaginative action this Labour Government can render to the world a service of inestimable value. They must however press on much more vigorously with their measures for economic, educational, health and political development than is the case at the present moment. They must instruct all their representatives that this is their sincere purpose which they mean to pursue with undiminished vigour and if these representatives are not 100% with them in it, then it would be far better if they resigned immediately. If such robust methods are not adopted, then we can only envisage a future in which there will be continuous disturbances and wherein our best brains will be deflected from applying themselves to devising constructive measures in co-operation with a benign and actively sympathetic Government, to the terrible task of fighting an inert and unimaginative Government and embittering their own souls. That we should be spared of this is the fervent hope and prayer of the League of Coloured Peoples. Just as Britain needed all the physical and material help she could secure from her people during the years of war, so now, we feel, her need is even greater for all the intellectual help she can attract from her many peoples throughout her vast Empire, if she is to solve effectively the many problems which now confront her, here and overseas, and play a worthy part in the solution of world problems. The sooner Britain realises that all her available brains for this purpose are not only to be found within these isles, the better for herself and the world at large.

We draw attention to a leading article and an article from a special Correspondent which appeared in the **Times** on May 14th, after this letter was written and sent off to the printers. So much of it is in line with what we have said above that we venture to quote therefrom. The Editor, after making reference to the setting up of development and welfare " as the statutory goals of British Colonial Policy", went on to say :—

> " Clearly it involves a new impulse to material progress. New standards of life in place of traditional habits must be the agencies of social and political progress . . . Steps are urgently needed to remedy

turn round, sometimes with quite wonderful results.

The army too has been a sort of insurance against the somewhat precarious existence, dependent on the vicissitudes of the weather and the skill of the individual, which so many led before the War came.

If the teeth ache, there is always a free dentist in the Unit, there is a free Doctor too striving away daily to keep everyone fit and well.

There has been no conductor demanding fares on the train or bus because the soldier has been in possession of a free warrant. If his clothes wear out or get shabby the Quartermaster's stores provides a free new issue and there has been the cookhouse with an adequate supply of free food and an officer to listen to complaints and deal with them, these complaints generally consisting of bitter denunciations to the effect that there is not enough, despite the fact that almost every African I know since joining the Army has put on weight, besides eating and liking good food which in the ordinary course of events would never have been within his civilian orbit.

These are some of the things which have helped to pay the price for being uprooted and also for being prepared to leave this world for another one should the need, and the somewhat unfortunate circumstances arise. I leave out the question of actual pay in hard cash. Sufficient to say that many men are returning to their homes with balances near, and in excess of, £100 which speaks for itself.

I myself am not really concerned with these material things so much, but of course I realise that they are a necessary and integral part of a good and well run Army and that their smooth and proper working is absolutely vital.

Surely the most important influence that the Army can have on the African soldier is the building of character. If one takes the wide view one realises that here is a golden opportunity for people in my position to contribute something really constructive for the future of the Negroid peoples by training and moulding them in the way that they should go, through the authority vested in us.

The West African has a "collective" mind rather than an "individual" one. This is because of the present tribal system in existence, and which has so many excellent features to recommend it. But the War has forced the African to act on many occasions if not continuously as an individual and has saddled him with responsibilities which he would never have shouldered under peacetime conditions.

All this has tended to build character. The fact that we have been able to produce African Officers of outstanding ability despite much opposition and adverse criticism and head shaking from the "old Brigade" proves that the material is there. However there is still a long way to go as at present we are passing through the transitional stage where there are a large number of West Africans (and not only in the Army but in civilian life as well) suffering from

that old disease which surely every nation has gone through in that "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." So many men who think that because they know their alphabet and can make two and two come to four they possess all the answers. However these growing pains must and will pass.

One of the secrets of a Great People is when the individual is prepared to put back into life more than he takes out. This is one of the principles which we MUST instil in the African mind, i.e., the substitution of the word US for the word ME. This is the first step to combat bribery and corruption which is often rife amongst Africans holding responsible positions of trust.

I should like to make it clear at this stage that the weaknesses I have written about in an earlier letter do not necessarily apply to all Africans and moreover they are present in varying degrees all over the world in almost every race and nation but again this does not alter the fact that they are evil and should and must be eradicated before much can be achieved.

Moreover I should like to emphasise (and I am proud to write this) that I number amongst some of my greatest personal friends many Africans of sterling qualities in every respect and of unimpeachable integrity who are an ever-present example to their less admirable brothers, and, believe me, these outstanding men are not necessarily Bachelors of Science nor Masters of Arts. Some of them can neither read nor write nor speak English; they may be straight from the jungle with no veneer of Western Culture, but it should be remembered that because a man IS straight from the jungle, ignorant, and illiterate, it does not mean that he is automatically deprived of knowing the difference between right and wrong or that he is automatically barred from possessing those elusive but desirable instincts which we lump together in that much mal-used word a "gentleman."

Sometimes I meet West Africans whose attitude to the white man is "We are as good as you are, give us equality and to hell with you."

But the question of Equality goes much deeper than this. Washington Carver, that great coloured American summed it up brilliantly when he said this:—

"Equality must not be demanded because it cannot be given. It has to be paid for and there is only one price which is character and achievement."

We must be prepared for disillusionment and disappointment and perhaps some of us have savoured both already.

But of one thing I am quite certain in my own mind and that is that a most significant and influential part can be played by people like myself (a serving soldier) with very far reaching results in helping the West African to take his eventual rightful place as a leading People in the world community.

which we may have to fill, since the government is out to train us for them."

Circular to Missions.

On the subject of education, the Hon. Lennon took a serious exception to a recent government circular to the missions asking them not to do anything which they may not be able to carry out.

Such a circular was unfair to the missions, he said, especially when the glorious work of these missions is taken into consideration.

In his opinion, most of the work now being done by the missions was what the government should have done.

The hospital at Iyi-Enu, for instance, would surprise any visitors even though the missionary bodies responsible had been maintaining it all these years at a standard of efficiency which could challenge any government hospital.

"What is the government doing for that hospital?" he asked.

Two Years' Talking.

It was his earnest hope, Hon. Lennon went on, that the ten-year plan would not be a vast repository of plans here and plans there.

Already, he went on, the country has spent one year in making the development plans.

It is now spending another year in talking about it.

He hoped the government would get on to the job at once.

On the question of sanitation, the honourable gentleman deplored the condition of Lagos.

Lagos Sanitation.

The township of Lagos, he continued, was a disgrace to any government and should rceive better attention than it is receiving at the moment.

If Lagos is to become the Liverpool of West Africa, then the sooner it is replanned and given better sanitation facilities the better.

The Venerable and Hon. Lennon then had a word to say about the talk about the palace of Olubadan.

He did not feel the allocation of an amount of £10,000 too much for the palace of a natural ruler of the type and status of the Olubadan of Ibadan.

He hoped it was not the policy of the government to under-rate the status of the chiefs of the country.

Inter-Colonial Roads.

On the question of road development, the Hon. Lennon said he saw no impossibility in constructing a motorable road from Nigeria to the Gold Coast and from the Gold coast on to Sierra Leone and the Gambia, a through road that would be free from all the present indignities experienced by travellers.

He saw no reason why an African should be molested even in his own land simply because he happened to be

travelling from one political zone into another.

Our development plans, in this respect, he went, were too slow.

Physical features, he continued, should be no barriers whatsoever.

If a mountain stood in the way of progress, then dig a tunnel through and continue the job.

Industrialisation.

Speaking on the industrialisation of the country, Hon. Lennon said he would prefer to see the country industrialised in the things she produced.

If Nigerians were able to produce their own needs, by means of manufacture, the cost of commodities would be far cheaper and more helpful.

Nigeria, he went on, needed more and more mills.

The honourable gentleman, supporting the resolution before the house, ended by stressing the particular needs of Ondo Province with special reference to important towns like Owo, Ekiti, Ikare, Kabba, Okene, Okitipupa and others.

The Honourable gentleman is a Jamaican by birth, a member of the L.C.P. almost from the time of its inception and one of whom we are justly proud. He recently sent us a cablegram wishing our Conference success. Mr. and Mrs. Lennon have given their lives to Africa, are outstanding personalities and have done a magnificent job. We noted in our columns three years ago, that he was nominated by the Governor as an un-official member of the Legislative Council and that H.M. the King honoured him with the O.B.E. Readers will be pleased to learn that the following appeared in a recent issue of the Nigerian Gazette.

"Reposing special trust and confidence in the loyalty, integrity and ability of the Venerable Lacklond Augustus Lennon, O.B.E., H.E., the Governor has nominated and re-appointed him to serve as an un-official member of the Legislative Council for Ondo Division. He will serve for another period of three years as from February 22nd, 1946. We do congratulate him and bid him fearlesly and righteously to continue to promote the best interest of our people."

36 Fruit Canning in Jamaica. *Sunday Times*, May 19th.

Plans are nearly complete for the setting up in Jamaica of a modern fruit canning factory financed by British business interest. It is believed that a ready market could be found in this country and on the Continent for Jamaican tinned fruit and vegetables, particularly tomatoes, grapefruit and pineapples. Its success would mean the opening up of an important secondary industry in the colony.

OFFICERS FOR AFRICAN REGIMENTS.

Lieut.-Colonel Mackeson asked what steps are being taken to ensure that the best available Officers and N.C.O's are employed to serve with African troops? and whether any revision in the conditions of service and pay for British personnel serving with African troops is contemplated?

Mr. Lawson: The most suitable Officers available are posted to African units. Before any N.C.O. or potential N.C.O. is posted for service with non-European troops, he is inspected by an Officer not below the rank of Lieut.-Colonel to ensure that he is suitable for this duty. In the case of the Infantry, potential N.C.Os attend a course at the School of Infantry, and must be accepted by a special Selection Board. A review is to be carried out, in conjunction with the Colonial Office, of the conditions of service and pay in the Colonial Forces.

NIGERIAN TRADE UNIONS.

Mr. Turton asked whether, in view of the announcement of the Governor of Nigeria, at the 23rd session of the Legislative Council, that the composition of many trade unions in Nigeria had been upon a faulty basis, the Secretary of State will arrange for assistance to be given to the workers in Nigeria towards the reconstitution of the trade union upon a proper basis?

Mr. George Hall: Yes, Sir. Two men, with wide trade union experience in Britain, have just been selected for appointment as additional labour officers in Nigeria.

Mr. Turton: Does the Minister agree that the trade unions want reconstituting? Is he satisfied with a system where some trade unions in West Africa have employers as presidents of unions?

Mr. Hall: We are hoping for an improvement.

COLOURED COLONIAL PERSONNEL.

Major Wilkes asked whether the Secretary of State will consider recruiting, for permanent service in the peace-time Army, coloured Colonial personnel in the U.K. and within the Empire, who may wish to join? Whether those coloured soldiers already in the Service will be allowed to continue on a regular engagement? Whether the relaxation (during wartime) of K.R., to allow Africans to hold the King's Commission, will be continued in the future? and whether he will amend A.C.I. 1435 of 1942 para. 5(B) which constitutes a colour bar entry into the Service?

Mr. Lawson: I am discussing this matter with my right hon. Friend the Colonial Secretary.

Major Wilkes: Would my right hon. Friend bear in mind that the relaxation of K.R. (to allow Africans to hold the King's Commission during the war) has worked extremely well? Will he also bear in mind that the R.A.F. has indicated that it will take coloured personnel on terms of complete equality for the peace-time R.A.F.?

Mr. Lawson: I know that there is considerable feeling

on this question, but I think that it should be discussed before any decision is taken.

Major Wilkes asked a similar question concerning the R.A.F.

Mr. Strachey replied: All British subjects, without distinction of colour or descent, are now equally eligible for the R.A.F.; and K.R. and Air Council Instructions will be appropriately amended. The rule will be applied to men already serving.

Major Wilkes: May I ask the hon. Gentleman whether he is aware how widely welcomed this decision has been, especially by those West Indian airmen who served with much distinction in operational air crews?

UNIVERSITY COLLEGES.

Mr. G. Thomas asked what steps are being taken to establish the universities in the West Indies and West Africa, as recommended by recent commissions of inquiry?

Mr. George Hall: The recommendation of the Irvine Committee on Higher Education in the West Indies for the setting up of a university college and, eventually, of a full university has my entire support. The views of the West Indian Governments are generally favourable, but replies are not yet complete. I recently proposed, to the Governors, certain action for carrying out the recommendation, and am awaiting their replies.

Further, since it is clear that certain of the problems connected with the setting up of a university college can be more fully considered on the spot, arrangements have been made for a delegation, from the University of London, to visit Jamaica and Trinidad, and consult with the local authorities. This delegation has left Britain.

As regards West Africa, I am not yet in a position to add anything to the answer given to Mr. Turton on March 20th.

Many Colonial questions were answered in the house of Commons on May 15th, when the Colonies were at the top of the Question paper. Here are some points from replies made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

East African immigration is to be regulated. Draft legislation has been published as a basis for consideration. The Indian populations have increased to the following extent between 1939 and 1946: Kenya from 43,200 to 61,000; Tanganyika from 26,000 to 37,000; and Uganda from 16,174 to 26,000; an overall increase from 85,374 to 124,000. Another answer given showed the increase in residential and business property held by Indians in those colonies.

Nigerian scholarships to the number of 100 have been offered for study in the United States by Mr. Mwafor Orizu but conditions for them have not yet been published.

Trustee Agreements regarding the Cameroons, Tanganyika and Togoland will be communicated to Parliament and to the local Legislature Councils before submitting them to the United Nations.

41 BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY. *Times.* May 14th.

In most of the colonies of the British Empire there has been developing during the last generation or two an educated section of society which has absorbed many of our democratic ideals and is hungry for greater political responsibility. But political development must march with economic expansion; and while there is enough common sense, good will, and knowledge in many of the territories for their internal economy to be greatly improved, no progress in their social and political growth can be permanent until the extreme poverty of most of the people has been alleviated.

Generally speaking there is a sufficiency both of land, if soil erosion can be stayed, and of local materials and elementary skill to build better houses and produce better living conditions and water supplies, better diet, and better clothes. Even though prices of exportable products depend largely on post-war plans for directing world trade, costs can be cut between the price given to the producer and that paid by the consumer. The money thus saved would appreciably supplement the producer's income. Also a much larger proportion of the wealth from minerals taken out of the colonies should be retained in the colonies. The initiative in these preliminary steps can only come from the British Government.

He then speaks about indirect rule and shows how "an **intelligentsia** has grown up which has no part in the local government, often directed by illiterate and animist chieftains" and shows how in other countries they "have been absorbed into the feudal or tribal system" though they have only been able to patch up that system and how both systems produce the wrong type of agitation. This growing gap between the **intelligentsia** and the chiefs must be bridged immediately and planned development—toward democracy—worked out. He continues:—

BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY.

If it be granted that it is the responsibility of the British official not only to urge the local governments to grow in order to meet new conditions, but also to inspire new forms of government, then it is necessary that the official should learn to re-establish that friendly personal relationship with the educated colonial which he found so easy with the backward African or Malayan of a few decades ago. For various reasons the European and the educated native of most colonies have grown apart. This matter of close friendly relationships between the present ruler and ruled is of first importance. Secondly, so long as the British people are uninterested in the colonies and Parliament is too little interested and not always well informed, some organization should be instituted here at home to examine critically and carefully the work of the Colonial Office.

Such a body should include a number of experts with

first-hand knowledge of the colonies. The average departmental head in the Colonial Office has not spent a long time in the colonies; he would be handicapped if he had, for he would then hardly be able to marshal the facts of any given problem or situation and put them in proper shape, with objective impartiality, before the Secretary of State for his decision. Nevertheless, in spite of their ability and impartiality, these officials are human and can make mistakes, and as the matters with which they deal are of such tremendous importance, they must have a balanced body of able and free criticism to detect errors of judgment or of information.

In the present great crisis in world history the British are called upon to lead, and lead quickly, backward peoples to rule themselves. We have to step from one era into the next—from competitive industrialism into some form of planned society; they have to telescope the centuries and jump from tribal communalism into the same new age as ourselves. And we have so to inspire and sustain this colonial leap that its consequences may not be catastrophic. Our Indian experience has been severe enough, where there are ancient civilizations to take the shock of change, helping to slow down and soften its processes. There are no ancient civilizations in most of the colonies to take this strain. In this lies the kernel of our colonial problem. There is serious confusion in all of our colonies through the impact of western civilizations on backward peoples, and as further violent changes continue the situation will become progressively worse.

SPIRITUAL RESOURCES.

He then speaks of the need for a sociological diagnosis and for the application of its results so that administrative officials could be adequately briefed to carry out the measures required for adjustments. They will succeed or fail in so far as they are able to command the sympathies, trust, and cooperation of the colonial peoples. The highly educated national—and there is now no longer any doubt that the son of a bush African given the right opportunity and chance can encompass our knowledge and wisdom—will be the real saviour of his people. He will be the agent who really will make possible the birth of a nation in a day.

Finally, all the great plans for social and political progress cannot succeed unless they are impregnated with spiritual resources. Religion alone will make the planning secure. In the Colonial Empire there are mainly three religions in the field—Animism, Mohamedanism, and Christianity. Animism cannot stand against modern science even though some of its religious forms and beliefs can be carried into a stronger religion. There remain Mohamedanism and Christianity. Both these could play their part, so long as it is possible on the one hand for Mohamedanism to live side by side with Christianity in places like Nigeria; and on the other for the divided Church, even though it may not yet worship under one roof, to undergird the social life of colonial people with Christian sanctions.

Africans who wish to set up as traders can rely on assistance from existing Government staffs. In Kenya consideration is being given to setting up panels to advise African traders and a pamphlet is being prepared on the subject. Each of the East African territories has a Register of Co-operative Societies to assist African co-operative enterprise.

The Report on Higher Education has met with marked division of opinion in West Africa, involving many and difficult questions and consultations. There has been delay but the Government was anxious to come to the right decision.

There are 128 vacancies in the Colonial Medical Service. Appointments are overtaking retirements at the rate of about 15 a month. The Government is endeavouring to abolish permission for private practice.

Attention was recently called in the News Letter to the case of the West African nurses who were refused by Dewsbury Infirmary. In the House of Commons on May 16th, Mr. Turton asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that West African nurses were recommended for appointment on the staff of Dewsbury Infirmary; and on what grounds was their appointment refused.

Mr. George Hall replied: I understand that the authorities of this Infirmary feel unable to accept girls from West Africa for training for the time being, as it is thought that a hospital with only 100 beds is too restricted to provide satisfactory amenities for the training of Colonial nurses.

38 Stanley House, Liverpool.

Capt. Evans was appointed Warden of Stanley House, and subsequently resigned for personal reasons. You will be glad to hear that Mr. R. H. Wyatt is now appointed. At present he is Youth Officer at Birkenhead and formrly joint Warden at Manchester University Settlement.

39 Back In Civvy Street.

In the period from September 1st, 1945, to March 24th, 1946, 101,490 East African soliders left the Army on return to civil life. In the same period, 8,718 Europeans, 266 Asians, 3,527 Mauritians and 459 Seychellois were released from East Africa Command, giving a gross release figure of 114,460.

L.C.P. Regional Secretaries:
North-Western: Mr. Ormiston Carter, Colwel House, 171, Bedford Street, Liverpool.
South-Western: Mr. Basil A. L. Rodgers, Great Bury, Tavistock Road, Crownhill, Plymouth.

"The Relations of White and Coloured People in Britain" by Dr. K. L. Little, M.A., is just published and can be had from us at 6d. per copy.

40 West African Troops in Burma.

The incident whereby a number of West African Troops who have been court-martialled and sentenced as a result of disturbances in the Far East has created a great degree of anxiety and Dr. Moody made representations on the matter to the Secretary of State for War, expressing the alarm felt by the Executive Committee of the League at what had transpired, and asking for modification of the sentences.

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR, THE RT. HON. JOHN LAWSON TO DR. MOODY. 30th May, 1946.

Mr. Lawson has asked me to answer your letter of the 26th March in which you asked for news of certain incidents involving West African Troops.

The most serious incident was in June last year and occurred at Dacca. A hospital servant of the 46th West African General Hospital had been convicted of assaulting 2 Nursing Sisters and there was a feeling among certain troops that the conviction was unfair. The sentence was due to be promulgated in the afternoon before a full parade of other ranks of the hospital staff. During this ceremony the other ranks released the prisoner, stole a quantity of weapons and dispersed the British staff. Fighting took place and combatant West African Troops had to open fire on the members of the hospital staff. During the fighting the Commanding Officer of the hospital was killed and another officer was wounded. As a result of this disturbance one West African other rank was sentenced to death for the murder of the Commanding Officer and eight others to terms of imprisonment varying from 6 months to 3 years. The case is now considered closed.

There have been several other less serious incidents of collective indiscipline which are still being investigated and various cases of individual offences mostly arising out of differences between West Africans and Indian civilians. Only in one of these, a serious case of murder, arson and rape involving three African other ranks was the death penalty imposed. These three men have appealed to the King against their sentence.

A question was raised recently in Parliament about leniency for West African troops awaiting trial for various offences committed since the end of the war and Mr. Lawson in his reply said—"I cannot give any special undertaking in regard to disciplinary cases which are sub judice. I can, however, assure the hon. Member that those cases which have resulted or may result in convictions and sentences will receive careful review in the light of all relevant circumstances."

You may rest assured that West Africans involved in disciplinary action are given a fair trial and that due consideration is given to all aspects of the case when punishment is decided.

42 AN AFRICAN SOLDIER SPEAKS, by R. H. KAKEMBO, *Edinburgh House Press*, 2, Eaton Gate, S.W.1. *Price* 1/-.

Mr. Kakembo, a Muganda and an alumnus of Maherere, in the short compass of about 1,500 words has revealed many things which must command the attention of all those who are sincerely interested in the welfare of Africa and of Africans. Mr. Geo. C. Turner, principal of Maherere College, says in a preface to the work. "In Uganda, more than elsewhere, I find it difficult—as I think others may find it—to be cheerful and acessible when pressed by business (our normal state for some years past), and I fancy that a certain glumness and irritability of pre-occupation may be an important impediment to an Englishman's work among Africans, who are a very sociable people." There is certainly truth and foundation in this statement but the African readily recognizes the Englishman who is genuinely interested in his welfare and not in Africa merely to hold down a job or to perpetuate an iniquitous system of discrimination and race exploitation and Mr. Kakembo makes this quite clear. His favourable description of the white South African as opposed to the white East African soldier in their relationship to the African, came as a pleasant shock and gives hope that race relations may yet improve considerably in the Union.

But the writer is conscious, as we all are, about the future. He is very anxious that the authorities should move at a quicker pace and should endeavour to forestall some of the problems which he sees arising as a direct result of army life. He deplores the fact that education which he calls their "rock foundation" should still be so inadequate and unsuitable. The African "is educated exactly like an English boy and yet he is not in England." The result is that he is no good. He is a misfit in his own community. We sometimes wonder what has happened to the Government's "Mass Education in African Society." We would like to hear more about what is being done to implement this white paper which was issue in 1943.

The burning question of the disparity of the salary given to the African as compared with that given either to the Asiatic or the European is treated without bitterness but in a manner which must compel the Government to recognize that this form of injustice and discrimination cannot continue thus for much longer. We await with interest the report of the Commission now examining into the salary question in West Africa.

The Political outlook could not escape his attention and he gives some "practical measures" which certainly should be considered by those who are busily engaged in working out the future political development of the people of this area. He says, "The African to-day is very curious, is very ambitious and is very eager to get on. The result is that he wants to know what is going on in his country, he

does not want to accept things blindly, he wants to know why a certain thing is done or not done, and he wants to give his views for or against it. We are born in a queer age—an age of speed; it is a flying age. We are very impatient, because we want to grow overnight. We want to get the steering of our country from the old shaky faltering hands, and drive away at a break-neck speed. It is all right—it is a quality of all things young. We shall only learn by making mistakes . . . . . "

That Mr. Kakembo, like all of us, has abundant faith in the future of his country and of his people, and at the same time shares our doubts about our overlords, is made abundantly clear in his work, and especially when he says: "Be sincere in what you do, and give us all the help we need, and you will see, to your surprise, that even Africa can produce good things."

43 Extracts from a Further Letter Written to the President by a Lieut. Colonel in the Early Thirties, Serving in the Royal West African Frontier Force. (See our April issue L.C.P. N-No. 79-9).

(This letter amplifies the one which appeared in the April issue and should be read in conjunction therewith).

I like to think that the period that our West Africans have spent in the Army has not been unprofitable to them. It is an ever increasing fashion these days to decry the Army as a purely destructive machine but if the subject is looked at objectively it takes on a different aspect.

It is true of course that men have given up their wives and families, their homes and occupations and have been prepared to leave all that is dear and familiar to them and even to risk their very lives for what they believe to be right. Perhaps too it would be fair to say that, like too many Europeans, some of them had not the faintest idea for what they were fighting or why. This, alas, is one of the inevitable tragedies of War.

But apart from all this there have been benefits, both direct and indirect. I have myself seen the astonishing metamorphosis brought about in puny undernourished Africans straight from the Jungle, bewildered and confused, by regular feeding, a balanced diet and carefully organised compulsory physical exercise.

Despite the hardship of leaving wives and families and their own precious little world, again there has been some recompense. They have seen an entirely new, astonishing and intriguing world, discovered people who in some aspects are more backward than themselves despite advantages which the African has not known, they have witnessed strange customs and heard strange tongues. All this has made that curious mechanism which we call the brain,

A Conference on the Relationship between Britain and the Colonial Peoples was hel dat Oulton Hall, Clacton-on-Sea, April 12th—14th on the auspices of the Fabian Colonial Bureau. Mr. J. S. Ogunlesi attended the Conference as representative of the L.C.P. and in his report to the League he summarises the Colonial grievances ventilated as follows:—

"Social aloofness of the Britisher in the colonies. Suspicion and persecution of the colonial leader and intelligentsia by colonial governments. Colour bar. Economic exploitation and dispossession of "natives" of their land, e.g., in Kenya. Presentation of the best in the Britisher to the colonial while the bad (or worst) in the colonial is presented to the British public. The arbitrariness of political frontiers in Africa by communities which belong together were divided up as "possessions," British, French, eac. (a result of a scramble by which the gradual and natural evolution of African communities into statehood had been arrested). Delaying tactics with regard to colonial political freedom."

In regard to pointer for the future he records the following as being the general conclusion reached.

"Few leaders transform and make society; the policy that discountenances and refuses to integrate the colonial intelligentsia into the colonial machinery is a mistaken policy; train them **by responsibility** in addition to other means. Colonial leaders and intelligentsia must show more public spirit: future success depends upon a group of disinterested people. Tempo of advancement in education and social services to be quickened. The highest interests of Britain and the highest interests of the Colonial Peoples were not per se incompatible; but of immediate necessity was reorientation of colonial policy and practice with complete self-determination, or independence where it was desired (as in the case of India) as the ultimate goal. The sincerity with which such policy was pursued would, more than any other factor, determine relations with Britain in the distant future, as surely it will promote better fellow-feeling and the desire of both to live and remain within the Empire."

GEOGRAPHY.

Two valuable additions to the growing list of new school books have been received for review from Wheaton & Co. Ltd., Educational Publishers of Exeter. "The Crest of the Hill" and "The Seven Seas" both by C. Midgley, M.Sc., books 1 and 8 respectively, in the Company's "Golden Mean Geographies" series. They both take the more enlightened and lively view of Geography which is such a welcome trend in the modern treatment of this fascinating subject; and although written specially for United Kingdom children, will appeal to the wider field of Commonwealth education.

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES

Founder and President - Dr. Harold A. Moody

Applications are invited from men and women for the post of

SECRETARY TO THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES

The officer is responsible for

ORGANISING THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE

and administering its office.

The duties will include the

development and direction of a Cultural Centre.

Candidates, who should possess a University degree or some equal qualification as well as organising ability and experience in office routine, must also be

COLOURED, AND CHRISTIAN IN OUTLOOK.

For full particulars, applications for which must be made by letter, not later than June 30th, and the envelope marked "Secretarial Appointment," write to

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES

19 Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

NOTICE.

It is the intention of the League to start a Dramatic Club for the study and performance of Negro and other plays and the development of the available talent of our people. Anyone interested, please communicate with Mr. Robert Adams, c/o the League's Office.

A Grand Victory Dance will be held at Victory House (Leicester Square) on Wednesday, June 5th from 7.30 to 11.30 p.m. Clarrie Wears and his All Coloured Orchestra will be in attendance.

Tickets 5/- each. Proceeds in aid of L.C.P. Funds.

We have received a copy of Education in the West Indies, being the Report of a Conference held by the British West Indian Society of McGill' University, Montiene, April 7—8. We hope to give some extracts therefrom in our next issue.

We have also received W.A.S.U. Magazine for March, published by the West African Students' Union of Great Britain and Ireland, price 1/6.

Mr. Bustamente was tried in Jamaica on May 24th.

G. M. BATTLEY'S PRINTING WORKS LIMITED
899-901, OLD KENT ROAD, LONDON S.E.15

[LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES]

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES.

FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT - - - - - HAROLD A. MOODY, M.D., B.S. (LOND.)

General & Travelling Secretary - - - MALCOLM JOSEPH-MITCHELL *(Trinidad) B.Sc., (Econ.) Ph.D.*

Hon. Treasurer: Dr. CHRISTINE O. MOODY. *Assistant Secretary:* Mrs. MARGARET FULLER.

President's Address:
164, QUEEN'S ROAD, S.E. 15.
Telephone: NEW Cross 1834.

Monthly Publication:
NEWS LETTER
MJM/M.

19, OLD QUEEN STREET,
S.W.1.
Telephone & Telegrams: WHItehall 6591
Cablegrams: AMORPECK, LONDON

21-2-39

9th October, 1946.

W.E.B. DuBois, Esq.,
President,
Pan-African Congress,
20 West, 40th Street,
New York, 18. N.Y.

Dear Mr DuBois,

Your letter of the 18th September addressed to Dr Harold A. Moody together with a copy of the draft petition which the Congress contemplates to present to the United Nations Organisation has been passed on to me for my information and reply.

I wish to inform you that I have perused the document and propose presenting it to the League's Executive Committee at its next meeting and I have no doubt of their eagerness to participate by endorsing the points expressed. I expect that when the document is engrossed and ready for signature you will instruct me on the course which should be adopted for obtaining the League's signature at this end.

Looking forward to hearing from you and with best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,
For THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES,

M. Joseph-Mitchell

M. Joseph-Mitchell,
General & Travelling Secretary.

Social
mem

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES.

FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT - - - - - - HAROLD A. MOODY, M.D., B.S. (LOND.)

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Hon. Treasurer: Dr. CHRISTINE O. MOODY. *Assistant Secretary:* Mrs. MARGARET FULLER.

OBJECTS: DUPLICATE.

To promote and protect the Social, Educational, Economic and Political interests of its members.
To interest members in the welfare of Coloured People in all parts of the world.
To improve relations between the races.
To co-operate and affiliate with organisations sympathetic to Coloured People.
To render such financial assistance to Coloured People in distress as lies within its capacity.

Monthly Publication:
NEWS LETTER

MJM/M.

19, OLD QUEEN STREET,
S.W.1.

Telephone & Telegrams: WHItehall 6591
Cablegrams: AMORPECK, LONDON

21-15-14

19th December, 1946.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, Esq.,
President,
The National Association for the
Advancement of Coloured Peoples,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18,
N.Y.

Dear Sir,

This is to introduce to you our member Edward T. Richards Esq., Barrister-at-Law, who is on his way to Bermuda, British West Indies, where he intends to begin the practice of his profession. Mr Richards has been an active member of our organisation for the past three years during which period he served on the Executive and Management Committee.

We have no doubt that you will find him extremely interested in our common problems and equally interesting as a speaker who we feel sure will be willing to provide any information about our work in this country and elsewhere.

We should be grateful if you would extend the usual courtesies accorded to representatives from kindred organisations. Thanking you and with best wishes, we are,

Very truly yours,
THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES,

M. Joseph-Mitchell

M. Joseph-Mitchell,
General & Travelling Secretary.

Original will be presented by Mr Richards who will be sailing from this country on the 23rd instant.

9 December 1946

Dear Molly:

As I have received no notice of your death or disability, I am venturing to write. I am going to speak in Durham February 14 and may be somewhere in the state both before and after that date. If urged particularly I might come to Raleigh, although I doubt it. At any rate let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-157

Mrs. Molly H. Lee
Harris Public Library
133 Hartedt Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

21-24-107

18 December 1946

Dear Mollie:

If there is the slightest chance of your coming through at Christmas time, please let me know immediately.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Mollie H. Lee
Richard B. Harris Public Library
Hargett Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

[Leiter]

17 June 1946

My dear Dr. Leiter:

We are arranging to have Mrs. Du Bois to leave the hospital monday, June twenty-fourth, before noon. We are taking her by train directly to Baltimore. My daughter and granddaughter will have finished school by that time and will be able to attend to her. As soon as possible we will have a housekeeper. We have put a special toilet for her on the first floor which will necessitate her going up and down stairs only once a day.

Will you please prepare for me a statement which I can hand her physician, Dr. I. N. Higgins, of Baltimore so as to indicate what her needs will be for medication and treatment and what her present condition is. I am writing a similar letter to Dr. Harpuder.

I want to thank you very much for your care and interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. Leiter
Montefiore Hospital
Gun Hill Road and Bainbridge Avenue
New York City

6 September 1946

21-8-21

Dear Dr. Leiter:

Mrs. Du Bois has received your two letters and they have pleased and encouraged her very much. She is making slow but steady progress and I think she will continue to as she begins to have more confidence. She has several times walked nearly the length of a city block with me, supporting herself lightly on my arm. We have a housekeeper at last and I am hoping that all will go well. May I again thank you for your kind and thoughtful care?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

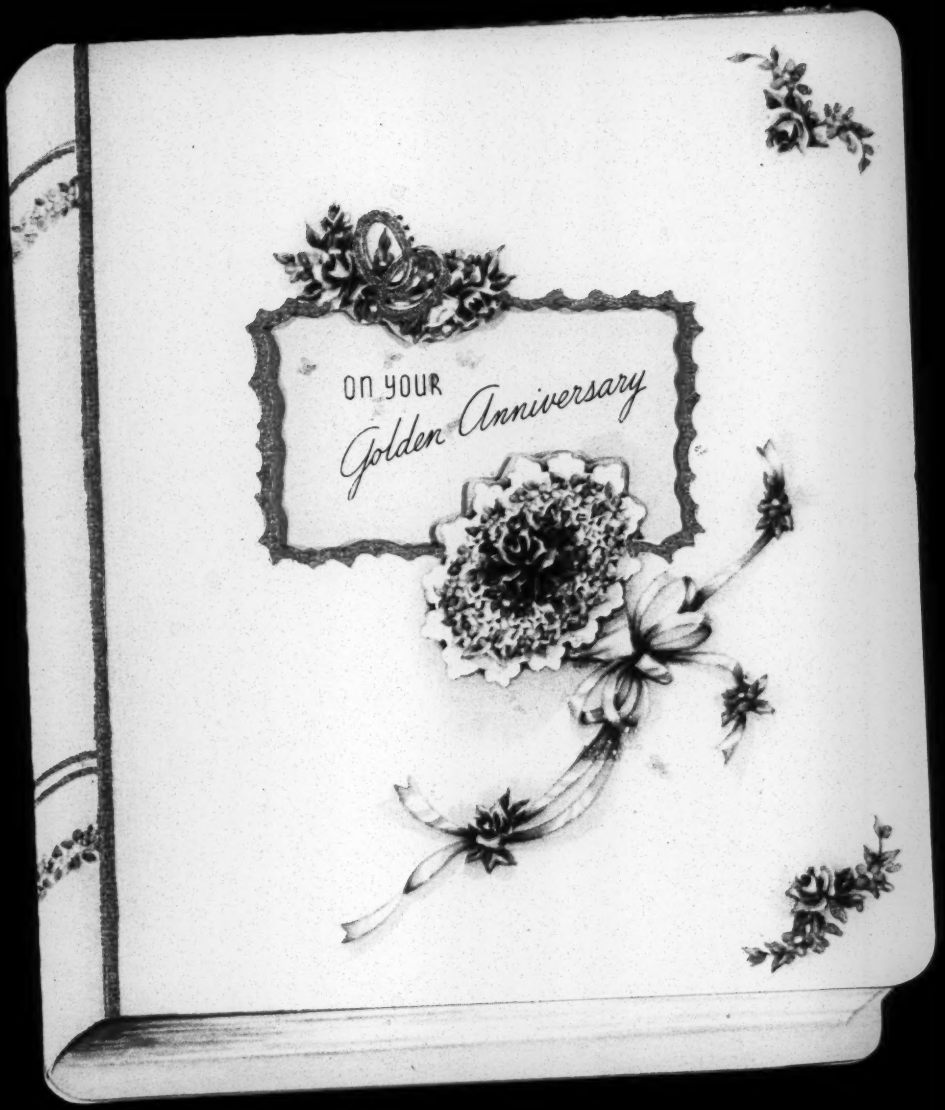
Dr. L. Leiter
Montefiore Hospital
Gun Hill Road
New York, N. Y.

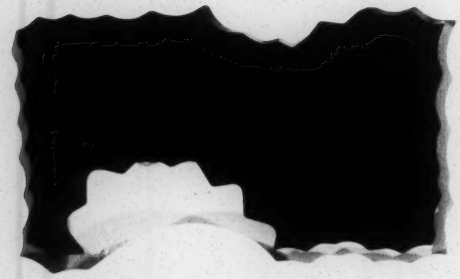
Congratulations
on your
GOLDEN
Wedding
Anniversary

Sincere good wishes
to both of you
as you celebrate this
very happy occasion

Sincerely yours,
Elizabeth Elaine Lemon
May 1976

E. E. Lemon
Box 186 - Station A
Charleston, S. C.
CHARLES
MAY


ON YOUR
Golden Anniversary



Your GOLDEN BOOK of Happy Years
Holds FIFTY CHAPTERS now,
And mem'ry makes each one more dear,
More treasured, too, somehow;

ON YOUR
Golden Anniversary

And this brings wishes warm and bright
For gladness on life's way
And joys TO BE CONTINUED, too,
Throughout each future day.

Mrs Hattie Lew
27 Kendrick Ave.
Worcester 6, Mass.

1946 L

From Your Cousin
Hattie Burghart Leo

Mrs Hattie Lew
27 Hendrick Ave.
Worcester 6, Mass.

[Liberia, Republic of]

21-20-48

REPUBLIC OF
LIBERIA

CENTENNIAL COMMISSION
FOREIGN OFFICE TECHNICAL DIRECTOR 1927 11th STREET N W WASH 1 D C
U S A PHONE DECATUR 2480

JUNE 21, 1946

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

DEAR DR. DUBOIS:

IN CONNECTION WITH THE NINETY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, THE UNITED STATES HEADQUARTERS OF THE LIBERIAN CENTENNIAL COMMISSION IS PLANNING A CONFERENCE ON LIBERIA TO BE HELD AT WASHINGTON, D. C. ON OR AROUND JULY 26, THE BIRTH DATE OF THE REPUBLIC. THE EXACT DATE OF THE EVENT WILL BE DIRECTED TO YOUR ATTENTION IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

AS YOU WILL RECALL, THERE EXISTS A CLOSE-LINKED HISTORICAL CHAIN BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA. THE EMIGRANTS WHO SAILED FROM THIS COUNTRY TO WEST AFRICA IN 1820, UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, WERE AFRO-AMERICANS. WHEN IN 1847 THE COMMONWEALTH OF LIBERIA DECLARED ITSELF A FREE AND INDEPENDENT NATION, IT ESTABLISHED A FORM OF GOVERNMENT PATTERNED AFTER THAT OF THE UNITED STATES AND ADOPTED A FLAG SIMILAR TO THAT OF THIS NATION.

DURING THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED WAR, LIBERIA SIDED WITH THE ALLIED NATIONS, AND IS CURRENTLY AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION. SHE CONTRIBUTED MORE NATURAL RUBBER TO CRITICAL WAR NEEDS THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY SAVE CEYLON, INDIA, AND MADE AVAILABLE OF HER NATIONAL TERRITORY FACILITIES WHICH WERE UTILIZED BY THE UNITED STATES FOR ARMY AIR BASES.

THE LONG-STANDING DIPLOMATIC CORDIALITY WHICH EXISTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND LIBERIA WAS FURTHER STRENGTHENED BY PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S VISIT TO LIBERIA AFTER THE CASABLANCA CONFERENCES, AND A SUBSEQUENT VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM V. S. TUBMAN AND FORMER PRESIDENT EDWIN BARCLAY OF LIBERIA.

CURRENTLY THROUGH AMERICAN LEND-LEASE, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS SUPERVISING THE CONSTRUCTION OF A SEAPORT AT MONROVIA, WHICH, WHEN COMPLETED, WILL AFFORD THE REPUBLIC HARBOR FACILITIES PROBABLY EQUAL TO ANY NOW IN EXISTENCE IN WEST AFRICA. AMONG OTHER AMERICAN AGENCIES PRESENTLY ACTIVE IN THE SMALL NATION ARE THE FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION AND A HEALTH COMMISSION SPONSORED BY THE UNITED STATES HEALTH SERVICE. IN THE AREA OF TRADE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS, THERE IS MUCH GROUND BETWEEN THESE TWO NATIONS FOR MUTUAL BENEFIT.

21-20-49

IT IS, THEREFORE, NOT SURPRISING THAT THIS GOVERNMENTAL COUNTERPART OF THE UNITED STATES, UPON THE ADVENT OF ITS CEUTNRY OF NATIONHOOD, SEEKS THE COOPERATION OF THIS COUNTRY WITH WHOM SHE HAS A COMMON HISTORICAL HERITAGE, AND WITH WHOM SHE WAS A CONTRIBUTING ALLY DURING THE WAR.

AS A MAJOR ENDEAVOR IN THE OBSERVANCE OF ITS ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, THE REPUBLIC IS PLANNING A CENTENNIAL AND VICTORY EXPOSITION TO BE HELD AT MONROVIA, 1947 THROUGH 1949, IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES AND SEVERAL OTHER NATIONS HAVE BEEN INVITED TO PARTICIPATE. THE PEOPLE OF LIBERIA HOPE THAT THEIR FRIENDS IN THIS COUNTRY WILL SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO WITNESS THEIR NATION'S PLANS FOR PROJECTED NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY.

DR. G. W. GIBSON, COMMISSIONER, LIBERIAN CENTENNIAL COMMISSION, MONROVIA, HAS ASKED THAT THE UNITED STATES HEADQUARTERS OF THE COMMISSION SOLICIT THE COOPERATION OF LEADING CITIZENS IN THE PROMOTION OF ITS PROGRAM. YOUR PRESENCE AT THE ANTICIPATED JULY CONFERENCE WILL GREATLY FACILITATE THE COMMISSION'S FULFILLMENT OF THIS RESPONSIBILITY AND WILL ENABLE IT TO REACH, THROUGH YOU, AN IMPORTANT SEGMENT OF AMERICA'S CITIZENRY. WE TRUST, THEREFORE, THAT YOUR MANY ACTIVITIES WILL PERMIT YOUR BEING WITH THE COMMISSION ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONFERENCE.

YOUR KIND CONSIDERATION OF THIS REQUEST AND A STATEMENT REGARDING PROSPECTS OF YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THE JULY CONFERENCE WILL GREATLY FACILITATE OUR PLANS FOR THE EVENT.

VERY TRULY YOURS,

HILYARD R. ROBINSON
TECHNICAL DIRECTOR

Moss H. Kendrix

MOSS H. KENDRIX
PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER

[Liberia, Republic of, 1946]

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

NEWS RELEASE

★

CENTENNIAL COMMISSION
FOREIGN OFFICE TECHNICAL DIRECTOR 1927 11th STREET N W WASH 1 D C
U S A PHONE DECATUR 2480

PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

EXCERPTS FROM OFFICIAL BROCHURE FOR LIBERIAN CENTENNIAL AND VICTORY EXPOSITION TO BE HELD AT MONROVIA, LIBERIA, JULY 26, 1947-49

WHAT IS LIBERIA?

LIBERIA IS A REPUBLIC, AN OUTGROWTH OF A COLONY FOUNDED BY THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY IN 1822. SHE DECLARED HER INDEPENDENCE ON THE 26TH DAY OF JULY, A.D., 1847. HER GOVERNMENT IS MODELED AFTER THAT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. HER PERSISTENCE IS REFLECTED IN THE WORDS OF ONE OF THE PIONEERS, ELIJAH JOHNSON, WHO, IN THE INCIPIENT STAGE OF THE COLONY SAID: "FOR TWO LONG YEARS HAVE I SOUGHT A HOME; HERE I AM, AND HERE I WILL REMAIN."

21-20

CENTENNIAL AND VICTORY EXPOSITION
REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

ORGANIZATION

His Excellency William V. S. Tubman
PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA

Hon. G.W. Gibson, D.D., G.C., K.G.B.
COMMISSIONER, CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

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TECHNICAL DIRECTOR
Joseph F. Dennis, B.A.
SECRETARY

CENTENNIAL THEME

LIBERIA IN THE WORLD AT PEACE

THE LIBERIAN CENTENNIAL AND VICTORY EXPOSITION IN MONROVIA, 1947-49 WILL CELEBRATE THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF LIBERIA.

MORE THAN THIS THE EXPOSITION WILL PRESENT THE PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT OF A DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA OVER THIS SPAN OF ONE HUNDRED YEARS, AND A UNIFIED AND COMPREHENSIVE PICTURE OF LIBERIAN PLANNING DESIGNED TO CONFORM WITH OTHER PROGRESSIVE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD TO ACHIEVE A SUSTAINED WORLD PEACE BASED ON COOPERATION, MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND PROGRESSIVE ENTERPRISE.

21-20

WHO WILL ATTEND THE EXPOSITION?

WHERE WILL THEY COME FROM?

LIBERIA TODAY IS EASILY ACCESSIBLE TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD BY AIR AND SEA TRAVEL, AND MANY THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ARE EXPECTED TO ATTEND THE EXPOSITION.

IN THIS NUMBER WILL BE VISITORS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD. WELCOME TO THE EXPOSITION IS EXTENDED TO VISITORS FROM EUROPE, THE AMERICAS, ASIA AND ALL PARTS OF AFRICA. HERE IN AFRICA MAY BE SHOWN THE ENLIGHTENED DESIGNS OF THE NATIONS FOR THE CO-OPERATION OF THE PEACE LOVING PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

EXHIBITS

LIBERIAN EXHIBITS WILL BE PRESENTED UNDER FIVE MAJOR CLASSIFICATIONS:
- AGRICULTURE
- TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS
- LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT SPECIAL EXHIBIT
  (TO INCLUDE HISTORICAL AND COMMEMORATIVE PRESENTATIONS; SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PLANNING, COVERING HEALTH, EDUCATION, TOWN PLANNING, ETC.)
- INDUSTRIAL ARTS AND HANDICRAFT
- CONCESSIONS

FOR FOREIGN COUNTRIES, EXHIBITS WILL BE PRESENTED WITH CAREFUL REGARD FOR ACHIEVING THE BEST INTERESTS OF THESE EXHIBITS WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE EXPOSITION'S OBJECTIVES. ZONING BY BUILDINGS, SPACE WITHIN BUILDINGS, AND THE APPLICATION OF ACCEPTED TECHNIQUES OF GOOD EXHIBITION WILL BE ZEALOUSLY PROSECUTED AT THE EXPOSITION.

EXCHANGE OF IDEAS AND TRADE

PROGRAMS WILL BE ARRANGED FOR TRADE CONTACTS AND TO STIMULATE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS OF MUTUAL INTEREST AND VALUE.

THERE WILL BE CONFERENCES, DEMONSTRATIONS, AND PROGRAMS ESPECIALLY DESIGNED TO ACCOMPLISH THESE ENDS.

4 September 1946

a/1-23

Sir:

During the meeting of the Fifth Pan African Congress in Manchester, England, I and others sent you a cablegram asking if it would be possible for the Sixth Pan African Congress to meet in Liberia during the celebration of your centennial. We received no answer and it is possible that the cable went astray or that you were not sure of its authenticity.

As President of the Pan African Congress, elected during the last meeting, I write to make this request again.

I am sure you know something of these congresses. The first conference met in London, 1900 and since that five congresses have been held in Paris, 1919; in London, Paris, and Brussels, 1921; London, Paris, Lisbon, 1923; New York, 1927; and in Manchester, England, 1945. We wish now to make this congress a regular and carefully organized institution. It stands for nothing but cooperation among peoples of African descent; independent states like Liberia, Ethiopia and Haiti, and organizations among American Negroes. It would be imminently fitting if the sixth congress could meet for the first time on African soil in 1947.

I am therefore appealing to you, Sir, to give thought to this invitation and to write me at your convenience if it will be possible for the congress to meet in at your 1947 centennial.

I am, Sir,

Very respectfully yours,

His Excellency, William D. S. Tubman
President of Liberia

[Liberia]

26 September 1946

21-21-11

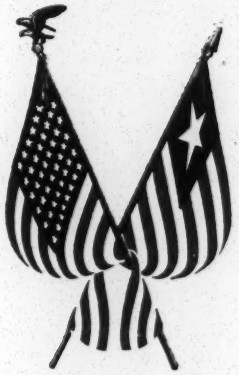
Sir:

Enclose we are sending a petition which we propose to lay before the Assembly of the United Nations. We will be very glad to have an expression of sympathy in this movement from the government of Liberia. Can you help us?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois,
President of the Pan African Congress

Hon. Frederick A. Price
The Consul General of the Republic of Liberia
25 Beaver Street
New York City



32-14-31

100TH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

FRIDAY, THE TWENTIETH OF SEPTEMBER

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIX

THE WALDORF-ASTORIA

NEW YORK

W. E. B. Dubois

32-14-32

Presenting the

Liberian Centennial and Victory Exposition Program

in celebration of the

100th Anniversary

of the

Republic of Liberia, West Africa

1847 - 1947

The Republic was founded July 26, 1847

Speakers

HON. WILLIAM O'DWYER
Mayor of the City of New York

HON. C. ABOYAMI CASSEL
Attorney General, Republic of Liberia,
Special representative of
President W.V.S. TUBMAN *of Liberia*

HON. WILLIAM BENTON
Asst. Secretary of the Department of State U.S.A.

MR. HARVEY S. FIRESTONE, JR.
President, The Firestone Tire & Rubber Company

DR. THOMAS T. MACKIE
President, The American Foundation for Tropical Medicine, Inc.

Menu

Clear Green Turtle
with Dry Sack

Hearts of Celery Ripe and Green Olives
Salted Nuts

Wente Bros.
Folle Blanche

Lobster Thermidor

Georges de Latour
Private Reserve
Cabernet

Filet Mignon Henri IV
Bearnaise Sauce
Small Roasted Potatoes
Smothered New Peas

Foie Gras with Truffles
September Salad

G. H. Mumm
Cordon Rouge

Anniversary Dessert Glace
Brandied California Nectarines
Petits Fours

Liqueurs

Demi Tasse

Hosts

HON. FREDERICK A. PRICE
The Counsel General of the Republic of Liberia

MR. HILYARD R. ROBINSON
Technical Director
Liberian Centennial Commission

Music by Alexander Haas

Lecture

25 November 1946

21-26-44

To the editors of Life:

Seventy years ago Frederick Law Olstead who helped lay out Central Park took a journey in the slave states of the South and made a series of observations on social conditions which have become classical. Seventy years ago, after emancipation and the attempt to make the freedmen a citizen and voter, the Negro was disfranchised in the South in 1876 and a new era began. Fifty years ago I began at Atlanta University a series of studies which were aimed to draw a picture of social conditions in the South. Since then and as late as 1936 I have traveled in Germany, Russia China and Japan.

I propose next February to make a trip in the South following, to considerable extent, the same path that Olmstead followed in 1856 and thereafter. It is a familiar path. I have visited every southern state and most of them many times, in the years from 1896-1945. Starting in Virginia I shall go as far as Los Angeles. Ostensibly my trip would be to deliver lectures on the United Nations and Africa before students in various Negro universities usually one in each state. In that way I will not only have a chance for personel observation but contact with the teachers and with students of every part of the South.

I want to make a series of reports and observations of this trip studying the educated Negro, the mass of Negro workers, the forward-looking white Southerners and the reactionary South as it still lives. I want to study them as human beings and not statistically.

I think that there is today a peculiar opportunity in this way to make a contribution to social knowledge. Photographers might follow later and take pictures at typical points.

Could you see your way to give me a commission for such a trip and such reports?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Editors
Life Magazine
9 Rockefellow Plaza
New York City

LIFE

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

EDITORIAL OFFICES

December 24, 1946

21-19-25

Dear Mr. DuBois:

It was good of you to offer to submit a series of reports on your trip to the South, but I am afraid we cannot accept them.

You see, LIFE is almost entirely staff written, and it is, therefore, only rarely that we have occasion to commission a writer to prepare a special piece for us.

Our thanks for thinking of us, nevertheless.

Sincerely yours,

Helen M. Fleming

Helen M. Fleming
for the Editors

HMF:cm

Lincoln University

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
PENNSYLVANIA

March 20, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

21-27-1

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Lincoln University, through her Trustees, Faculty, and Alumni, is planning to hold a conference on her educational aims, May 3 and 4. This conference will serve as a pre-inaugural occasion for the installation of the new president, Dr. Horace Mann Bond.

This letter is, then, to invite you to attend such a conference and to assist us by acting as a consultant for the special section treating "The Philosophy for an Institution Designed for a Minority Group" on Friday morning at ten o'clock. It is hoped that you will be able to bring us a prepared statement regarding the:

"Issues Relevant to Formulating Such a Philosophy"
(20 minutes)

and remain for consultation through the later sessions. The conference will begin at 8:30 Friday morning, May 3, and will close after the special "Dinner Meeting" at 7:30 p.m., Saturday, May 4.

We propose to send you, by April 15, an initial statement of objectives and issues as formulated by members of our faculty. These may be considered merely as background material against which you will be perfectly free to draft your own constructive opinions. For your cooperation, the University will pay all expenses and grant, within the limits of available funds, an honorarium. It is our hope that the conference will end with a considered set of recommendations regarding the future of the University.

I should appreciate a reply at an early date.

Very truly yours,

J. Newton Hill

Committee on Objectives

JNH:w

27 March 1946

21-27-2

My dear Mr. Hill:

I shall be glad to take part in the conference which you outline for May third and to make the suggested statement.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. J. Newton Hill
Lincoln University
Lincoln University, Pennsylvania

Lincoln University
LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
CHESTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

DEAN OF THE COLLEGE

March 29, 1946

21-27-3

W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

This brief note will acknowledge your letter of March 27th. We are very happy to learn that you will be with us on May 3 and 4 for our conference on educational aims. I shall write you again very shortly, giving more details as well as instructions for reaching us at Lincoln University.

Very truly yours,

J. Newton Stiles

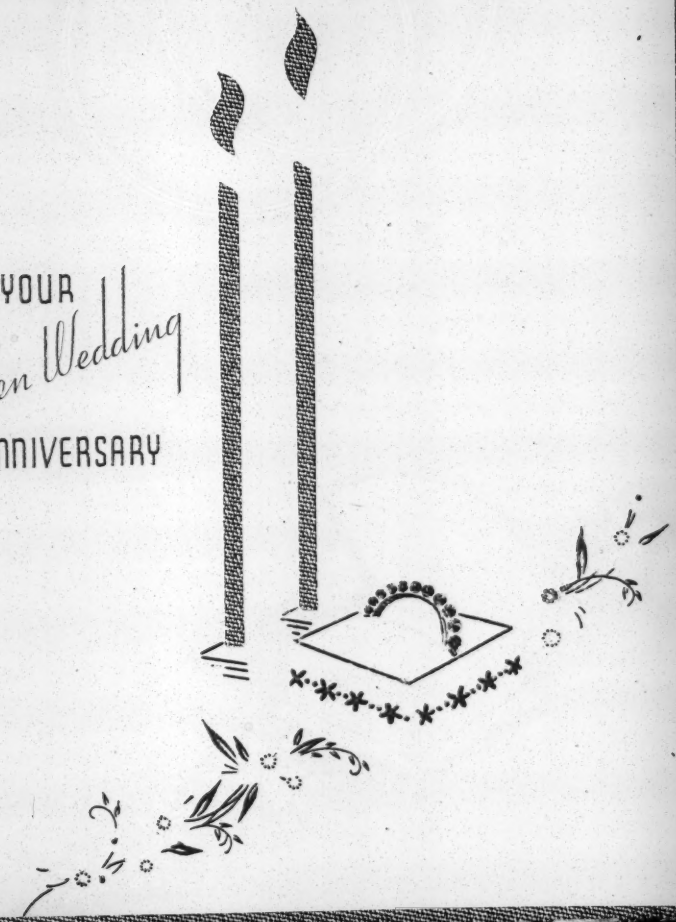
Dean of the College

JNH:w

ON YOUR

Golden Wedding

ANNIVERSARY



May all the golden yesterdays

That life has given you

Bring treasured memories today -

The gold of dreams - come - true.

Sincerely,

Ernestine Anthony Lipscomb

I shall be thinking of you both all day.

Boston

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY
PUBLISHERS
34 BEACON STREET, BOSTON 6

December 23, 1946

21-25-1

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Under separate cover we have forwarded to you an advance, complimentary copy of BLACK ANGER by Dr. Wulf Sachs, South African psychoanalyst. The book will be published January seventh.

When you have had an opportunity to read BLACK ANGER, we would appreciate hearing from you for we value your opinion.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Ford
R.D.

AF:DC

Anne Ford
PUBLICITY DIRECTOR

Mr. William DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

20 August 1946

21-22-5

Gentlemen:

I should be glad to have the New Masses reprint my article on Ge rgia from the second volume of These United States.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Liveright Publishing Corporation
386 Fourth Avenue
New York City

8 March 1946

21-26-4/7

My dear Mr. Lochard:

I am going to California to lecture in April. I shall be in Chicago the first week in April. I should be glad to talk to some organization concerning the Pan African Movement. I do not want you to waste any valuable time, but if you see an opportunity, let me know. My charge would be one hundred dollars.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

[Lochard]

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(49)

U. D. NEW YORK

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PRESIDENT

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NAB15 27=CHICAGO ILL 12 458P

DR W E DUBOIS=20 WEST 40 ST=

GIVE ME A CHOICE OF THREE DAYS PREFERABLY THURSDAY FRIDAY OR SUNDAY OF THE FIRST WEEK IN APRIL TO FACILITATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR YOUR LECTURE WIRE ANSWER TODAY=

:LOCHARD.

21-26-48

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FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

64-22-12

13 March 1946

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Thursday April fourth would be the best for my lecture.

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Edgecombe 4-9837

20 March 1946

21-10-18

My dear Mr. Lochard:

As I have written you I speak in Detroit, March thirty-first. I shall then come directly to Chicago and be in Chicago the second, third and fourth. I am writing for a reservation to go by air Friday the fifth so as to be in Los Angeles the sixth. I speak there the seventh.

I trust you may have found something for me to do on the second, third or fourth.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago

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21-10-19

.CA1040 NL PD=CHICAGO ILL 26

1946 MAR 26 PM 7 55

W E B DUBOIS=

20 WEST 40 ST NYK=

WILL LET YOU KNOW BEFORE THE END OF THE WEEK ABBUT LECTURE ARRANGEMENT=

METZ T P LOCHARD.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

26 March 1946

21-19-186

Dear Mr. Lochard:

I want to be in Los Angeles not later than Saturday night April sixth. I have tried to get airplane reservations from Chicago to Los Angeles on the TWA and the United Airlines but so far have only been able to get on the list for possible vacancies. Will you kindly take this matter up for me? I can leave on the fifth or sixth or even earlier if it does not conflict with any engagement you have made for me. In case I am not able to get passage by airplane, possibly I could go by train at midnight Thursday night. At any rate please make every effort to get reservations for me.

I shall arrive in Chicago Monday or Tuesday, April first or second. My address will be
c/o Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

The telephone number is - Kenwood 8670.

I shall be under deep obligation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago

[Lochard]

137

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1946 MAR 27 PM 7 49

NEW YORK

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A. N. WILLIAMS
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The t[illegible] ME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

21-10-2

NZ544 55=CHICAGO ILL 27 614P

DR W E B DUBOIS=20 WEST 40 ST=

1946 MAR 27 PM 7 45

HAVE SCHEDULED MEETING FOR FRIDAY 8PM APRIL 5 METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY CHURCH SUGGEST SUBJECT OF YOUR TALK QUOTE: SHALL WE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM UNQUOTE FEEL THAT YOU WILL GIVE ADEQUATE TREATMENT TO THIS SUBJECT FROM THE WORLD POINT OF VIEW AS IT RELATES TO THE UPWARD STRUGGLES OF ALL DARKER PEOPLES FOR SELF GOVERNMENT AND INDEPENDENCE=

LOCHARD.

8PM 5.

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1946 MAY 11 PM 9 46

21-29-19

BRL266 21=NEWYORK NY 11 849P

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

:2302 MONTIBELLO TERRACE BALTOL==

PLEASE ACCEPT MY WARM PERSONAL FELICITATIONS ON YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY MAY THE EVENT BRING YOU AND YOUR FAMILY MUCH HAPPINESS=

METZ T P LOCHARD.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Chicago Defender
[Lochard]

21-19-176

3 December 1946

My dear Mr. Lochard:

I am going to lecture in the South and West during February and March and plan to be in Chicago March 23 to 27. If you hear of anybody who would like to arrange a lecture during that time, I should be very glad to know of it. Best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Metz T. P. Lochard
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

3435 INDIANA AVENUE ESTABLISHED MAY 5. 1905 CALUMET 5656

[Lochard]
Lecture 1947

THE CHICAGO Defender
WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

21-14-13

December 12, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York (18), N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am trying to arrange a lecture for you during the month of March.

You will hear from me later on this matter.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Metz T. P. Lochard

Metz T. P. Lochard
Chairman, Editorial Board

MTPL:ew

The Minorities Publishers

1519 JACKSON STREET, N. E.
WASHINGTON 17, D. C.

21-16-36

January 15, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Special Research, NAACP
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Will you be good enough to send me the address of Mr. Harold Moody in London?

Under separate cover I have sent you with my compliments a copy of THE NEGRO AND THE POST-WAR WORLD: A PRIMER.

Has Dr. Diggs returned to her post with you?

With best wishes for the New Year, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

Rayford W. Logan

********** 20 West 40th Street

18 January 1946

21-10-37

My dear Dr. Logan:

Thank you for your book. I have just glanced at it. I hope to have time to read it soon.

Dr. Moody's address is Dr. Harold A. Moody
League of Coloured Peoples
Memorial Hall
Farringdon Street
London, E. C. 4

Dr. Diggs certainly has returned to her post, very much so. You had better get in touch with her soon.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
The Minorities Publishers
1519 Jackson Street Northeast
Washington 17, D. C.

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WA932 NL PD=WASHINGTON DC 19

DR W E D DUBOIS=
20 WEST 40 ST NYK=

21-10-38

I AM INVITING YOU TO ATTEND A MEETING OF INTERESTED PERSONS IN THE BROWSING ROOM OF THE LIBRARY OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY AT 10 OCLOCK SATURDAY MORNING FOR THE PURPOSE OF DRAWING UP A MEMORANDUM TO BE PRESENTED AT 330 THAT AFTERNOON TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE WM BENTON EXPRESSING OUR VIEWS ON THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT I VERY MUCH HOPE THAT YOU CAN BE PRESENT BUT IF NOT WILL YOU PLEASE DESIGNATE SOMEONE TO REPRESENT YOU AN EARLY REPLY FROM YOU WILL HELP US IMMENSLEY=

RAYFORD LOGAN=

330 10=

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

21-10-39

21 February 1946

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
1519 Jackson Street Northeast
Washington, D. C.

CANNOT GET AWAY SATURDAY stop represent me yourself stop WILL COOPERATE IF DESIRED LATER.

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Longacre 3-6890

21-29-39

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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WA71 28=WASHINGTON DC 12 203P

1946 MAY 12 PM 4 05

DR W E D DUBOIS=

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

~~DONT~~ 2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE BALTO=

MRS LOGAN AND I ARE HAPPY TO JOIN YOUR HOST OF FRIENDS IN EXTENDING CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES TO YOU AND MRS DUBOIS ON YOUR FIFTIETH WEDDING ANNIVERSARY=

RAYFORD LOGAN.

HA-905 Daughter W. D. 4:30P Mail

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

21-10-20

18 June 1946

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
1519 Jackson Street Northeast
Washington, D. C.

CAN YOU RUSH ME GOOD PHOTOGRAPH OF DIAGNE stop WILL RETURN IT UNHARMED.

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Edgecombe 4-9837

21-10-21

2 August 1946

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

The Bearer of this, Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor of History in Howard University, is traveling in the West Indies and other South American countries and I have asked him to represent the Pan African Congress and secure such information and cooperation as he may be able. I should be under obligation to persons and organizations who will help him.

W. E. B. Du Bois, President
Pan African Congress

Hotel Americano
Willemstad
Curacao, N.W.I.
September 7, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Director of Special Research, NAACP
70 West Fortieth Street
New York, New York

21-17-11

My dear Dr. Du Bois

Thank you for the copy of your memorandum of August 26, 1946 to Mr. Wolute which has just been forwarded to me here. I leave September 14 for Miami by plane and shall be glad to cooperate.

Sincerely yours,
Rayford W. Logan

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

21-17-15

September 26, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Director of Special Research, NAACP
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I shall be happy to make the contribution that you request in your letter of September 25 and shall the article in your hands not later than October 26. Congratulations!

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

Rayford W. Logan

21-17-20

1 October 1946

My dear Dr. Logan:

I am very glad indeed to have your letter of September 26th consenting to cooperate with us in the petition to the United Nations. Your Part Four would take up the Charter of the United Nations on human rights and rights of the minorities; and such decisions as have been taken under this charter; so as to make clear just what duty and power the United Nations have toward American Negroes. This would be a sort of continuation and completion of your work on the mandates. Could you send me a brief outline of what you propose to write in the final twenty pages and let me know how soon we can hope for the manuscript? I shall be under great obligation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
1519 Jackson Street Northeast
Washington, D. C.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

21-17-27

October 12, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Department of Special Research, NAACP
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

A brief illness has prevented me from replying sooner to your letter of October 1, but I have been able to do some thinking on the subject of my contribution.

It will not be difficult to state what the duty of the United Nations toward the American Negro should be, but I am having a great deal of difficulty finding out what power it has to correct any situation. Article 7, Chapter 1, Paragraph states in the most categorical fashion: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter;..." This is even more rigid than the language of the Covenant which used the word solely in place of essentially.

It seems to me, therefore, that it will be necessary to revise the general tone of the petition. We shall have either to ask for a revision of the Charter or emphasize the possibility of using the various agencies as sounding boards to arouse public opinion. In this connection I ought to add that Mr. Vernon Nash of World Federalists admitted at a conference in Greensboro that they likewise do not propose for their scheme of world organization to interfere in domestic matters.

Meanwhile, I propose to discuss the provisions for the protection of minorities in (1) treaties prior to World War I, (2) treaties signed after World War I--there is no provision in the Covenant for the protection of minorities, (3) a discussion of the provisions in the Charter, (4) the clauses in the recenty concluded Yugo-Slav treaty for the protection of Italian minorities. So far as I can ascertain, there has been and there can be no decision of the Security Council or of any other agency on the subject of minorities in view of the passage quoted in the second paragraph above. Please let me know at your early convenience whether I shall give this interpretation.

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

P. S. Under all circumstances I shall have my article in your hands by Oct 26

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

21-17-3

October 12, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Department of Special Research, NAACP
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

In support of the point of view advanced in my letter of today I call your attention to the most valuable book on the subject of the period after World War I, Nationalities and National Minorities by Oscar I Janowsky, Macmillan, 1945. He points out that in the treaties signed by various central and eastern European powers the country involved agreed that the stipulations for the protection of minorities should be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. Anyone might submit a petition to the Council, but the Council was under no obligation to take action. Only members of the Council had the right officially to call attention to alleged infractions. Even Janowsky admits that the Council was not effective in handling cases. He feels, however, that the existence of the clauses for the protection of minorities exercised a restraining influence. This is open to question. At all events, there seems to have been no proposal even for writing into the Charter the right of intervention generally by the United Nations. In brief, the right to intervene will rest upon treaties imposed upon weak nations. The United States certainly would not accept such a treaty.

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

Rayford W. Logan

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

21-17-35a

October 27, 1946

Dr. W. E. Du Bois, Director
Department of Special Research N A A C P
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am enclosing herewith my contribution. If there is any additional information that you wish, please let me know and I shall send it to you at once.

It seems to me that the principal argument to be developed is the receivability by the General Assembly of petitions on behalf of minorities.

I shall be in New York for the luncheon in honor of President Graham at the Henry Hudson Hotel on November 2 and shall be available that afternoon. I shall also be in New York to speak on the morning of Armistice Day and shall be available that afternoon.

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

Hotel Clark
IN DOWNTOWN LOS ANGELES · · · CALIFORNIA

March 16, 1946

Request for information

Dr WEB DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

21-24-26

On page 241 of F. E. Drinker's book, Booker T. Washington, sub-title, the master mind of a child of slavery, Timothy Thomas Fortune is quoted as mentioning you and others whom he referred to -- not unkindly -- as an "educated minority".

I am doing some research in Los Angeles Public Library and Huntington Library in that phase of educational procedure represented roughly, I should say, by the Hampton Idea and what I understand to be your opposition to it.

While the Timothy T. Fortune reference does not define the actual conflict of ideas very clearly, I assume there would be small doubt what is meant.

It would help me no little, I'm sure, if I might read as fully as possible the argument -- strong enough I cannot doubt -- you made as well as of the others of that "small minority" mentioned. If you would furnish me a bibliography I should greatly appreciate the kindness. I have access to the Congressional Library through my Congressman and to others through Huntington Library here.

Thanking you sincerely, I am

Yours faithfully,

Wm A Logan

Wm. A. Logan

26 March 1946

21-24-27

My dear Mr. Logan:

Answering your letter of March sixteenth, you will find what you wish in my autobiography Dusk of Dawn published by Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. William A. Logan
Hotel Clark
Los Angeles, California

Hotel Clark
Los Angeles 13, California,
December 16, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
In care, Atlanta University,
223 Chestnut Street, N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

21-13-65

Dear Doctor DuBois:

Letter inclosed explains my purpose in writing you. A book manuscript I am preparing may be described loosely as studies in the Slave-day spirituals. My excuse for coming into a field that is already well covered is that I remember several songs that are not in any printed collection that I have been able to lay hands on. Others have been given me graciously by their singers who recalled them from their childhood. Several of these are of intense interest.

If stated directly, my thesis would be that the spirituals and the use their singers found for them proclaim their contrivers in America as well as their forefathers in Africa men and women of stalwart abilities and rare qualities. Through these they met and mastered conditions that for most races would have meant defeat.

The little song I ask permission to use it is intended to show on the highest authority that among primitives (sic) of folk songs meanings are in their melodies, rather than in their words.

12-13-60

I should of course give full credit. If I ask too much, I hope you will not hesitate to say so. I promise not to take offense.

The little song, the title of your book, and your own name not only will add authority to my effort, but adornment as well.

When you were in Los Angeles a few months ago I telephoned you, and was sorry to have disturbed you when, by your voice, it became plain to me you were in distress. I trust you were entirely restored to health and comfort. To that I would add my earnest good wishes for your happiness at Christmas time and abundant good health during the approaching New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Wm A Logan

Wm. A. Logan

[Encl.]

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December 14, 1946

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Wm. A. Logan
Hotel Clark
Los Angeles (13), California

12-13-64

Dear Mr. Logan:

We have your letter of December 11th, asking permission to reproduce an excerpt from THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLKS by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and we note that you wish to use the song appearing on Page 254, together with the 5-line paragraph that follows.

This is a matter which will have to be cleared with the author. We believe you will be able to reach him by addressing him in care of Atlanta University, 223 Chestnut St., N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

We have no objection to your use of this material in the manner you mentioned, provided you can secure the permission of the author and we suggest you write him on the matter.

Very truly yours,

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

R. W. Barber
Publishing Dept.

RWB:dlm

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21-13-67

31 December 1946

My dear sir:

You are at liberty to use extracts from my book "Souls of Black Folk" provided you give due credit.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. William A. Logan
Hotel Clark
Los Angeles 13, California

Found in news

229 West 97th Street
New York 25, New York
December 8, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Thank you for the personal interview which you granted me on December 5th.

There were matters concerning your "race concept" which I should have enjoyed hearing you expound at greater length. The brief time I had with you, however, was spent most profitably, for you clarified certain of your attitudes about which I had been in doubt. This you did with a frankness and a graciousness which I found both refreshing and inspiring.

21-26-119

Sincerely yours,
Lee K. Lombard

1 November 1946

21-26-67

My dear Dimples:

I stopped in Atlanta a couple of days and had glimpses of your mother. She was too busy working herself to death in school to pay much attention to me, but I did hear of the baby of which I have had only vague references hitherto. Will you greet her for me and ask her to say that her mother has not been exactly thoughtful in keeping me abreast of the times. My best regards to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Henrietta Shivery Long
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

18 March 1946

21-19-74

My dear Edith:

I am expecting to be in California during April spending the first two weeks lecturing in southern California and coming to San Francisco on or about the fourteenth. I see your house is pretty full but I hope a room has been reserved and I am going to receive a cordial invitation to come right out and stop. However if this is not convenient, I know you will not hesitate to say so. I shall be here until March thirtieth.

I am glad to hear of your gain in weight and your general good health.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Edith Loving
251 Adams Street
Oakland 10, California

DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT EN HAITI...

Par

MAURICE A. LUBIN

Professeur de lycée
Sous-Chef du Service de Statistiques à la Commune de Port-au-Prince

Collection: SERVIR

IMPRIMERIE DU COMMERCE

519, Rue Roux, 519
PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI

(1946)

DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT EN HAITI . .

Par

MAURICE A. LUBIN

Professeur de lycée

Sous-Chef du Service de Statistiques à la Commune de Port-au-Prince

Institut Haïtien de Statistique

Collection: SERVIR

IMPRIMERIE DU COMMERCE

519, Rue Roux. 519

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI

AH/BE/37

A Mrs Shirley Graham Du Bois
with my deepest sympathy
Marion Thompson

DEDIE

à

Roland DUVERNEAU
Maire de Port-au-Prince

&

à tous les professeurs & Elèves
de la République

sif n'était fait de cette langue par tous ceux-là qui avaient été éduqués. en France, ou même avaient réalisé un voyage dans cette Métropole qui a toujours fasciné les nôtres.

Christophe violemment réactionnaire. et pour des raison que je n'arrive pas encore à bien déceler, s'aboucha avec l'Angleterre. Il rêvait d'une système d'enseigment. ou mieux d'éducation, adapté aux conditions de son époque, mais il mourut foudroyé en pleine réalisation.

On s'inspira de la Législation Française pour attribuer à Haiti un code de lois.

La France nous servit même de patron intellectuel. Les livres français furent nos livres. Il n'en serait autrement, puisqu'Haiti ne pouvait lors s'en préparer. Rappelons que notre acte de naissance politique fut rédigé en bon français.

Mais nous fûmes coupables par la suite — la paresse nous entraina d'adopter sans réserve et sans choix les livres français, sans essayé de les adopter à nos propres conditions. On ne porte pas les habits des autres de même qu'on n'utilise pas comme outils intellectuels les livres des autres.

Aussi les programmes scolaires haitiens furent calqués sur les programmes français. Les réformes éducatives françaises eurent leur répercussion en Haiti. L'école Haitienne, les programmes Haitiens. les livresHaitiens, n'épousèrent pas les réalités haitiennes, c'étaient des livrées faites ailleurs qui ne pouvaient nous habiller décemment. Et si les programmes français ont été l'objet de critiques fondées et justifiés, les programmes haitiens n'en sont pas moins exempts.

L'éducation, ou mieux l'enseigment haitien fut toujours littéraire. On se passionnait pour la littérature française. On étudiait à l'envi ses écrivains. On suivait avec exaltation ses courants littéraires. Les écrivains haitiens furent en poesie, tantôt romantiques, symbolistes ou parnassiens, selon les tendances ou les préoccupations littéraires de la France. y a-t-il, dans notre littérature, d'heureuses pastiches.

411/8E/31

Le verbalisme, les discours dithyrambiques, les plaidoyers solennels et interminables, les joutes oratoires furent les différents produits de cet enseignement.

L'étude méthodique des sciences, des langues étrangères fut systématiquement négligée. Tout notre enseignement classique pivotait autour du latin, du grec. du français et d'un peu d'Histoire de la Civilisation.

Les résultats obtenus par l'Ecole Haitienne sont plutôt sonores que pratiques. Elle accuse des faiblesses et des insuffisances qui sont bien visibles à notre génération actuelle dominée par un sens pratique et par une technologie chaque jour grandissante.

Notre enseigment classique s'embarrassait de généralisations vagues. Sa philosophie de l'éducation ne répondait pas au réel Haitien, si l'on traduit philosophie de l'éducation par but auquel doit nécessairement tendre toute éducation. L'enseigment de l'Histoire Nationale sur quoi l'accent devait être porté ne fut guère méthodiquement organisé, encore qu'il y eut dans ce domaine des travaux assez remarquables de Thomas Madiou (historien narratif mais dénué de sens critique) Beaubrun Ardouin (polémiste ardent) Saint-Rémy, Emile Nau Céligny Ardouin, et plus près de nous Pauléus Sanon, Auguste Magloire Dantès Bellegarde, Jean Price Mars, Placide David, Louis Emile Elie.

Cet enseigment se trouva compromis quand, en 1865, le Gouvernement Haitien confia la formation de son élite à des religieuses et religieux étrangers.

Nos livres restèrent inchangés. Il n'était pas étonnant d'entendre le petit Haitien dire "Notre pays c'est la France", ou citer des exemples extraits de la vie française, parler de neige ou, par ignorance, se donner comme ancêtres "les gaulois", ou enfin parler de francs comme unité monétaire d'Haiti. Le petit Haitien admirait dans ses livres des illustrations de tête d'hommes ou de femmes dont les traits réguliers révélaient

Schéma Historique

PÉRIODE ESPAGNOLE

1) 6 Décembre 1492 — Découverte d'Haiti par Christophe Colomb qui y débarqua au Môle St-Nicolas — Premier établissement européen en Amérique.

2) Annexion des terres découvertes et asservissement des populations autochtones — Insuccès des tentatives de révolte des indiens.

3) Système des Repartimientos - Travaux des mines imposés aux Indiens - Leur destruction presque complète - Abandon de l'île par les Espagnols pour d'autres terres de l'Amérique récemment découvertes et plus riches en ressources minières.

PERIODE FRANÇAISE

1625— 1630 — Début de la période française avec les flibustiers et boucaniers— Système du servage des blancs sous forme d'ENGAGES VOLONTAIRES ou TRENTE—SIX MOIS (du délai de leur durée de servage).

Colonie d'exploitation régulièrement constituée.

Importation des Noirs d'Afrique.

Système inique de l'Esclavage.

Population se partageant en Trois (3) classes;

1) BLANCS [fonctionnaires - Représentants de la Métropole et Colons planteurs- commerçants.]

2) AFFRANCHIS [hommes de couleur et noirs libres].

3) ESCLAVES [près de 600.000] en 1789.

REVOLUTION AMERICAINE — Participation des Affranchis de St Domingue à Savannah. Fondation de la République des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

1789 — REVOLUTION FRANCAISE

BLANCS réclamant droit de représentation de la colonie aux Etats-Généraux.

AFFRANCHIS réclamant en France reconnaissance de leurs droits civils et politiques - Différents décrets y relatifs (28 Mars 1790 et 15 Mai 1791.)

Refus des grands planteurs de les appliquer — Divisions entre eux,

Révolte des Affranchis — Martyre d'Ogé et de Chavannes.

Cet événement est signalétique :

1) crée un esprit de révolte dans toutes les couches de la population de Saint-Domingue.

2) rend les éléments conscients des atrocités du Système colonial.

3) offre aux classes brimées des chances de succès dans l'amélioration de leur condition, par les armes ou la violence.

Tentative de la classe des Affranchis avortée.

22 Août 1791 — REVOLTE DES ESCLAVES

Incendie des plantations du Nord et massacre des blancs de cette partie du pays.

Reconnaissance officielle de leur liberté par Santhonax, agent de la Métropole française.

Irruption simultanée des Anglais et des Espagnols sur la terre de St. Domingue.

même nous pratiquons dans l'ordre de nos relations internationales le monolinguisme. Nous ne réalisons guère l'importance et la nécessité de l'Espagnol dans un Continent où 18 pays l'utilisent officiellement. Aussi vivons-nous dans cette partie du monde sans nous soucier des conditions économiques, politiques, environnantes, n'ayant d'yeux que pour la France.

Le programme et les cours d'Espagnol, dans nos écoles, laissent donc énormément à désirer. Il n'est pas rare de trouver des professeurs qui n'entendent pas cette langue et qui, pourtant, ont la mission de l'enseigner. Il y a une belle tâche qui attend le professeur qui voudra, s'adonner à l'enseignement de l'Espagnol dans les écoles Haitiennes.

SCIENCES.— Les Sciences, contrairement aux études littéraires, n'eurent pas la faveur et l'enthousiasme des Haitiens. Elles furent tenues en médiocre estime. Faut-il dire que même les programmes français firent, autrefois, une mince place aux sciences sans dire pour cela qu'il n'existe pas en France d'hommes de science remarquables.

L'on cultivait volontiers les letttres qui, à la longue, portaient leurs fruits. L'homme de lettres, le puriste le littérateur, selon le qualificatif dont on se décorait avait un champ immense qui lui souriait. Il avait droit aux différentes fonctions diplomatiques, consulaires qui réclament un vernis pour le prestige du pays à l'extérieur. L'étude des sciences n'offrait pas ces brillantes perspectives. De ce fait, les sciences étaient d'un intérêt moins pratique et par conséquent furent systématiquement négligées.

SCIENCES MATHEMATIQUES.— Les Sciences Mathématiques ne dépassèrent guère le stade des programmes de lycées. L'initiative privée. émue de l'insuffisance de telles notions, créa dans un bel effort, l'Ecole des Sciences Appliquées où les mathématiques sont à l'honneur. Près d'une centaine d'ingénieurs civils y ont été formés.

LES SCIENCES AGRONOMIQUES.— L'agriculture, en dépit de l'affirmation tant de fois répétée qu'Haiti est un pays

essentiellement agricole, ne fut guère objet d'études. La culture du sol fut, de toujours, pratiquée sans qu'on ait jamais pensé à compulser des observations strictement locales, à distinguer et à étudier les différentes zones de végétations, les différents terrains de culture et les possibilités d'une exploitation rationelle. Un corps d'agronomes conscients de tous les problèmes agricoles du pays reste encore à créer.

LES SCIENCES ECONOMIQUES.— Les Sciences économiques furent et sont encore l'apanage d'un petit groupe de fonctionnaires du Département des Finances et du Commerce ou d'hommes d'états, quand ils avaient le souci du bien faire et une certaine compétence. Ils s'intéressèrent à l'évolution des doctrines et des faits économiques des autres parties du monde Aussi eurent-ils le mérite de trouver des solutions proprement Haitiennes à certains problèmes de notre économie.

Il est de la plus grande importance de vulgariser ces sciences qui ont pour mission d'assurer le bien-être d'un pays car l'économie est l'ossature de tout Etat.

LES SCIENCES SOCIALES.— Les Sciences Sociales qui comprennent aujourd'hui toutes les sciences : HISTOIRE, GÉOGRAPHIE, SOCIOLOGIE, étudiant toutes les démarches de l'homme vivant avec ses semblables ou avec son milieu se ramenaient à peu de chose. Leur enseignement était purement mnémo technique, un travail sec de mémorisation de faits et de dates historiques, de nomenclature des villes, des rivières, des montagnes, etc. Les faits étaient étudiés par eux-même, sans lien logique et sans objectif précis et moral; ainsi n'arrivaient-ils pas à nous inspirer dans nos actes quotidiens.

En résumé, les diverses sciences doivent avoir leur place dans l'enseignement Haitien. Elles fourniront les différentes données de base de la communauté haitienne pour permettre aux chercheurs, aux hommes d'Etats, à tous d'y voir clair. Les bases d'une technique doivent être élaborées pour nous mettre en mesure de tirer parti de nos innombrables ressources et de déve

lopper notre petite industrie dans les limites de nos possibilités et de nos faibles moyens économiques.

Les enquêtes sociales doivent être entreprises pour une politique sociale clairement posée et une politique de l'hygiène et de l'Habitation.

Que l'on comprenne la pauvreté du milieu haitien et les signes avant-coureurs d'un prolétariat intellectuel qui semble déjà nous guetter.

La culture n'est pas une abstraction. Elle a un contenu que chaque milieu humain doit pouvoir lui fournir. Elle part du particulier pour s'élever au général. Notre élite sera cultivée dans la mesure où elle aura conscience des problèmes divers de son milieu, des déficiences, des faiblesses et aussi des possibilités.

C'est la mission de l'Ecole. Car l'école est un centre où les problèmes de tous ordres sociaux, économiques, intellectuels, artistiques, religieux, politiques agricoles etc. sont largement discutés aux fins de solutions.

EN CONCLUSION, nous ne disons pas que l'école Haitienne se solde par un bilan déficitaire. Loin de là notre pensée. Les générations passées ont beaucoup fait en l'espace de cent ans, si l'on a l'esprit les débuts difficiles de notre vie de peuple. Elles auraient pu, sans doute, mieux faire. Dans la hâte d'aller comme tout le monde de l'avant, elles ont négligé des réalisations de base sur lesquelles devaient s'édifier les constructions à venir. Nous leur sommes reconnaissants de tout ce qu'elles ont realisé si péniblement.

Mais comme tout, dans la vie, est soumis à l'inéluctable loi du progrès et de l'évolution, il importe d'apprécier ce qui a été fait avant nous, d'y saisir la raison d'être, d'y reconnaitre les faiblesses, d'y apporter des améliorations, d'y renouveler l'esprit autant que faire se peut. Il importe aussi que notre observation bien étayée sur les faits perçoive les besoins toujours nouveaux et élargisse le champ des réalisations. C'est à ce prix qu'un pays s'organise, se développe et accomplit le cycle de son destin.

41/8E/34

sans équivoque le type caucasien; ou contemplait dans les églises des statuts de blonds ou de blondes. Ces faits apparemment innocents et inoffensifs travaillaient désastreusement le moral de nos jeunes compatriotes qui arrivaient à mépriser, voire, désapprendre leur propre personnalité, repoussaient leurs aieux ou leurs parents trop vilains de physionomie quand leurs livres ne leur disaient que les Nègres étaient inférieurs et qu'ils devaient rester éternellement soumis aux blancs, seuls créateurs et détenteurs de toute civilisation.

Ces choses anormales ne sont guère imputables à nos éducateurs étrangers. On ne peut demander à des Français qui font des fois le sacrifice de leur vie de former la conscience nationale de leurs élèves Haitiens. C'est un travail délicat. C'est là tâche souveraine d'un Etat conscient de son avenir et soucieux de son prestige et de sa dignité.

Continuons à envisager individuellement les matières qui formaient et continuent de former encore la base de l'enseignement Haitien.

ANGLAIS.— La nécessité de l'anglais ne s'était jamais révélée d'une façon évidente aux Haitiens. Son enseignement fut-il inefficient. Outre l'emploi constant de méthodes inadéquates à l'enseignement des langues vivantes, en voici d'autres raisons.

D'abord, les peuples latins dont principalement les Français éprouvent une certaine indifférence à l'endroit de toute langue étrangère. Je ne sais quel motif leur fait croire que leur culture, plus manifestement basée sur les littératures antiques est meilleure jusqu'à les porter à sous-estimer l'étranger et à dédaigner l'étude de certaines langues à allure universelle. Les Français sont-ils volontiers MONOLINGUES. L'Haitien a ce défaut en partage.

D'autre part, les rapports sinon économiques de notre pays avec l'Angleterre étaient plus ou moins distants; nul contact étroit. Avec les Etats-Unis, le problème changea d'aspect L'un méconnaissait l'autre. Les Etats-Unis méconnaissaient Haiti et celle-ci, en retour, sa grande voisine.

L'Histoire eut la primauté sur la Géographie. Aussi les frontières d'Haiti étaient intellectuellement plus proches de la France que des Etats-Unis. Le problème de race, compliqué de l'institution de l'esclavage aux Etats Unis créait un véritable mur entre ce pays et Haiti. Il a fallu attendre —je le répète— Lincoln pour reconnaître l'Indépendance d'Haïti. Peu après 1865, les Etats-Unis brandissant la fameuse Doctrine Monroe, se l'appliquaient et voulaient l'appliquer au Continent, dans le sens exclusif de leurs intérêts. C'est l'ère de l'impérialisme Américain. Haiti, tremblant à chaque minute pour son indépendance, se repliait sur elle-même. L'inévitable eut lieu en 1915.

Une incompréhension réciproque et volontaire présidait durant cette époque aux rapports Haitiano-Américains. Les Etats-Unis, pleins de leur puissance, regardaient de haut Haiti dans sa misère économique tandis que cette dernière redoutait à son tour une absorption que la connaissance du langage anglais de l'Occupant pourrait singulièrement favoriser par la diffusion des idées américaines qui s'y prêteraient.

Aussi 19 ans d'occupation militaire ne profitaient guère à la cause de l'Anglais dans ce pays. L'on pouvait compter les Haitiens comprenant ce langage. Les progrès notables réalisés dans cette langue ne remontent qu'à 1935, un an après la désoccupation d'Haiti par les Marines Américains.

Il m'est particulièrement agréable d'exprimer mes sincères sentiments de gratitude aux distingués professeurs Américains, particulièrement Mr. Mercer Cook, qui ont réalisé un travail vraiment remarquable et utile pour l'enseignement méthodique de l'Anglais dans les écoles Haitiennes. Leur travail, je veux l'espérer, créera une atmosphère de compréhension susceptible d'établir des relations plus cordiales entre Haiti et les Etats-Unis.

ESPAGNOL.— Les réflexions que nous avons formulées à l'adresse de l'enseignement de l'Anglais en Haiti peuvent en partie s'appliquer à l'enseignement de l'Espagnol. De même nous pratiquions dans le domaine de l'agriculture la monoculture, de

Toussaint Louverture entre en scène et domine de sa stature les évènements. Politique avisé autant que génial, il chasse Anglais et Espagnols, et utilise à ses fins tous les représentants coloniaux, jusqu'au moment où il s'en débarasse. Une fois seul maître et à titre de Gouverneur Général de la Partie Française de Saint Domingue, il organise l'administration, crée l'armée, développe l'agriculture, le commerce et le travail, noue des relations internationales, annexe la partie de l'Est et rédige enfin une CONSTITUTION. Ses différentes activités déplurent au Consul Bonaparte qui envoya à St. Domingue une expédition "punitive" à l'effet de réduire le Nègre qui étonnait le monde. Le pays fut mis à feu et à sang. Toussaint est vaincu et déporté.

Reprise des hostilités avec succès et défaite des troupes napoléoniennes par Dessaline, Christophe, Pétion, François Capois, Daut etc.

1er Janvier 1804—Proclamation de l'Indépendance d'Haiti.

HAITI APRES 1804

Quelle était la situation interne du pays au lendemain de 1804 ?

Tout le monde sait qu'il a fallu une guerre sauvage et sans merci pour aboutir à ce merveilleux résultat. Les villes furent incendiées, les plantations sacagées, les populatitns meurtries et sans cesse menacées de famine. On veut toujours faire un reproche à nos aieux d'avoir promené la torche d'un bout à l'autre du Pays, de n'avoir su conserver les richesses de Saint-Domingue qui faisaient l'orgueil de sa Métropole. Tel reproche injurieux ne saurait émaner que de gens imparfaitement informés des faits de notre Histoire.

L'esclavage devenait un état intolérable. Il n'y avait que cette altêrnative impérieuse : "VIVRE LIBRE OU MOURIR". En face d'armées européennes bien équipées, bien entraînées, nos encêtres ne pouvaient que recourir aux extrêmes pour sauve garder le pluscher des biens: la LIBERTÉ D'ailleurs, liberté passe avant tout bien matériel; et quand elle est compromise, rien d'autre n'est précieux ou valabe. Leur solution, volontiers, éner-

gique et barbare était dans la logique de l'époque.

Créer un Etat compte sans doute, le faire vivre demeure le plus difficile des problèmes. Il importait de pourvoir le pays d'un organisme administratif, judiciaire, d'un système économique, commercial et financier; bref, de tous les éléments qui constituent l'armature d'un pays.

Quelle était d'autre part la position d'Haiti vis-à-vis du monde civilisé et, plus spécialement de ses voisins les plus proches ? De la France, n'en parlons pas. Elle prétendait garder intangibles, imprescriptibles, ses droits sur la colonie en rébellion. Aussi se réservait-elle de mettre à la raison les insurgés Nègres qui s'étaient si violemment opposés à ses ordres.

L'Espagne et l'Angleterre, esclavagistes, jugeaient dangereux pour leurs possessions américaines l'exemple horripilant des Nègres de St Domingue culbutant leur maîtres blancs. De ce fait évitaient-elles tout rapport avec cette pestiférée d'Haiti.

Les Etats-Unis bien qu'ayant proclamé 28ans auparavant leur indépendance, tenaient en esclavage la population Nègre. Et leur attitude hostile (1) est telle qu'il leur a fallu attendre l'arrivée d'Abraham Lincoln à la Présidence pour reconnaître de droit jusqu'en Janvier 1863 l'Indépendance d'Haiti, libre de puis 59 ans et reconnue pour telle par son ancienne Métropole depuis tantôt 40 ans.

---

(1) Nonobstant la politique de neutralité adoptée par les Etats-Unis, peu après son Indépendance, le grand homme d'Etat Américain, Thomas Jefferson, présentait en 1792 la thèse suivante: «En principe, le gouvernement des Etats-Unis reconnaitrait "tout gouvernement formé par la volonté librement exprimée de la Nation"» In Thomas Jefferson par Gilbert Chinard, page 191.

Il y eut, il est vrai, des tentatives d'amitié et de rapprochement entre Toussaint Louverture et le Gouvernement Américain. Une telle manoeuvre internationale des Etats-Unis ne tendait qu'à faire échec à la puissance coloniale française. Le Gouvernement Américain voyait en " le premier des Noirs " l'instrument qui pourrait éventuellement frapper la France.

Tel était le climat interne et externe d'Haiti.

A l'intérieur, table rase : un pays ravagé et l'obsession continuelle d'un retour offensif des Français complètent le sombre tableau.

A l'extérieur : une hostilité agressive puisque l'exemple d'Haiti pouvait être contagieux.

L'ETAT INTELLECTUEL D'HAITI

L'ÉCOLE — LES MATIERES D'ENSEIGNEMENT

Maintenant, venons au sujet qui nous préocupe. Quel était l'état intellectuel du pays à l'aurore de l'indépendance ?

Le statut de cette colonie a nécessairement influé sur la marche générale des affaires. Saint Domingue n'était pas une colonie de peuplement, mais plutôt une colonie d'exploitation.

La Métropole ne se souciait guère de créer les organismes nécessaires qui doivent se rencontrer dans tout milieu social. Aussi, St-Domingue n'eut jamais d'école, ou publique ou même privée La plupart des fils de colons vivaient dans l'ignorance de toute connaissance intellectuelle, puisque l'ignorance ne tue pas. Des fois, certains fils de fonctionnaires coloniaux ou planteurs allaient en France jouir des bienfaits du livre. Ce rare privilège d'aller s'instruire en France fut partagé par quelques affranchis. fils de blancs. Ainsi peut-on citer : Julien Raymond, Villate, Vincent Ogé, André Rigaud, Pierre Pinch.nat, Pierre Castaing, Beauvais, Martial Besse, Henri Besse, Boisrond Tonnerre, Ingirnac Charréron, Guy Bonnet ect. C'était de rassismes exceptions. Toute la colonie était plongée dans la plus profonde ignorance intellectuelle.

Nulle école et partant nulle littérature. "Du Nègre, l'on ne pouvait rien tirer", disait-on cyniquement. Le Nègre méprisé n'était l'objet d'aucune attention, d'aucune étude sérieuse. Aussi le seul document concernant les Nègres de St-Domingue est l'oeuvre de Moreau de St-Méry, l'historiographe célèbre de la Partie Française de St-Domingue.

Le nouvel État constitué se ressentit de la pénurie du monde colonial. Nulle organisation politique ou sociale. Et pire faisaient entièrement défaut les éléments de compétence qui, d'ordinaire, assurent la base, la marche et l'évolution d'un pays. Pourtant, il fallait s'arranger, créer des institutions, donner une structure si sommaire soit-elle à Haiti.

Tous les individus sachant lire ou écrire furent mobilisés. Leurs services furent, avec enthousiasme, employés par les chefs pour créer des cadres administratifs. Et le Président Pétion créa, en 1816, le Lycée qui porte son nom pour préparer le personnel des administrations et des carrières de judicature et de parlementarisme. "L'INSTRUCTION, disait-il, E L E V E L'HOMME A LA DIGNITE DE SON ETRE". Etre clerc fut une carrière. Il y eut la profession d'homme instruit apte aux besognes de la plume et du verbe.

Quelle furent les raisons qui déterminèrent Haiti, ci-devant esclave, à réprendre des relations pacifiques avec la France, sa Métropole probable ou possible, alors que Dessalines disait dans sa Proclamation :

"LE NOM FRANCAIS LUGUBRE NOS CONTRES... JU RONS A L'UNIVERS ENTIER, A LA POSTERIE, A NOUS-MEMES DE RENONCER A JAMAIS A LA FRANCE"

Il y a une logique historique tout comme il y a une logique des situations où les sentiments individuels eu collectifs sont inopérants.

Nous avons montré avec quelle hostilité les puissances civilisées accueillirent la naissance de la Jeune Nation Nègre. Son exemple fut une menace, undanger pour leurs possessions. Nulle relation politique ne fut possible avec l'Espagne, l'Angleterre ou les Etats-Unis. Il y eut il est vrai; un duel sanglant entre Haiti et la France, mais l'inimitié de deux gouvernements laissait intactes les relations privées des citoyens de ces deux pays. En ce fait se trouvait fortifié par l'usage d'un idiome qui se rapproche étonnamment du français, quand usage exclu

PRÉFACE

AH/SE/28

J'ai lu avec beaucoup de plaisir les considérations émises par mon Jeune ami, Maurice A. Lubin, sur l'importante question de l'Enseignement en Haiti.

J'ai même décidé son auteur à les publier, estimant que des remarques justes et fondées pour une meilleure orientation classique ne peuvent que contribuer à assurer la qualité de notre Culture.

Tout pays qui veut évoluer doit utiliser un système scolaire adéquat. Une telle étude qui vise la structure de l'Ecole Haitienne et son perfectionnement ne manquera pas de susciter des commentaires et de provoquer des redressements salutaires.

Weber Michaud

AVERTISSEMENT

Le problème haïtien présente, à mon avis, deux aspects : Un aspect économique et un aspect éducatif. L'un et l'autre réclament conjointement des solutions qui tiennent compte du complexe haïtien

Nous abandonnons le coté économique à la compétence de tous ceux que de telles questions préoccupent.

La présente -- négative en soi -- s'efforce d'être une contribution à l'étude critique de l'enseignement haïtien. Elle est en outre une réponse à la réfléxion d'un professeur américain qui s'étonnait, au dernier cours d'été en date, que l'enseignement de notre Pays occupât une si mince place dans les diverses communications et discussions.

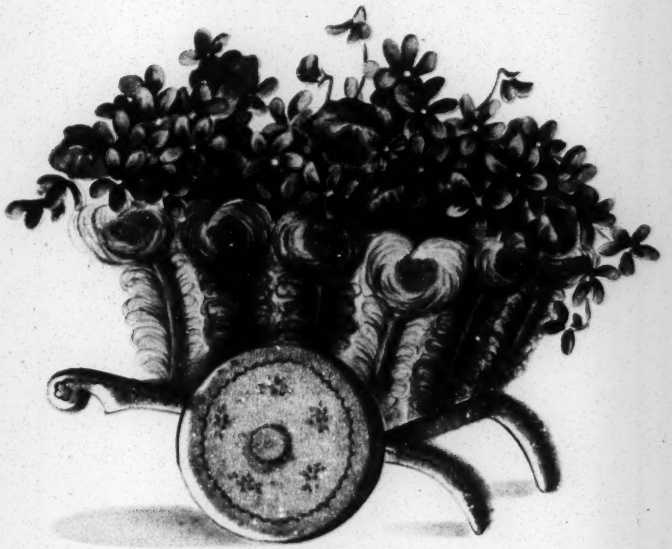
Le schéma historique qui précède est comme une sorte d'introduction ; les différents faits de l'histoire d'un pays sont condition de ses démarches, de son organisation et de son évolution.

D'autres études viendront propulser des idées constructrices d'un système éducatif haïtien. C'est là notre ambition.

M. A. LUBIN

Port-au-Prince 2 Décembre 1946

For Your Golden Anniversary



475 Vance Ave.
Memphis, Tenn.

This anniversary day must hold
A meaning deep and true
For it must surely be a day
You've long looked forward to;
And may it be so happy
That through days that are to be
You will recall its many joys
In treasured memory.

Dr. B. F. and Florence C. T. - McCleave & Son

********** 20 West 40th Street

18 January 1946

Gentlemen:

With regard to the plates of Souls of Black Folk. I am quite sure I can arrange for their purchase if the price is reasonable and you will give me a little time, say until the first of March. I want to see just what arrangement I can make with the publisher.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

A. C. McClurg and Company
333 East Ontario Street
Chicago

1/29/38

A. C. McClurg & Co. SINCE 1844

WHOLESALE 333 E. Ontario St. Chicago (11), Ill.

January 22, 1946

W. E. B. DuBois
National Assn. for the Advancement
of Colored People
Department of Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

1/29/39

Responding to your letter of January 18, we would be glad to sell the plates for Souls of Black Folk for $100.00. There would be no hurry about our being paid for these. Anytime between April 10 and July 1 would be satisfactory.

The plates are stored at Milwaukee and could be shipped, we believe, within a week or two after receipt of an order from a responsible party.

Very truly yours,

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

D. H. Sparks

President

DHSparks/EB

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Atlanta, Georgia

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1/31/55

[McDowell Memorial Comm. Presbyterian Church]

********** 20 West 40th Street

4 January 1946

21-20-10

My dear Mr. Rankin:

I have not answered your letter of December seventh because of my long absence in Europe. I can speak for you February third. My charge would be fifty dollars and round-trip railroad fare from New York.

I suggest as a subject the Pan African Congress.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Arthur E. Rankin
3105 Haverford Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

RELIGIOUS
EDUCATIONAL

RECREATIONAL
SOCIAL

McDowell Memorial Community Presbyterian Church

21st and Columbia Avenue

Philadelphia, Pa.

REV. ARTHUR E. RANKIN, PASTOR

Resident: 3105 Haverford Avenue

21-20-11

8 January 1946

Dr. W. E. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 3, New York.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanks for your belated letter. We are still going ahead with the original date, February third, Sunday evening. Your charge is agreed to, and this is to confirm our agreement. We will proceed as before.

Very sincerely yours,

Arthur E. Rankin

1 February 1946

21-20-12

My dear Mr. Rankin:

I shall leave New York, Sunday afternoon and will telephone you after I reach Philadelphia.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Arthur E. Rankin
3105 Haverford Avenue
Philadelphia

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1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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BUY
WAR BONDS
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15 February 1946

21-20-14

Dr. Harold M. Kingsley
120 North San Pedro Street
Los Angeles 12, California

CAN LECTURE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA APRIL SEVENTH TO TWENTIETH OR APRIL TWENTY-FIRST TO MAY FOURTH stop WHICH WOULD SUIT YOU BETTER.

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Edgecombe 4-9837

21-29-20

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(48)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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BRL105 15=NEWYORK NY 12 1011A

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DR & MRS W E B DU BOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLA TER BALTO=

CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS AUSPICIOUS OCCASION.
BEST WISHES FOR THE FUTURE. LOVE TO ALL THE FAMILY=

RUTH MC GHEE.(

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

3 December 1946

21-14-59

Dear Ruth:

A young white woman Helen Buckler is writing a biography on Dr. Daniel Hale Williams of Chicago. I told her that Mr. McGhee knew a good deal about him and that perhaps you had heard something that would give her information. At any rate she is a rather pleasant person and if you have time you might drop her a note at 405 West 54th St. New York 19, N. Y. and let her come and see you for a short time. I think you would enjoy her. I hope this will find you well. Mrs. Du Bois is still in the hospital but is improving.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Ruth McGhee
c/o Mrs. Ernest R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York City

[McKelvey

OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Lectures

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

April 2, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. J. A. Somerville
2104 South Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles, California

21-27488

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will not remember me, but one of my vivid memories of my undergraduate days at Cornell University covers your visit to the University where you were a guest at Telluride House where I was living. I was graduating at the time and you were so kind as to give me an introduction to your former son-in-law, the late Countee Cullen, then in Paris on a Guggenheim Fellowship. From that introduction developed a fine friendship which my wife and I have valued greatly.

As one of its sponsors I am looking forward to your address at Occidental College next Monday night.

I'm writing to ask how long you are going to be here, and whether if your time would permit you to do us a favor? The favor is to have your permission to arrange an evening in your honor at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Pryns Hopkins in Pasadena to which we might invite some of the negro leadership in that city. We should like to tie the occasion in with our efforts to secure an FEPC for California, opposition to which was led in the legislature by Assemblyman A. I. Stewart of Pasadena.

Because of Dr. Hopkins great interest in this issue a citizens group has persuaded him to oppose Mr. Stewart in our coming elections and to make the fight on the issue of a State FEPC. Perhaps you know Dr. Hopkins. In his useful life he has been active in many liberal causes. He is lecturer in psychology at the Graduate School in Claremont, and publisher of the magazine FREEDOM. Assemblyman Augustus F. Hawkins, known to you, has been helping us in our plans in Pasadena. If you could find time to spend an evening with us, that, too, would be of substantial assistance.

I am going to take the liberty of telephoning you over the weekend at Dr. Somerville's home in the hope that after consulting your schedule you will find an evening on which it would be convenient for you to come to Pasadena.

Sincerely yours,

Raymond G. McKelvey

Raymond G. McKelvey
Associate Professor of
Political Science

12 March 1946

21-20-9

My dear Mr. Maloney:

May I thank you and Mrs. Maloney for your kindness while I was in Buffalo. I enjoyed the visit very much.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Attorney Clarence M. Maloney
384 Woodlawn Avenue
Buffalo, New York

13 February 1946

21-19-158

My dear Madam:

I am writing concerning my granddaughter, Du Bois Williams, who attended your summer school in 1943. She is now thirteen years of age and has been for the last three years a student in St. Francis Academy in Baltimore. Last summer she was counsellor in Mildred Johnson's Dunroven Camp for little children. I think the work is a little too strenuous for a girl of her years although she seemed very successful.

I am wondering if we could arrange to have her return to a summer session at your camp in 1945? Will you kindly let me hear from you?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Mildred Gignoux Fincke
Manumit School and Camp
Pawling, N. Y.

Mother's Day Greeting by WESTERN UNION

(40)

21-29-26

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MR AND MRS W E B DUBOISE=

2302 MONTEBELLO TER=

OUR BEST WISHES ARE WITH YOU TODAY HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS=

HELEN AND EUGENE MARTIN=

(MASONS)

November 25, 1946

To the Most Worshipful Grand Master of Masons in Massachusetts:

The Committee appointed by you to consider and report on the subject of Negro Freemasonry in Massachusetts, begs leave to submit the following report:

It has been a full half century since our Grand Lodge has considered the subject of Negro Freemasonry. Then, and in all previous studies of the subject, attention was directed primarily, if not solely, to the question of the technical regularity of the origins and early history of Negro Freemasonry. In the light of the evidence then available, it was believed that it could not, according to Masonic Law, be regarded as legitimate Freemasonry. On the same evidence the same conclusions would presumably have been reached — and perhaps even more emphatically — if the individuals and lodges in question had been white instead of colored.

13

In the intervening half century, Masonic historical research has made much progress, and the emphasis has changed considerably in Masonic thinking with respect to some of the factors involved in any such inquiry. The legality and regularity of each organizational act is now tested according to the law and customs of its date rather than by those of the present.

35-1-219

Your Committee finds that according to the then prevailing Masonic law and custom, the origin, early procedures and subsequent development of the so-called Prince Hall (Negro) Freemasonry in this Commonwealth have been, and are, regular and legitimate. Moreover, there is reliable and uncontradicted documentary evidence, dated June 30, 1784, that African Lodge, of which Prince Hall was Master, was, in 1776, granted a "Permet" by John Rowe of Boston (then Provincial Grand Master over North America where no other Provincial was appointed), "to walk on St. John's day and Bury our dead in form", etc. Rowe succeeded Henry Price in 1768.

Thus for 170 years African Lodge and its successors have been functioning in Massachusetts in good faith and with the justifiable belief that their origin and procedure were as regular and legitimate as we have thought ours to be. Obviously, we do not presume to pass upon conditions prevailing in any other jurisdictions.

It is understood that there are other groups of Negroes who claim to be Masons but we have found no evidence in support of such claims, and our conclusion thus far is that the so-called Prince Hall (Negro) Freemasonry is, alone, entitled to any claim of legitimacy among Negroes in this Commonwealth.

Members of this Committee have inspected the original charter of African Lodge, No. 459, granted by authority of H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, Grand Master of our own Mother Grand Lodge of England, dated 29th September, 1784, appointing Prince Hall (a Negro resident of Boston) to be its Master. This is the source of all "duly constituted" Prince Hall Freemasonry, and is now in the possession of the M.W. Prince Hall Grand Lodge, F. & A.M. of Massachusetts. Our Grand Lodge traces its history as a "duly constituted" organization to 1733, and Prince Hall (Negro) Freemasonry to 1787 when African Lodge began to function under its Charter. Thus for more than a century and a half, these two branches of Freemasonry have existed side by side in this Commonwealth, each by its own preference adhering strictly to its own racial sphere of activity and without intervisitation.

There is need for unifying and strengthening all influences for the improvement and uplifting of mankind. Freemasonry seeks to build character and promote brotherhood among all men. These objectives have nothing to do with race or color or social or economic status. In this country, the welfare and the future of the white and colored people are interdependent and largely identical. Each has its own schools and colleges and churches and societies, but both have the same ultimate hopes and aspirations; both make common sacrifices in defense of their single country; both read the same periodicals, hear the same radio programs, and enjoy or suffer together the triumphs or failures of our national well being; and each is affected by the material and spiritual welfare of the other.

In conclusion, your Committee believes that in view of the existing social conditions in our country, it is advisable for the official and organized activities of white and colored Freemasons to proceed in parallel lines, but organically separate and without mutually embarrassing demands or commitments.

However, your Committee believes that, within these limitations, informal cooperation and mutual helpfulness between the two groups upon appropriate occasions are desirable.

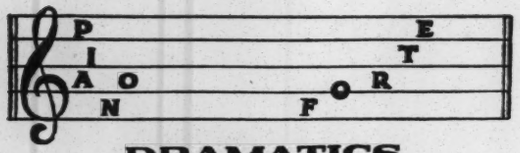
Your Committee makes no recommendation except that this report be accepted, approved and recorded.

Fraternally submitted,

JOSEPH EARL PERRY, *Chairman*
MELVIN M. JOHNSON
ARTHUR D. PRINCE
CLAUDE L. ALLEN
ALBERT A. SCHAEFER
ARTHUR W. COOLIDGE

[Massachusetts - Negro History Celebration]

21-10-06

ACADEMY
OF


DRAMATICS
AND
CLASSICAL DANCING

ANNA BOBITT-GARDNER, MUS. B. S., DIRECTOR
3 CLAREMONT PARK, BOSTON 18, MASS.
PHONE KENMORE 9754

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois: November I7th, I946

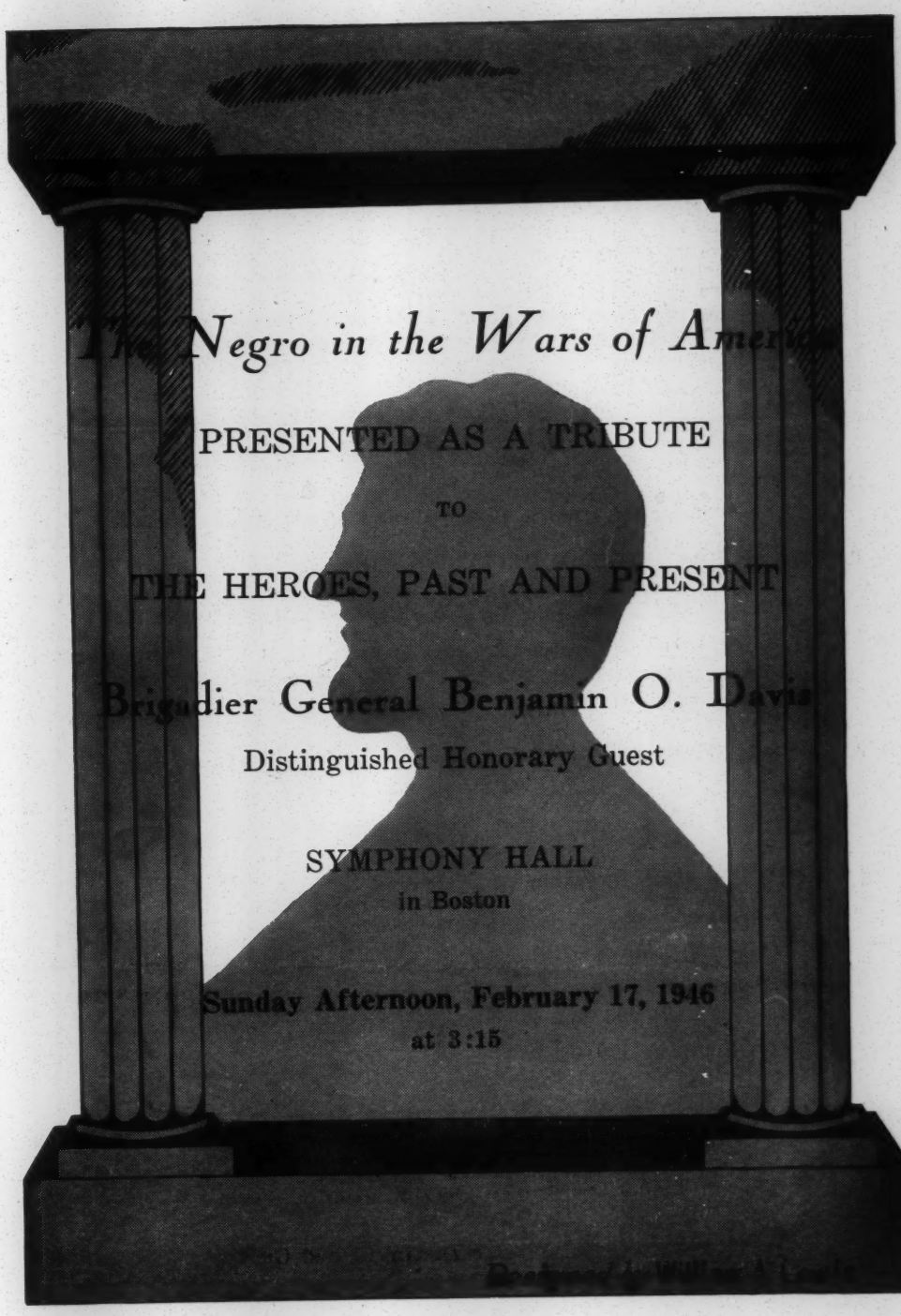
Dear Sir:

I have been appointed for the last three years as director for the Negro History Celebration for the State of Massachusetts, and would like to know if you will be our guest speaker for a Sunday afternoon in February during the History Week Celebration?

Enclose please find programs of the last two years, and trust that I may hear from you at uour earliest convience.

Very truly

Anna Bobitt-Gardner



The Negro in the Wars of America

PRESENTED AS A TRIBUTE

TO

THE HEROES, PAST AND PRESENT

Brigadier General Benjamin O. Davis

Distinguished Honorary Guest

SYMPHONY HALL

in Boston

Sunday Afternoon, February 17, 1946

at 3:15

"The world is the property of all mankind and each and every racial group is entitled to a portion of it."

THIS IS A NEGRO HISTORY WEEK OBSERVANCE PROGRAM, PRESENTED BY STATE DIRECTOR ANNA BOBITT-GARDNER, EACH YEAR, UNDER THE NAME OF PORTRAYALS OF THE FINER ARTS, A CLASSIC PRESENTATION OF SCULPTURE, DRAMA, PAINTING AND MUSIC, SHOWING THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO RACE TO AMERICA'S CULTURE.

THIS YEAR'S PROGRAM IS DEDICATED TO THE NEGRO SOLDIER, IN WHICH A SOLEMN TRIBUTE IS PAID TO BOTH THE PAST AND THE PRESENT AND TO BOTH THE LIVING AND THE DEAD HEROES.

THROUGH THE COURTESY OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT, BRIGADIER GENERAL BENJAMIN O. DAVIS HAS BEEN SENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROGRAM, WHICH WILL SHOW THE NEGRO IN WAR AND IN PEACE.

PROGRAM

INVOCATION

REV. CHARLES B. COPHER, Pastor of the Fourth Methodist Church

PAYING HOMAGE TO THE DEITY

Both the Armed Forces and Civilians offer a hymn of praise that peace has been restored.

Devotional Hymn ..... "THE LORD'S PRAYER"
Sung by VERA HODGE GRAVES Accompanied by VIOLET BOVEL

CHARACTERS IN REPOSE ..... ACADEMY DRAMATIC STUDENTS

ADDRESS, "The Negro as a Soldier" ..... LT. COL. LARKLAND HEWITT

IN WAR

1. SCULPTURE (in tableau) ..... AMERICA'S WARS

Narrator ..... DONALD JOSEPH

Principal Roles ..... 1ST SGT. FRANKLIN GELZER

Background of Music ..... Played by DONALD SHIRLEY

(a) Revolutionary War
(b) War of 1812
(c) Civil War
(d) Spanish-American War
(e) World War I
(f) World War II

Introduction of Our Distinguished Guest
BRIGADIER GENERAL BENJAMIN O. DAVIS

IN PEACE

(Showing the Negro portraying his ART)

2. DRAMA ..... "BROTHERS"

In the time of strife and danger, men forget their racial differences and become as "Brothers" for a common cause.

Written by JAMES H. HENDERSON

(Based on the story of the Four Chaplains)

Directed by ..... SUZETTE P. VAUGHAN

Staged by ..... JAMES H. HENDERSON

Costumer ..... NELLIE CRICHLOW

CAST

1ST SGT. FRANKLIN E. GELZER — CARRIE SATTERWHITE

LOUISE PARKS — LILLIAN RUFF

3. MUSIC

PIANO SOLO—"Rondo Capriccioso" ..... *Mendelssohn*

MARTIE BRANCHE, Academy Student—Teacher, Mrs. Bobitt

PIANO SOLO—"Naila" ..... *Delibes*

MURIEL FAULK, Academy Student—Teacher, Miss Cooke

CELESTIAL ENSEMBLE—"Hiawatha's Wedding Feast" *S. Coleridge Taylor*

NEWMAN SMITH, *Guest Soloist*

JAMES E. PROUT, *Director*

BLANCHE C. MORRIS, *Accompanist*

PIANO SOLO

(a) Scherzo ..... *Hindemith*

(b) Dance Rituell De Fen ..... *De Falla*

DONALD SHIRLEY, *Guest Soloist*

4. PAINTING

AWARDING OF THE PRIZES

Work on display—Life portraits, water colors, sceneries and oils.

PROFESSIONAL ARTISTS

JOHN WILSON — ROMEYN LIPPMAN — CELESTINE J. DORCH

ALLAN CRITE — CALVIN BURNETTE

ART STUDENTS

JUANITA CHAVIS — PAULINE JOHNSTON — CHARLES JOHNSTON

CHARLES BLAND — WALTER REID — ALFRED QUALLS

VINCENT ST. CLAIR — ALLAN FREEMAN — SYLVESTER MILLS

LEON BRAITHWAITE

"SPAN OF PROGRESS"

Corridor Exhibition, Showing RACE Achievements in

EDUCATION, BUSINESS, TRADES, RELIGION, ART AND CRAFTS

Announcing . . . . .

NEGRO NIGHT AT THE "POPS"

SYMPHONY HALL

(Date announced later)

Reservations for tables now available.

(Deposit required for all reservations)

ANNA BOBITT-GARDNER

ACADEMY OF PIANOFORTE AND DRAMATICS

(with concentration on the Finer Arts)

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Assistant Teachers

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Junior Teachers

ENA HARRIS — ANN JOSEPH — CARRIE SATTERWHITE

1 AND 3 CLAREMONT PARK BOSTON 18, MASS.

PHONE KENMORE 9454

GOSPEL CHORUS FESTIVAL

by

UNITED GROUPS OF GREATER BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

JORDAN HALL

Thursday, May 23, 1946, at 8:15

Guest Speaker

PROFESSOR THOMAS A. DORSEY

Well-known Gospel Songwriter of Chicago

MRS. LILLIE B. BALLARD ..... *Chairman and Director*
MRS. M. J. SHERIDAN DAVIS ..... *Vice-Chairman and Publicity Manager*
MRS. HELEN GREEN ..... *Secretary*
MR. FRED JETER ..... *Treasurer*

Tickets $1.20, 85c, 65c

IF YOU SERVED OVERSEAS YOU BELONG IN THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

The Patrick Toy Post, No. 953, is one Veteran organization that places *"Service to the Veteran"* above other considerations. There is no RACE, creed or religious belief in the V.F.W.

COMMANDER ROBERT M. TAYLOR

4 ELM HILL PARK, ROXBURY 21, MASS. Phone HIGhlands 4249

THE HIGHLAND STOVE AND FURNITURE CO.

Moving . . . Trucking

Announces the Opening of Their New Store

Located at

519 COLUMBUS AVENUE, BOSTON

Full Line of Used Furniture at Reduced Prices

OIL BURNERS — ICE BOXES — KITCHEN UTENSILS

Telephone COMmonwealth 5012 J. WORRICK, *Manager*

[Massachusetts - Negro History Celebration
Lecture]

21-10-08

3 December 1946

My dear Madam:

Answering your kind letter of November 17th, I regret to say that in February I shall be lecturing in the South. It would be impossible therefore to get to Boston. I thank you for your kind invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Anna Bobitt Gardner
3 Claremont Park
Boston, 18, Mass.

BRyant 9-8781

MEN OF GOODWILL
THIRTY-FIRST FLOOR
11 WEST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

April 30, 1946.

Dear Professor DuBois:

21-14

I am enclosing, for your attention, a pamphlet entitled "The Problem of Racial Minorities". This article deals with one of the major problems facing the world today, and is being distributed freely as a service activity of Men of Goodwill.

The world today is going through a tremendous period of adjustment—an adjustment on an international scale that is affecting the individual person. True peace can only come through the understanding of the vital issues facing humanity; for this understanding will result in tolerance, goodwill and wise action.

I would appreciate your opinion of this article and would be glad to send you any additional copies you may desire.

Very sincerely yours,

Mildred K. Pugh

Mildred K. Pugh
For Men of Goodwill

The Lucis Trust is the fiduciary agent of Men of Goodwill, a non-profit organized movement for the banding together of men and women of goodwill throughout the world to aid in establishing right human relations. Gifts to the Lucis Trust for the Men of Goodwill are deductible in income tax returns.

4 December 1946

My dear Miss Merriam:

I have taken up the matter of your helping me with the administration; and they make the following offer: that you work for me three days a week, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday beginning next week if possible, and continuing until March 1. For this service they offer seventy-five dollars a month. I shall be glad to know if you can accept this position.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-15

Miss Eve Merriam
230 West 79th Street
New York 24, N. Y.

THE Message MAGAZINE

SOUTHERN PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

LOUIS B. REYNOLDS, Editor

Request to write article

March 21, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
69 5th Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

21-19-36

My dear Dr. Dubois:

We are planning to publish an issue of THE MESSAGE MAGAZINE which will be devoted entirely to Temperance. In this edition we shall call attention, among other things, to the economic burden that drink places upon the Negro.

It is our purpose to feature articles in this issue from a number of our outstanding leaders. We are sending this letter to ask if you can provide one such article of about six typewritten pages, double spaced, within the next two months. If you can find time to do this, we shall suggest a specific phase of the subject which we would like to have you write. We shall send this just as soon as we hear from you.

We pay a modest sum for the manuscripts that we are soliciting.

Thanking you in advance for an early reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

Louis B. Reynolds

Louis B. Reynolds, Editor
THE MESSAGE MAGAZINE

LBR/ebc

27 March 1946

21-19-37

My dear Sir:

I may be able in May to furnish the article which you mention in your letter of March twenty-first. Perhaps you w uld not mind writing me again.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Louis B. Reynolds
The Message Magazine
Southern Publishing Association
Nashville 8

MESSAGE

SOUTHERN PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

TELEPHONE 4-8282

BOX 59, NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

EDITOR:
LOUIS B. REYNOLDS
EDITORIAL SECRETARY:
GWENDOLYN BURTON

12-13-50

May 31, 1946

Request for photograph

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 5th Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We would like to have you send us a gloss print picture of yourself to be used in connection with your article that will appear in THE MESSAGE MAGAZINE. A 5 X 7 glossy print would be preferable if you have it. A mat or a cut will not suffice since we have to make it very small and we must use a screen that will reproduce well on our presses.

We are anticipating your manuscript on or before June 10.

Sent 4 June 1946

Cordially yours,

Louis B. Reynolds

Louis B. Reynolds

LBR:gb

Thursday
12:30
Parkside
Board

Inc.

Belmont: Murrayhill 9-7920

21-12-31

13 December 1946

My dear Sir:

I shall be glad to attend the cocktail party in honor of Shirley Graham, December 16th.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Julian Messner
8 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

21 Savin Street
Roxbury 19, Mass.
January 31, 1946

881-01-12

Dear Doctor,

Congratulations on your having recently joined the New York City Western Union pickets!

Sincerely,

John B. Miller

Upsala College
East Orange, New Jersey
October 26, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Wendell Wilkie Building
New York, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

At the suggestion of Dr. Howard K. Beale of the University of North Carolina, I am writing you to request an appointment with you to discuss a proposed dissertation. It is my desire to do a study on some phase of American Negro intellectual history. I feel that a discussion with you on this matter would be of inestimable value to me.

I am a native of Jacksonville, Florida. In the course of my academic training I have attended the University of Florida, Emory University at Atlanta, Georgia, Duke University, and most recently, at the University of North Carolina where I was a teaching fellow. My minor field is sociology, all of which has been taken at the University of North Carolina.

I am currently teaching history and sociology at Upsala College, East Orange, New Jersey. If you wouldkindly grant me an appointment, the following periods, from the standpoint of my teaching schedule, would be most convenient: all day Saturday beginning at eleven o'clock in the morning; all day Sunday; and Monday, Wednesday and Friday mornings until eleven-thirty.

Sincerely,

William D. Miller

29 October 1946

My dear Mr. Miller:

I am sorry that I could not see you Monday but it was my first day at my desk after ten days absence, and I was overwhelmed with correspondence and details. I think that I shall be able to see you next Saturday; suppose that you telephone me Friday and see if I am going to be in.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

98-6-22

Mr. William D. Miller
Upsala College
East Orange, New Jersey

[Ming]

30 September 1946

My dear Mr. Ming:

At the last meeting of the Board of Directors a proposal of mine for a petition to the Assembly of the United Nations was adopted. I am enclosing an outline of this booklet.

I asked Mr. Charles Houston to write on the present legal and social status of American Negroes from 1917 to 1946. He replies that his program of work makes it impossible for him to do this in the allotted time and strongly recommends you. Would you do this? These parts will be about twenty pages long. They sould be clear, restrained and factual rather than emotional; and of unquestionable accuracy. At the same time they should be written for the comprehension of the ordinary reader. They ought to be supported by a short bibliography of books and articles.

I know how presumptuous it is to ask a busy man to do work of this sort but I have chosen you because I think you are especially fitted to do it and I hope that you will regard it a contribution to social progress rather than an ordinary task. We are not in a position to offer adequate compensation for this work but a nominal fee of $100 has been appropriated for each of the four contributions.

May I ask that you think this matter over and write me at your earliest convenience whether or not you will be able to cooperate in this enterprise. I would be under great obligation if you can.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. W. Robert Ming, Jr.
1500 West 113th Place
Chicago, Illinois

21-12-5

2 October 1946

My dear Mr. Ming:

Following up my letter of yesterday may I say that we have received acceptances from Martin Konvitz, Earl B. Dickerson, and Rayford Logan to cooperate. We are waiting to hear from you at your earliest convenience and I hope you will consent.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. W. Robert Ming
1500 West 113th Place
Chicago, Illinois

OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 9, 1946

21-17-30

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My Dear Dr. Dubois:

My delay in answering your letters is due to the fact that I am still in Washington and it was therefore necessary for your letters and wire to be forwarded to me here. They arrived while I was out of town and I did not actually see them until I returned. To add to the confusion, Mr. Houston had told me of your inquiry and while I was in New York last week I inquired for you in the office with a view to discussing the matter with you. Unfortunately for both of us you were not in.

I would like very much to undertake the task of doing a section for your pamphlet on "The Present Legal and Social Status of the American Negro from 1917 to 1946." It would be particularly enjoyable in view of the other persons whom you have asked to write sections.

My present work load, however, would make it impossible for me to meet a dead-line of October 26th in view of the fact that I have a number of briefs and arguments which must be prepared prior to that time. In view of the fact, however, that I feel some responsibility for the delay in your getting my answer I would be glad to undertake the task if I could have another thirty days to complete it.

Will you please advise me on this matter and if you still wish me to undertake it would you please advise me more fully at the address below as to the type of thing which you want done.

Very truly yours,

William R. Ming Jr.

William R. Ming, Jr.
1820 California Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

21-21-12

11 October 1946

Dear Mr. Ming:

Explaining my telephone conversation today, what we want is this: the Assembly of the United Nations will be at Lake Success, October 23rd. Soon after their meeting (I should say not later than a month) we want to present to them a careful statement of the situation of American Negroes in law and practice. The first part, by Martin Konvitz, will consider the legal rights of American Negroes; the second part by Earl B. Dickerson will take up the denial of those rights from 1787 to the first World War. The third part, which I want you to write, will consider the present legal and social status of American Negroes from 1917 to 1946; and the final part by Rayford Logan will take up the charter of the United Nations and its application to our situation.

All this is to be designed for the intelligent reader. There should be some references, but it should not be a scientific treatise simply for lawyers; it should rather be the kind of statement within twenty typewritten pages, that a intelligent man could read and get an accurate idea of our social status, and at the same time if he should want to go further, there would be a short bibliography and some references, so that he could follow up the matter in detail.

It seems to me that with your knowledge of the present situation, you could write something of this sort by November 15. I would not like to ask the other men to wait longer than that. If we have it in hand by the 15th, we can have it printed by late November.

If you can possibly see your way to do this, I hope you will and let me know by telegram or airmail letter as soon as you get this. The nominal honorarium is $100. I am very anxious to have this part of the work done by a young man of your standing. I have an appointment for a personal interview with Trygve Lie on Monday.

Very sincerely yours

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. William R. Ming, Jr.
1820 California Street, N.W.
[illegible] D. C.

[MING]

OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 14, 1946

21-12-31

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I received your letter on Saturday. Despite the fact that I have an extremely crowded schedule for the next two or three weeks I will endeavor to write the article by the 15th of November.

It is my present inhention to be in New York about the 1st of November and I will endeavor to have an outline or a draft with me at that time so that we can discuss it if possible.

Very truly yours,

William R. Ming Jr.

William R. Ming, Jr.

copies to Dickerson, & Logan

(MING)

21-17-6

7 November 1946

My dear Mr. Ming:

I am sending you herewith the mimeograph copies of Konvitz, Dickerson and Logan chapters for your information.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. William R. Ming, Jr.
Office of Price Administration
Washington, D. C.

21-17-1 (Ming) office

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

Jne

November 15, 1946

William Robert Ming, Jr.
Office of Price Administration
Washington, D. C.

When are we going to receive your chapter? We are waiting anxiously.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Sent R. H L. 11-18-46

(MING)

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

Jne November 19, 1946

William Robert Ming, Jr.
Office of Price Administration
Washington, D. C.

21-17

Will you please let me hear from you. Your silence puts us in a most embarrassing position.

W.E.B. Du Bois

Sent RHL 11-19-46

[MING]

OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

November 20, 1946

21-17-32

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

My delay in sending you the copy on the article is due to the fact that when I saw Mr. Konvitz's article it appeared that we had taken almost exactly the same approach to what I had assumed were different subjects. Under the circumstances I had no alternative but to proceed to attempt to develop a complete new article.

I was in New York last Saturday and endeavored to see you to discuss this matter but learned that you were not in your office. Pressure of other work and prior commitments have unfortunately delayed my being able to finish this article but I am hopeful that I will have it done within a week.

Yours very truly,

William R. Ming Jr.

William R. Ming, Jr.

[Ming]

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

United Nat Org

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

Jne 2

New York, December 5, 1946

21-11-25

William Robert Ming, Jr.
1820 California Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

The Board of Directors of the NAACP meet next Monday stop What can I tell them about your chapter of the petition stop all other chapters were ready November first, stop the United Nations will adjourn probably next week stop please wire.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Sent R.S.

[Ming]

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to W. E. B. Du Bois

Jne 1 December 9, 1946

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

William Robert Ming, Jr.
1820 California Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Will you please answer my wire of December fifth before three p.m. today.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Sent. 12-9-46

11 December 1946

22-21-22

Dear Mr. Ming:

The Board of Directors voted yesterday to publish our report when it is finished. We will, therefore, go to press the moment I receive your chapter. Will you please include in your letter some data concerning yourself: your birthplace, education and positions which you have held; especially say something about the Chicago University panel.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. William Robert Ming, Jr.
1820 California Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

ON YOUR
Golden
ANNIVERSARY

Mr. & Mrs. Ernest P. Monroe & Family

FIFTY years together!
What a WONDERFUL event!
And what a joy recalling
All those happy years
you've spent;
May you reap a GOLDEN
harvest,
And the future bring your way
The best that Life can
offer
'Til your DIAMOND WEDDING DAY!

********** 20 West 40th Street

4 January 1946

Gentlemen:

Will you please not use the address on the enclosed envelope for your bills in the future. My name is - W. E. B. Du Bois - and my Baltimore address is - 2302 Montebello Terrace - and not as you have printed. Please hereafter, as I have requested before, send all bills to me at - 20 West 40th Street, New York City 18.

Enclosed please find two checks attached to bills sent me.

Also enclosed find a bill from Dr. Harpuder and let me know if this is a legitimate charge. If it is, I will pay it but I do not know Dr. Harpuder personally.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Montefiore Hospital
Gun Hill Road
New York 67, N. Y.

Form 82 SP 5-43

MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL 197

GUN HILL ROAD NEAR JEROME AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

PRIVATE PAVILION BILL

Nina B. DuBois 1946

Bills are due when received

When Accounting Dept. is closed, the Nursing Office will accept payments.

For more details see other side

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

21-6

Date MAR 3 01946 194....

FOR SERVICES TO Nina DuBois

Room Charge:

From 4/1 to 4/30 at $ 6.50 per day $ 195.00

Professional Services of Dr. Leiter-3/30/46 75.00

Routine Laboratory Charge:

Special Nursing:

Day - from to at $ per day

Night - from to at $ per night

MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL FOR CHRONIC DISEASES PAID APR 2 1946

Other Special Charges:

12 Physio Therapy Treatments @ 2.00-3/27 incl. 24.00
Special Drugs-3/22 incl. 2.75
3/25-Add. rental ear phones .50

Amount Due $ 297.25

If any explanation is desired in regard to this bill, kindly communicate with the Accounting Dept.

Tel. OLinville 2-3800

Extension 43

L S
Patient's Accounts Bookkeeper

Approved
Comptroller

RULES CONCERNING PRIVATE AND SEMI-PRIVATE PATIENTS

1. Patients will be required to pay charges one month in advance, subject to a refund for shorter periods.
2. The charge for room entitles the patient to bed and board, medicines, routine nursing and the services of the resident physician.
3. Extra charge will be made for the use of the operating room, hospital anesthetist, services of special nurses, expensive drugs, x-ray examinations, x-ray and physical therapy treatments, blood transfusions, etc. Payment for special charges must be made upon request.
4. Private patients are expected to select and make private arrangements for their care with a member of the visiting or courtesy staff of the Montefiore Hospital.
5. CHILDREN MAY NOT BE BROUGHT TO VISIT PATIENTS IN ANY PART OF THE HOSPITAL.
6. Relatives or friends of patients desiring to use the second bed in the patient's room should make arrangements in advance with the Accounting Dept.
7. The Hospital does not furnish meals to visitors.
8. The Hospital is not responsible for money or valuables, but these may be deposited in the Accounting Dept.
9. Patients may be visited daily (subject to the orders of the resident physician) from 1 P.M. to 3:30 P.M. and from 7 P.M. to 9 P.M.
10. Charges to patients admitted under the Associated Hospital Service plan will be governed by the terms of the plan.
11. If more information is desired please refer to pamphlet relating to Private Pavilion.

Form 82 SP 5-43

MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL 197

GUN HILL ROAD NEAR JEROME AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

PRIVATE PAVILION BILL

Bills are due when received

When Accounting Dept. is closed, the Nursing Office will accept payments.

For more details see other side

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

Date APR 30 1946 194

FOR SERVICES TO Nina DuBois

Room Charge:

From 5/1 to 5/31 at $ 6.50 per day $ 201.50

Routine Laboratory Charge:

Special Nursing:

Day - from to at $ per day

Night - from to at $ per night

MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL
MAY 2 - 1946
PAID
per

Other Special Charges:

Special Drugs-4/27 incl.	4.38
13 Physio Therapy Treatments @ 2.00-4/26 incl.	26.00
4/25-Add. rental ear phones	.50

Just filed upon front these charges were waived 50 % [illegible]

Amount Due $ 232.38

If any explanation is desired in regard to this bill, kindly communicate with the Accounting Dept.

Tel. OLinville 2-3800

Extension 43

L. Schuffman
Patient's Accounts Bookkeeper

Approved
Comptroller

Form 82 SP 5-43

MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL

GUN HILL ROAD NEAR JEROME AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

197

PRIVATE PAVILION BILL

Bills are due when received

When Accounting Dept. is closed, the Nursing Office will accept payments.

For more details see other side

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

Date APR 30 1946 194

FOR SERVICES TO Nine DuBois

Room Charge:

From to at $ per day

21-8

Routine Laboratory Charge:

MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL FOR CHRONIC DISEASES MAY 2 1946

Special Nursing:

Day - from to at $ per day

Night - from to at $ per night

Per

Other Special Charges:

4/30/46-Professional Services of Dr. Leiter $75.00

Amount Due

If any explanation is desired in regard to this bill, kindly communicate with the Accounting Dept.

Tel. OLinville 2-3800

Extension 43

Patient's Accounts Bookkeeper

Approved

Comptroller

Form 82 SP 5-43

MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL

GUN HILL ROAD NEAR JEROME AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

197

PRIVATE PAVILION BILL

Bills are due when received

When Accounting Dept. is closed, the Nursing Office will accept payments.

For more details see other side

Mr. W.E.H. Dubois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N Y

Date MAY 31 1946 194

FOR SERVICES TO Nina DuBois

Room Charge:

21-8

From 6/1 to 6/30 at $ 6.50 per day $ 195.00

Routine Laboratory Charge:

Paid

Special Nursing:

Day - from to at $ per day

Night - from to at $ per night

Other Special Charges:

5/2- 5/27- Special Drugs-$7.40- 50% of charges		3.70
4/29-5/27-Physio Treatments-12 @$4.00-$48.00-50%		24.00
5/17- 1- Physio Treatment @$2.00	50%	1.00
5/3- X'ray of left shoulder	50%	5.00
5/25-Add. rental earphones		.50
Amount Due		~~$ 229.20~~
	Paid	229.00
	Balance	.20

If any explanation is desired in regard to this bill, kindly communicate with the Accounting Dept.

Tel. OLinville 2-3800

Extension 43

Patient's Accounts Bookkeeper

Approved

Comptroller

Form 82 SP 5-43

MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL

GUN HILL ROAD NEAR JEROME AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

197

PRIVATE PAVILION BILL

Bills are due when received

When Accounting Dept. is closed, the Nursing Office will accept payments.

For more details see other side

Mr. W. E. H. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Date MAY 31 1946 194

FOR SERVICES TO Nina DuBois

Room Charge:

21-8

From to at $ per day

Paid

Routine Laboratory Charge:

Special Nursing:

Day - from to at $ per day

Night - from to at $ per night

Other Special Charges:

6/1-Professional Services of Dr. Leiter $ 75.00

not Paid

Amount Due

If any explanation is desired in regard to this bill, kindly communicate with the Accounting Dept.

Tel. OLinville 2-3800

Extension 43

Patient's Accounts Bookkeeper

Approved

Comptroller

[MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL]

17 June 1946

21-8-18

My dear Dr. Bluestone:

We are arranging to have Mrs. Du Bois to leave the hospital Monday, June twenty-fourth, before noon. We are taking her by train directly to Baltimore. My daughter and granddaughter will have finished school by that time and will be able to attend to her. As soon as possible we will have an housekeeper. We have put a special toilet for her on the first floor which will necessitate her going up and down stairs only once a day.

I am asking Dr. Leiter and Dr. Harpuder for statements and advice which her physician may use in Blatimore.

May I thank you very much for your consideration in this case.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. E. M. Bluestone
Montefiore Hospital
Gun Hill Road and Bainbridge Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Form 82 SP 5-43

MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL 197

GUN HILL ROAD NEAR JEROME AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

PRIVATE PAVILION BILL

Bills are due when received

When Accounting Dept. is closed, the Nursing Office will accept payments.

For more details see other side

Mr. W. E. H. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

81-8

FINAL BILL Date June 25, 1946 194....

FOR SERVICES TO Nina DuBois

Room Charge:

From 6/1 to 6/24 at $ 6.50 per day $ 149.50

X-Ray of left shoulder-5/3 (50% of charge) $10.00 5.00

Add. rental Ear Phones-5/25 .50

Routine Laboratory Charge:

Special Nursing:

Day - from to at $ per day

5/17 Night - from to at $ per night

1 Physio Therapy Treat't @ 2.00(50% of charge) 1.00

Other Special Charges:

23-
Physio Therapy Treat's-6/21 incl.@4.-50% of ($92.00) 46.00

Special Drugs-6/20 incl.(50% of $11.80) 5.90

Professional Services of Dr. Leiter-6/22 60.00

267.90

Paid on a/c 229.00

Amount Due $ 38.90

If any explanation is desired in regard to this bill, kindly communicate with the Accounting Dept.

Tel. OLinville 2-3800

Extension 43

Paid 27 June 1946

Patient's Accounts Bookkeeper

Approved

Comptroller

AIR MAIL

17, KINGSWAY,
HALF-WAY TREE,
JAMAICA, B.W.I.
23rd December, 1946.

Dr. W. E. Burghard du Bois
N.A.A.C.P.,
69, Fifth Avenue,
NEW YORK.

21-15-11

Dear Dr. du Bois,

I am planning to pay a visit to New York as from March the 10th for a fortnight. I have written to Mr. White giving him details of this visit, and it will be a real joy for me to contact you and Mrs. du Bois on this occasion.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Harold Moody

HM:ECS

(Moon)

POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

205 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 3-5580

42/87/23

August 10, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director,
Department of Special Research,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, New York.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In response to your letter of July 26th, I shall be very happy to cooperate in the proposed project to place before the Assembly of the United Nations a petition and other documents in behalf of Colonial peoples.

Please let me know when you have your meeting to discuss plans for this project. If I am in the city, I would be glad to attend.

Sincerely yours,

B

Henry Lee Moon

Henry Lee Moon

HLM:rh
uopwa/16

SIDNEY HILLMAN, Chairman • R. J. THOMAS, Secretary-Treasurer • VAN A. BITTNER, Vice-Chairman • ALBERT J. FITZGERALD, DAVID J. McDONALD, EMIL RIEVE, JOHN GREEN, JACK KROLL, THOMAS F. BURNS, Assistant Chairmen • JOHN J. ABT, LEE PRESSMAN, Counsel • GEORGE RETTINGER, Comptroller • TILFORD E. DUDLEY, Ass't to the Chairman

10

(mcm)

POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

205 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 3-5580

42/8F/22

August 27, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am sorry that I shall be out of the city on August 31st and accordingly unable to attend your meeting scheduled for that day. I shall however, try to see if I can get someone else from our office to participate in this preliminary meeting.

Sincerely yours

Henry Lee Moon

Henry Lee Moon

HLM:bh
uopwa/16

SIDNEY HILLMAN, Chairman • R. J. THOMAS, Secretary-Treasurer • VAN A. BITTNER, Vice-Chairman • ALBERT J. FITZGERALD, DAVID J. McDONALD, EMIL RIEVE, JOHN GREEN, JACK KROLL, THOMAS F. BURNS, Assistant Chairmen • JOHN J. ABT, LEE PRESSMAN, Counsel • GEORGE RETTINGER, Comptroller • TILFORD E. DUDLEY, Ass't to the Chairman

10

[Moon]

CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

205 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 3-5580

September 6, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

62-48-24

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of September 3rd, enclosing the proposed petition to the United Nations.

I am sorry I was unable to attend the meeting last Saturday and to participate in the drafting of this petition. I read the document carefully and I am certainly in accord with it. However, I believe there is a serious omission. As you know in many parts of Africa, Negro workers are denied the right to organize into trade unions to improve their working conditions. Even in colonies where in general this right exists, it has been so restricted as to seriously handicap the development of a strong Labor Movement among African workers.

I feel that somewhere in this petition reference should be made to the denial of this right, particularly in view of the interest in the World Federation of Trade Unions which certain African workers have already expressed.

Sincerely yours

Henry Lee Moon

Henry Lee Moon

SIDNEY HILLMAN, Chairman • R. J. THOMAS, Sec'y-Treas. • VAN A. BITTNER, Vice-Chairman • ALBERT J. FITZGERALD, DAVID J. McDONALD, L. S. BUCKMASTER, EMIL RIEVE, JOHN GREEN, JACK KROLL, THOMAS F. BURNS, Ass't Chairmen • JOHN J. ABT, LEE PRESSMAN, Counsel • GEORGE RETTINGER, Comptroller • TILFORD E. DUDLEY, Ass't to Chairman

Lecture

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE
Baltimore 12, Maryland

21-20-40

September 9, 1946

Dr. W.E. DuBois
Wilkie Building
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

I am writing in reference to your acceptance of an invitation to speak at one of our Assembly programs sponsored by the Student Council. Our program is on October 23, 1946 at 10;00 A.M. in our Chapel. We would appreciate it very much, and would be greatly honored by your presence. We would like for you to speak on any topic that you think is appropriate for such an occasion. We would like for you to inform us what your topic will be.

Your prompt reply will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
Willard Jones
Willard Jones,
President-Student
Council
Herman Brown
Herman Brown
Member-Student
Council

[Juanita Morrow]

18 March 1946

21-8-28

Dear Miss Morrow:

I know that Mrs. Du Bois would be much more comfortable if she had her hair washed. She is not complaining about it but I am sure this is so. I am wondering how this could be arranged. Could I bring in an hair dresser who has served her from time to time or could the hairdresser connected with the hospital attend to it? I would be very glad to have you advise me.

You can telephone me or my assistant, Dr. Diggs, by telephoning Longacre 3-6890 any time between eleven and four.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Nurse Morrow
Private A Ward
Montefiore Hospital
Gun Hill Road and Bainbridge Avenue

3-8-3

6 September 1946

Dear Miss Morrow:

Mrs. Du Bois wants me to write you and tell you that she is progressing slowly but decidedly. She is at our home in Baltimore which has a lovely lawn and she is able to walk about increasingly. She wants me to tell you how much both of us appreciate your kindly care while she was in the hospital.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Juanita Morrow
326 Eath Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Church Telephone:
UNIVERSITY 4-9125

Pastor's Telephones:
Residence, MOnument 2-3184
Study, UNiversity 4-1155

Mount Olivet Baptist Church

Request to speak

201 LENOX AVENUE
NEW YORK 27, N Y.

Ministers:
O. CLAY MAXWELL
O. CLAY MAXWELL, Jr.

21-27-19

October 23, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Mr. K. Ozuomba Mbadiwe, President of the African Academy of Arts and Research, is speaking at Mount Olivet this coming Monday night under auspices of our Women's Day Committee, and we would all like it so much if you could be present. Mr. Mbidawe is doing this at my invitation.

Mrs. Helen Curtis is going to be present and I am asking you to come as one of those who have had long interest in Africa and its people.

Won't you drop me a line here at the Church letting me know if I may expect you?

Sincerely yours,

Richetta G. Randolph

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York City

28 October 1946

21-27-20

Dear Miss Randolph:

I have just returned to my desk and have your letter of October 23. I was out of town at the time and was sorry that I could not serve you. With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Richetta G. Randolph
Mount Olivet Baptist Church
201 Lenox Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

20-19-43

3 October 1946

My dear sir:

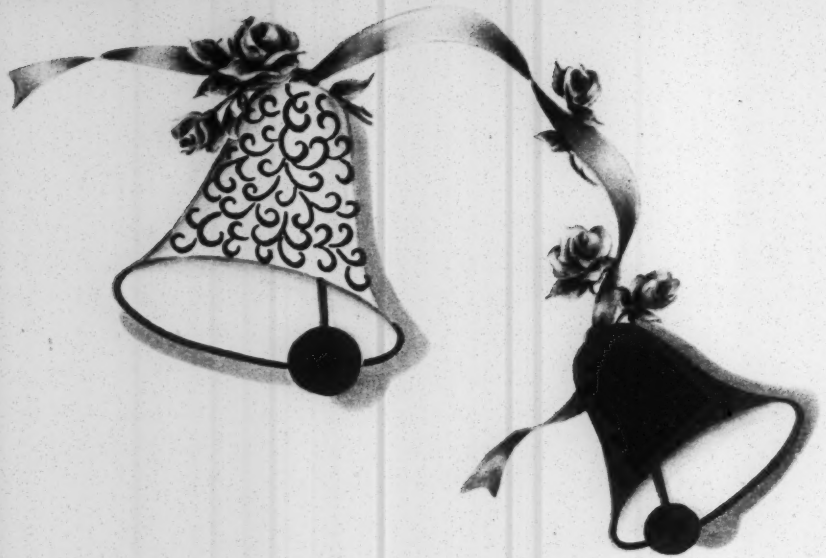
I am sending you herewith a photograph in answer to your letter of December 24, 1945.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. James P. Murphy
891 Perkiomen Street
Philadelphia 30, Pa.

50
YEARS
Congratulations



May golden joys fill every hour
Of this glad day of days
And pleasant memories
make it bright
In countless different ways–
And may the special happiness
You've shared
the glad years through
Return in fullest measure
This Golden Day to you

($10 enclosed)

Mrs Edythe D. Myers
509 W. ~~Lafayette~~ Ave.
Baltimore 17, Md.

21-28-3.1

29 July 1946

21-10-41

My dear Mr. Myrdal:

I am wondering if you are personally acquainted with Trygve Lie, Secretary of the United Nations. I am writing for two reason: first, I should like to become acquainted with him so as to talk with him about the question of colonies particularly in Africa. Secondly, the research assistant in my office, Dr. Irene Diggs, who like myself is of Negro descent would like to enter the service of the United Nations if there is a chance for development. She is trained in sociology and is a Ph. D. from the University of Havana, Cuba.

I would appreciate it if you could send me a letter of introduction, if you know him well enough; or if you could give me any advice.

I trust this will find you and Mrs. Myrdal in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Gunnar Myrdal
Nyänsvägen, 155
Appelviken
Stockholm, Sweden

[MYRDAL]

STATSRÅDET OCH CHEFEN
FÖR
KUNGL. HANDELSDEPARTEMENTET

Stockholm, August 29th, 1946

21-10-42

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Director,
Department of Special Research,
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People,
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18. N.Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

It was very good to get your kind note of July, 29th, I am sure you will not need any introduction to Mr. Lie, but as you ask for it, I am sending it along.

With kindest personal regards to you and all my friends in NAACP.

Very sincerely yours,

GM/IW

[MYRDAL]

STATSRÅDET OCH CHEFEN
FÖR
KUNGL. HANDELSDEPARTEMENTET

Stockholm, September 30th, 1946.

21-10-43

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director,
Department of Special Research,
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People,
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18. N.Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

I am sending along a copy of the answer I got from Mr. Trygve Lie.

With kind personal regards,

I remain,

Very sincerely yours

GM/IW

[Enclosure]

Copy.

21-10-44

United Nations

Lake Success, New York

Mr. Gunnar Myrdal,
Minister of Commerce,
Stockholm.

Dear Gunnar Myrdal,

Thank you for your letter of August 29 in which you ask me to grant an interview to Professor Du Bois. I shall not fail to do so when he approaches me.

Cordially yours,

Trygve Lie

Secretary General